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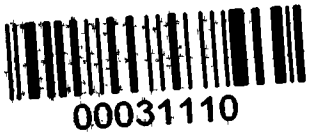
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## ERRATA TO PART I. VOL. II.

Page 57, Note, for 353 read 225.
137, ditto, line 4, for *Themnopylæ* read *Thermopylæ*.
209, line ult. for *conſiderable* read *conſiderate*.
561, line 17, firſt word, omit *he*.

AN

# HISTORICAL REVIEW,

&c. &c. &c.

## VOLUME THE SECOND.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE IRISH LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE IN THE YEAR* 1782 *TO THE BREAKING OUT OF THE REBELLION IN THE YEAR* 1798.

WE have traced Ireland through centuries of calamity and oppreſſion in all the variety of irritation, deſpondency, moderation, firmneſs, reſentment, and ſubmiſſiveneſs, at laſt ſettled in the enjoyment of a free and independent conſtitution, by the liberal, manly, and conſtitutional conduct of an adminiſtration, which though ſhort-lived has left this country a practical leſſon, that the principles, which have carried a minority into power are not always abandoned by them, when they have acquired it. To the Rockingham adminiſtration did Ireland owe her independence in 1782. It remains for us to conſider the uſe made of it by that country. The appointment to the vice-

regency of Ireland had been ever conſidered as a principal part of the ſupport and ſtrength of the Britiſh adminiſtration. Upon this ground was the Earl Temple appointed under the adminiſtration of Earl Shelburne. He had intermarried with the daughter of Earl Nugent, upon whom her father had on the marriage ſettled the bulk of his large domains in Ireland. Lord Nugent had on every occaſion, both in public and private, proved himſelf a ſincere and warm lover of his country: the relative gratitude of the Iriſh to his ſon-in-law, the character and accompliſhments of the new viceroy, and the virtues of his amiable conſort, had enſured him a moſt cordial welcome and an anticipated earneſt of his zealous efforts for the happineſs and proſperity of the Iriſh people. He ſucceeded the Duke of Portland on the 15th of September, 1782, and was received with public expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction.

During the ſhort period of Lord Temple's continuance in the government of that kingdom, his chief attention appears to have been directed to the eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of œconomy throughout the different departments; a reformation ſupereminently neceſſary. The ſhort-lived adminiſtration of Lord Shelburne, of which Lord Temple was no inconſiderable ſupport, determined his viceregency on the 3d of June, 1783. He was in power long enough to have brought upon himſelf much invidious oppoſition, from ſeveral ſecondary dependants upon the Caſtle, who dreaded nothing ſo much as a ſcrutiny into the ſyſtem of their abuſes; and not long enough for the nation to have felt the happy effects of ſo laudable an inveſtigation. His lordſhip's indefatigable aſſiduity and perſeverance in ſcrutinizing the accounts, minutiæ and details of office were wholly unprecedented. It was during the Rockingham adminiſtration, that the concluſion was properly put to the conteſt between Great Britain and the American colonies; for in February, 1782, the Britiſh Houſe of Commons came to the following reſolution:

" That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, moſt humbly to re-
" preſent to his majeſty, that the further proſecution of offenſive war on the
" continent of North America, for the purpoſe of reducing the revolted co-
" lonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts
" of this country againſt her European enemies; tends, under the preſent
" circumſtances, dangerouſly to increaſe the mutual enmity ſo fatal to
" the

" the intereſts both of Great Britain and America, and, by preventing an " happy reconciliation with that country, to fruſtrate the earneſt deſire gra- " ciouſly expreſſed by his majeſty to reſtore the bleſſings of public tran- " quillity."*

Meaſures having been accordingly adopted for terminating the unfortunate conteſt, the peace was concluded by Lord Shelburne's adminiſtration; which could not fail to infuſe joy into the Iriſh nation, and render them more reconciled to the ſudden change of that adminiſtration, through which they had obtained their independence, in which Lord Shelburne bore a conſiderable part.

The parliament of Ireland was not then ſitting: but it has been obſerved, that the queſtions of ſimple repeal and poſitive declaration or renunciation of rights was kept up by the armed bodies of the volunteers with a warmer ſpirit of difference, than they had been within the walls of parliament. And as theſe differences could not be concealed from the Britiſh parliament, it behoves us to conſider, how they were induced to act upon them. On the 19th of December, 1782, in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, Colonel Fitzpatrick begged to call the attention of government to the circumſtance, which had given ſome alarm to the people of Ireland, the deciſion of an Iriſh cauſe in the court of King's Bench in England. He wiſhed juſt to beg that miniſters would, before the receſs, give ſome intimation of what they intended to do in that queſtion.

Mr. Secretary Townſhend aſſured the honorable gentleman, that government had ſpent many hours in the buſineſs of Ireland, and they had the ſtrongeſt diſpoſitions to do every thing in their power to confirm the happy ſettlement, which had taken place laſt ſeſſion. He explained the late deciſion to have ariſen from a circumſtance, which could not be provided againſt,

* To which addreſs his majeſty returned this anſwer:

" GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

" There are no objects nearer to my heart than the eaſe, happineſs, and proſpe- " rity of my people.

" You may be aſſured that, in purſuance to your advice, I ſhall take ſuch meaſures as ſhall ap- " pear to me to be moſt conducive to the reſtoration of harmony between Great Britain and the re- " volted colonies, ſo eſſential to the proſperity of both; and that my efforts ſhall be directed in " the moſt effectual manner againſt our European enemies, till ſuch peace can be obtained, as ſhall " be conſiſtent with the intereſts and permanent welfare of my kingdoms."

viz. that the cauſe had been in the court for eighteen months, and the judges were bound to decide upon it.

Colonel Fitzpatrick ſaid, that he was only anxious, that ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the Iriſh nation on this ground, and that they ſhould learn, before the receſs, that this country was well diſpoſed to give every neceſſary ſatisfaction. This was particularly to be wiſhed, becauſe pains had been taken to ſpread ideas, that what had been done was not ſufficient for the ſecurity of Ireland; and on the ſcore of this deciſion ſurmiſes had been thrown out againſt the friends of order and reaſon, who were convinced of the rectitude of the intentions of Britain. He underſtood, that there were ſeveral other cauſes in the court of King's Bench.

Mr. Secretary Townſhend aſſured him there were not. Though there were two appeals before the Houſe of Lords, which had alſo been there before the act of laſt ſeſſion; but he underſtood, that they would be removed, and pains had been taken to prevent any more appeals from being brought to England.

The Attorney General explained the reaſon of the late deciſion very clearly, and ſaid it was impoſſible for the noble lord (Mansfield) at the head of that court, who was the pride and ornament of human nature, to prevent the deciſion. He ſaid there were no more Iriſh cauſes, and it was now impoſſible, that there ſhould be any more.

Mr. Fox declared, that the intentions of thoſe miniſters, who had ſent the repeal of the declaratory law, were thereby to make a complete, abſolute, and perpetual ſurrender of the Britiſh legiſlative and judicial ſupremacy over Ireland. This was the intention of government; and it was the clear conviction both of miniſters and of the gentlemen of Ireland, who intereſted themſelves in the buſineſs, that the manner in which this was done was the beſt poſſible way, and the leaſt liable to exception. Since that had been done, opinions had been propagated, that a renunciation was better than a repeal. A renunciation was then thought of; but it was the opinion of the gentlemen, that if Britain did it by a renunciation of the right, it would be offenſive to Ireland, becauſe thereby we ſhould have declared, that we poſſeſſed the right. Again, a renunciation, ſtating it to be a right, which we never legally poſſeſſed, was what England would not be brought to agree to, and therefore that plan purſued was preferred to every other: it was clearly underſtood to be a complete ſurrender, and was received with cordiality by thoſe gentlemen, whom he would pronounce to be the beſt and trueſt friends to Ireland.

On

*On the next day Mr. William Grenville (ſecretary to his brother, the lord lieutenant of Ireland) ſaid, he lamented, that he had not been preſent at a converſation, which he underſtood had taken place the preceding night, relative to Ireland; if he had been preſent, he would have informed the houſe, that the late deciſion in the King's Bench in England, which had occaſioned much jealouſy in Ireland, had been taken notice of immediately by the lord lieutenant, who had not loſt a moment to remonſtrate on that ſubject with his majeſty's miniſters, and to make known to them the effect it had produced in the minds of the people of Ireland; and he muſt do miniſters the juſtice to ſay, he had found them very well diſpoſed to remove the ground of jealouſy; it was neceſſary alſo, that he ſhould do juſtice to the lord lieutenant, by declaring, that there was not a man in either kingdom, more decidedly of opinion than his excellency was, that the faith of England was pledged to Ireland for the truth of this propoſition, that England had fully and completely renounced all legiſlative and judicial juriſdiction; and that nothing could be more conducive to the harmony and intereſts of both kingdoms, than that this national faith ſhould be preſerved inviolate. He ſaid, he intended to move for a call of the houſe at an earlier day than the 22d of next month; however, he hoped, that gentlemen would be in town before that day; in that hope he gave notice, that a motion would be made in the houſe relative to Ireland.

Mr. Secretary Townſhend complained, that what he had ſaid in the converſation laſt night on the ſubject of Ireland, had been groſsly miſrepreſented in ſome publications; for though he had ſaid, that "great pains had been taken to prevent any more appeals being brought from Ireland," yet he was repreſented to have ſaid juſt the very contrary: it was not of much importance, he obſerved, what he, as an individual member of the houſe, might have ſaid; but when it might be ſuppoſed, that he was ſpeaking the ſentiments of his majeſty's miniſters, it was of great conſequence, that he ſhould not be miſrepreſented.

Lord Beauchamp ſaid, that as a friend of both kingdoms, his only object was to ſecure a laſting harmony between them; if he ſhould be able to root out every remains of jealouſy, his great object would be accompliſhed, and he would ſit down the happieſt of men. As to the writs of error to England,

* 9 Parl. Debates, p. 131.

he

he knew they could in future be of no effect; for as a law had paſſed in Ireland to prevent the judges of that kingdom to certify into England the record of the proceedings in any cauſe, ſo of courſe there was an end of appeals, as far as Ireland could put an end to them; but as an act of parliament of Ireland could not ſhut up a court of law in England, it was neceſſary that an Engliſh act ſhould be paſſed for that purpoſe; for, until ſuch an act ſhould paſs, he ſhould hold it to be found law, that whatever perſon feels, or thinks himſelf aggrieved by a deciſion of a court of law in Ireland, may apply to the King's Bench in England, which court is bounden to entertain his cauſe, though it be at preſent impoſſible that the judges of that court could give redreſs in ſuch a caſe, as every deciſion in England affecting a cauſe, that originated in and belonged to Ireland, made ſince the paſſing of the Iriſh act alluded to, muſt of courſe be null and void. He appealed then to the houſe, if it would not be proper to paſs a law, which ſhould direct the courts not to entertain Iriſh cauſes, their deciſions on which muſt neceſſarily be ineffectual.

On the 22d of January, 1783,* Mr. Secretary Townſend brought forward the buſineſs of Ireland before the Houſe of Commons, with an explicit avowal, that the principle, upon which the parliament had acted laſt ſeſſion, was to give Ireland every ſatisfaction, that juſtice demanded, and that was conſiſtent with the dignity of Great Britain. The mode, that had been adopted to convey that ſatisfaction, might not have been ſuch as to prevent all cavil, and to take away every pretext from thoſe, who might have a greater wiſh for embroiling, than for ſettling public affairs. Ireland did not deſire, and would not accept of a grant of rights from Great Britain; and at the ſame time her good ſenſe, and her regard for this country, would not ſuffer her to propoſe or demand what England would not do, what ſhe could not do, without recording her own ſhame, namely, to declare, that for centuries ſhe had uſurped the rights of Ireland. As for himſelf, nothing was farther from his intention, than to impeach the mode of proceeding of the adminiſtration, under whoſe direction the Iriſh buſineſs had been conducted laſt year; he believed that ſincerity and wiſdom had guided their ſteps; but ſome untoward circumſtances had intervened, to prevent them from producing all the good effect, that might have been expected from them, particularly a late deciſion in the court of King's Bench here, which had excited jealouſies in the breaſts even of the beſt inten-

* 9 Parl. Debates, p. 138.

tioned

tioned men in Ireland. In what he had juſt ſaid, Mr. Secretary declared, nothing could be farther from his meaning, than in any, the moſt diſtant manner, even to reflect on the conduct of the judges of the court of King's Bench, with regard to their determination on the writ of error. He was perfectly conſcious, that they were bounden to act as they had done; that it was not in their own power legally to have acted otherwiſe; and, that in reality, what they had done, did not affect the queſtion between the two countries. Ireland claimed a ſole and excluſive exerciſe of judicature, as well as of legiſlation; having given up the legiſlation, the judicature was certainly not worth contending for; and therefore, were there not other great and weighty reaſons of policy and juſtice in the caſe, he ſhould think England ought, knowing what the wiſh of Ireland was, to meet it chearfully and readily. He wiſhed that his motion might paſs unanimouſly, that the people of Ireland might ſee that England meant fairly, when ſhe ſet out to remove the cauſes of their jealouſies and diſcontents. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill "*For removing and preventing all doubts which have ariſen, or may ariſe, "concerning the excluſive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland in "matters of legiſlation and judicature, and for preventing any writ of error, "or appeal, from any of his majeſty's courts in that kingdom, from being re- "ceived, heard, and adjudged, in any of his majeſty's courts in the kingdom of "Great Britain.*"

Mr. W. Grenville (Secretary to Lord Temple) ſeconded the motion; he was happy to find that government had ſo early, and of their own accord, brought forth the buſineſs; for though he would not ſay how jealouſies had been excited in Ireland, there was no doubt, but jealouſies did exiſt there; and that the late tranſaction in the court of King's Bench here, had in no ſmall degree contributed to ſpread them wider. The neceſſity of taking ſome ſteps that ſhould amount to ſuch a prevention, ſtruck him ſo forcibly, that he could not but rejoice exceedingly at what he had heard that day; at the ſame time he meant not to ſuggeſt the ſmalleſt impeachment of the meaſures of government laſt ſeſſion, or of the intention of thoſe gentlemen, who had managed the buſineſs on the part of Ireland.

Mr. Eden roſe next. He ſaid, that when Mr. Fox's propoſitions were diſcuſſed on the 17th of May laſt, he had ventured to declare his belief, that thoſe propoſitions would be ſatisfactory to Ireland, and his opinion, that they ought to be ſatisfactory. He had not yet ſeen any reaſon to believe he had

had erred in either idea: he added, that he was far from meaning to expreſs or convey cenſure, either on the ingenuity of the individuals, who had raiſed the doubt, or of the jealous ſenſibility of the people, who had adopted it. A doubt originated by the noble lord, forcibly ſtated in Ireland by the legal preciſion of Mr. Walſhe, ſupported by the admirable and unwearied abilities of Mr. Flood, and countenanced by the manly firmneſs and eminent integrity of the Recorder of Dublin, was certainly not to be treated otherwiſe, than with reſpect. He never had admitted, nor would admit, that Ireland owed her acquiſitions to the battalions of her volunteers, farther than as the volunteers were underſtood to expreſs the general ſenſe of the nation. His deference in theſe matters had been paid, not to their Engliſh firelocks, but to their Iriſh unanimity; he would have paid at leaſt an equal deference to as many farmers or manufacturers, with the implements of their induſtry in their hands. Ireland ought then to found and reſt her ſecurity, which ſhe ſafely might, on the baſis of national wiſdom, national affection and national faith.

Colonel Fitzpatrick ſaid, there was one expreſſion, which he found fault with, and that was, that there were doubts and jealouſies ſubſiſting in the kingdom of Ireland. He knew of no ſuch doubts and jealouſies, and that houſe knew of none. There had not come to their knowledge, by any petition, memorial, or repreſentation whatever, any account of theſe jealouſies. If they noticed all rumours of reports, they would never know where to ſtop; for there would always ſtart up ſome individuals, who would, by weak pretexts, and under various maſks, endeavour to raiſe clamours as diſtinct from the voice of the nation, as the purpoſe, which they had in view, was diſtinct from the true intereſts of their country. The minds of men in Ireland had been, as it were, fermented and worked up into a kind of political fever; and he that expected that they would ſubſide altogether in an inſtant, and grow every where perfectly calm and temperate, muſt be equally unacquainted with the ſtate, humours, and ſenſations of the body politic, and the body natural. It was naturally to be imagined, that there would be in that country, as there muſt be in all countries, certain reſtleſs ſpirits, to whom the return of peace and order muſt be unfavourable. That ſuch men ſhould be ready to propagate ſtories and ſuſpicions, was not ſtrange; and it was no ways to be wondered at, if, by their addreſs and cunning, they ſhould bring over a certain ſet of men to liſten to them. But was a wiſe and prudent government to call ſuch clamours the voice of the nation? Certainly not; and he therefore wiſhed that on the preſent

ſent occaſion, there had not been any mention made of the jealouſies of the Iriſh nation.

Lord Beauchamp ſaid, that there were jealouſies in Ireland, was not to be doubted: that there were grounds for theſe jealouſies, was an incontrovertible propoſition*; that the writ of error from Ireland, returnable into the King's Bench of England, was coeval with the conſtitution of Ireland; it was impoſſible, therefore, that the mere repeal of the 6th of George I. could take this writ away: now, if it did not take it away, with what truth in argument could the right honorable gentleman ſay, that this country had fully and completely ſurrendered every legiſlative, every judicial juriſdiction over Ireland. But the right honorable member would ſay, "it was only of the appellant juriſdiction of the Houſe of Lords that the Iriſh complained." To what did a writ of error brought into the King's Bench here ultimately tend? Why, to eſtabliſh that very appellant juriſdiction of the Britiſh Houſe of Lords, of which the Iriſh had complained; for no man could doubt but the party, who, in the appeal to the King's Bench, ſhould think himſelf aggrieved, was by law entitled to take out a writ of error returnable in parliament; and thus the Engliſh lords come once more into poſſeſſion of that very judicial juriſdiction, which the right honorable gentleman would have the Iriſh erroneouſly believe had been fully ſurrendered up to them. His lordſhip took up the other branch of juriſdiction, the legiſlative; and he maintained, that the Iriſh had been as much deceived in this point as in the former; for though it were ſaid, and erroneouſly ſaid, that the rights of England over Ireland in matters of legiſlation, had been ſurrendered, ſcarcely three weeks had paſſed, when the Engliſh parliament legiſlated for Ireland, by paſſing an act prohibiting the exportation of blocks uſed in callico printing; in this act, Ireland was expreſsly named, notwithſtanding the very recent repeal of the 6th of George I. Had not the Iriſh a juſt cauſe for being alarmed at this breach of faith with them? But was this the only inſtance of attempting to legiſlate for Ireland?

* Colonel Fitzpatrick, on this occaſion, read a paragraph out of a letter publiſhed by Lord Beauchamp to the Belfaſt volunteers, in which he had ſaid, *if the people acquieſce in what has been done, my lips are for ever cloſed on the ſubject.* He contended, the people had acquieſced; and was therefore ſurpriſed to find the noble lord running a race with the miniſter, who ſhould firſt open his lips. On the very next day, (23d of January, 1783) Mr. Secretary Townſhend announced to the houſe the ſigning of the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain; and that a ceſſation of hoſtilities with the United States of Holland had been agreed upon.

No: for that kingdom was expreſsly named in the act which opened the Britiſh ports for the importation of ſugars, &c. the produce of St. Kitts, and other late Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt-Indies. Surely, an attempt to open the ports of a kingdom, was one of the higheſt acts of ſovereign power; and yet this power the Britiſh parliament had aſſumed, juſt after they had, in the opinion of the right honorable gentleman, ſurrendered all legiſlative authority over Ireland. Was it unnatural then, that jealouſies ſhould ſubſiſt in that country? He was very willing to allow, that in theſe caſes the word Ireland had ſlipped in by overſight, and that it had paſſed the houſe through that indifference and inattention, which but too ſtrongly prevailed. He did not doubt the ſincerity of their intentions, but the matter might naturally excite diſturbance in Ireland. And if none of all this had been done, a tranſaction had taken place at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, which, of itſelf, might well excite jealouſies, and keep them alive; for a noble lord in the upper houſe had read in his place a bill, which he ſaid he would at another period move for leave to bring in, which bill propoſed to reſume and maintain the right of England to legiſlate externally for Ireland. Were the people of that country to be the ſport and caprice of every man? Were they to have no other tenure, no other ſecurity for their rights, than the conſtruction of law, than the mere repeal of a declaratory act? Was it not, therefore, wiſe and prudent in miniſters to avail themſelves of the preſent circumſtance, when one parliament was ſitting and the other not, to take ſuch ſteps as would effectually ſtifle all jealouſy, and draw from the parliament of Ireland, at their next meeting, addreſſes of affection, of kindneſs, of generoſity, inſtead of gloomy and reſentful remonſtrances.

Colonel Fitzpatrick and Mr. Fox would not object to the Secretary's motion, although they ſaw no neceſſity for the bill; it was therefore moved for and carried unanimouſly.

In the diſcuſſion of the preliminary articles of peace, was formed the memorable coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox. Several of the friends of both theſe gentlemen vehemently reprobated the terms of Lord Shelburne's peace. Theſe gentlemen had, indeed, violently oppoſed each other on the queſtion of the American war: but that being now ſet to reſt, ſuch of the former opponents as ſupported, or oppoſed rather meaſures than men, found no longer any grounds for oppoſing each other, and therefore united into one body for the common good of their country. On the 22d of February, the coaleſced party brought all their forces to bear upon the miniſtry; and after a very

a very long and heated debate, they outvoted the miniſter by 17 upon the following queſtion:*—" That the conceſſions made to the adverſaries of " Great Britain, by the proviſional treaty and preliminary articles, are greater " than they were entitled to, either from the actual ſituation of their reſpec- " tive poſſeſſions, or from their comparative ſtrength." In conſequence of this defeat of the miniſter, on the 25th of February, 1782, the Secretary of State moved, " That the houſe, at its riſing, ſhould adjourn to Friday next:" it was not unknown to gentlemen, that arrangements were making for a new adminiſtration; and it would be but proper that the houſe ſhould adjourn over a few days, in order to afford time for completing the arrangements.

Earl Nugent oppoſed it; he ſaid, that a bill of the greateſt importance relative to Ireland, was to be referred to a committee of the whole houſe on the morrow; and gentlemen muſt ſee the impropriety of putting off a buſineſs ſo materially affecting ſuch a great part of the empire, merely that miniſterial arrangements might be made, when the bill had nothing to do with miniſters: it was the great work of the people of England.

The Lord Advocate declared himſelf a friend to the adjournment, for the very reaſon, that moved the noble lord to oppoſe it: the bill to which he alluded was of too great a magnitude to be agitated during what he might

* 9 Parl. Debates, p. 369. The houſe ſat till paſt three in the morning; the ayes were 207, the noes 190. In conſequence of this cenſure paſſed on the peace by the Houſe of Commons, the Earl of Shelburne quitted his office of firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; and the chancellor of the exchequer declared publicly in the houſe, that he only held his place till a ſucceſſor ſhould be appointed to fill it. A miniſterial interregnum enſued, which laſted till the beginning of April; during which time the kingdom remained in a ſtate of great diſorder, without any reſponſible government at home, the finances neglected, the military eſtabliſhments unreduced, and the negotiations with foreign powers, which the critical conjuncture of affairs rendered peculiarly important, entirely at a ſtand.

Various cauſes were aſſigned for the extraordinary delay in the appointment of a new adminiſtration. Thoſe who wiſhed to ſhift all blame from the court, alledged, that the chief obſtacle aroſe from the mutual jealouſy, which ſtill ſubſiſted between the new allied parties, and the difficulties they found in adjuſting their ſeveral pretentions. Others have ſuppoſed, that the interval was employed in private intrigues with the individuals of different parties, and in an attempt to form an adminiſtration independent of the great leading connexions. Others again did not heſitate to aſſert, that on the failure of this attempt, the influence poſſeſſed by the lord high chancellor, whoſe diſmiſſion was a point inſiſted on by the coalition, was the principal arrangement. Such were the public converſations at the time, and ſo matters were frequently alluded to in the debates in parliament.

call a miniſterial interregnum; it was a bill that ought to have the marked countenance and ſupport of adminiſtration.

Earl Nugent replied, that there was nothing farther from his wiſh than that the bill ſhould be carried through parliament by miniſterial influence; nothing could do more honour to this nation, or give more ſatisfaction to Ireland, than that the bill ſhould originate, and be carried through in a conviction in the minds of the people of England, that the bill was founded in juſtice, policy, and equity: the people of Ireland could have but little reaſon to deem the bill a ſecurity to their conſtitution, if they ſhould be by any means led to think that it had been carried by the influence of adminiſtration, againſt the wiſhes of the people: nothing could ſatisfy the people of Ireland, but the idea, that the people of England with one voice agreed to the paſſing of this bill, from a conviction that it was fit it ſhould be paſſed, and without being biaſſed in their judgment by miniſterial influence: it was not upon floating adminiſtrations, that ſtability could be founded; and therefore it was to the people of England, not to miniſters, that Ireland appealed; and the people of England repreſented by that houſe, could alone give permanency to meaſures, they never could derive it from the inſecure tenure of miniſterial influence: miniſters had nothing to do with the buſineſs; the people were concerned; and their repreſentatives in that houſe might therefore proceed with the bill without giving themſelves any trouble about miniſters; he cared not who were, or who were not miniſters; he was under no obligation either to thoſe who were in, or to thoſe, who, from report, he underſtood were likely to be their ſucceſſors; the bill concerned the nation, and the repreſentatives of the people, who were moſt intimately concerned in it, ought to proceed in their own buſineſs without waiting for miniſterial arrangements, for if they did, an idea might go forth, which ought to be cruſhed, that the bill was to be ſupported by the influence of adminiſtration.

On the 2d of April, 1783, it was announced to the Britiſh parliament that a new* arrangement was formed; when Mr. Pitt moved the order of the day on

* The following is a Liſt of the Coalition Adminiſtration.

The Duke of Portland, Firſt Lord of the Treaſury.
Lord North and Mr. Fox, principal Secretaries of State.
Lord John Cavendiſh, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Viſcount Keppel, Firſt Lord of the Admiralty.

Lord

on the American trade bill. Lord Sheffield violently oppoſed it as one of the moſt ill-managed and ill-conſidered bills ever brought before that houſe. In the courſe of his ſpeech, he adverted to what he had ſaid ſome few days before upon the ſubject of that bill's affecting Ireland.* That kingdom received as a right every advantage ſhe had lately acquired, except the participation of the Weſt-India monopoly; for that ſhe was thankful, and in return paſſed the act, which lays the ſame duties as Britain on imported ſugars, and other Weſt-India articles, and lays prohibitory duties on ſimilar articles from foreign

Lord Viſcount Stormont, Preſident of the Council.
The Earl of Carliſle, Privy Seal.
The above ſeven perſons to form the cabinet.
Lord Loughborough, Sir William Henry Aſhhurſt, and Sir Beaumont Hotham, Lords Commiſſioners for the cuſtody of the great ſeal.
The Earl of Surrey, Frederic Montagu, Eſq. and Sir Grey Cooper, Lords of the Treaſury.
Hugh Pigot, Eſq. Lord Viſcount Dungannon, Hon. John Townſhend, Sir John Lindſey, William Jolliffe, Eſq. and Whitſhed Keene, Eſq. Lords of the Admiralty.
The Earl of Hertford, Lord Chamberlain.
The Earl of Dartmouth, Lord Steward of the Houſehold.
Right Honorable Charles Greville, Treaſurer of the Houſehold.
Lord Viſcount Townſhend, Maſter General of the Ordnance.
John Courtenay, Eſq. Surveyor General of the Ordnance.
Henry Strachey, Eſq. Store-keeper of the Ordnance.
William Adam, Eſq. Treaſurer of the Ordnance.
Honorable Richard Fitzpatrick, Secretary at War.
Edmund Burke, Eſq. Pay-maſter of the Forces.
Charles Townſhend, Eſq. Treaſurer of the Navy.
The Earl of Cholmondely, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards.
James Wallace, Eſq. Attorney-General.
John Lee, Eſq. Solicitor-General.
Lord Foley, Joint Poſt-Maſter General.
Richard Brindſley Sheridan, Eſq. and Richard Burke, Eſq. Secretaries to the Treaſury.
Honorable Mr. St. John, and Honorable Colonel North, under Secretaries of State.
The Earl of Sandwich, Ranger and Keeper of St. James's Park and Hyde Park.
The Earl of Jerſey, Captain of the Band of Penſioners.
Lord Hinchinbrook, Maſter of the Buck Hounds.
The Earl of Mansfield, Speaker of the Houſe of Lords.
The Earl of Northington, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
Mr. Wyndham, Secretary of State for Ireland.
William Eden, Eſq. Joint Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland.

* 9 Parl. Debates, p. 594.

iſlands.

iſlands. By this bill that monopoly would ceaſe; deprived of the advantage, Ireland would think, that Britain had done away the conſideration, which induced her to ſhut her ports againſt foreign ſugars. The Iriſh act laying prohibitory duties was biennial, and would expire next Chriſtmas; and it was not to be ſuppoſed under theſe circumſtances ſhe would continue it. Her redreſs would be to take foreign Weſt India goods, at leaſt ſhe would not think it neceſſary to charge her own conſumption of ſugars with higher duties, than were required from America. She would expect to have Weſt India goods on as good terms as the American States, now become foreign. Weſt India planters ſhould conſider, whether a direct trade to the American States would recompenſe them for the loſs of the Iriſh conſumption; and parliament ſhould conſider what would be the ſtate of ſmuggling from Ireland into this country, if Ireland ſhould become the depôt for foreign Weſt India goods, or of our own, under low duties.

The Iriſh judicature bill, which had gone up and been once read in the lords, had been ſuſpended in its progreſs from the moment the change in miniſtry had been ſpoken of; and Lord Thurlow publicly avowed in a converſation upon that bill's ſtanding for the order of the day, that he had been the perſon, who adviſed the noble lord, who had moved the firſt reading of the bill, not to move the ſecond, but to let the bill remain till his majeſty's preſent miniſters choſe to take it up. His lordſhip further obſerved, that the bill then before the houſe had been concerted with the advice of the preſent lord lieutenant of Ireland; a noble lord, of whom both in private and in public he had heard ſufficient in praiſe to convince him, that he was a man of great abilities, of great wiſdom, and of great integrity. Advice coming from ſuch a man, and it being conſidered what a great ſtake that noble lord had in both countries, too much attention could not certainly be paid to the noble lord's ſuggeſtions. For theſe reaſons, he hoped, and moſt anxiouſly hoped, that the noble lord was not to be recalled, but was to remain where he was, and where he had conducted himſelf in his high capacity, in a manner that redounded ſo much to his own honor, at the ſame time that it was productive of infinite advantage to the intereſts of both kingdoms. His lordſhip reaſoned upon this for a conſiderable time, and ſaid, that if unfortunately the noble earl were to leave Ireland, and any body elſe were to be ſent thither, it would become a noble Duke (of Portland) more particularly to inform the houſe in the fulleſt manner, how the preſent bill would ſuit that

wiſdom,

wiſdom, which the adminiſtration of that day meant to purſue, that the houſe might judge of the propriety, practicability, and policy of the whole, before they darkly and blindly gave their ſanction to one part only. Then the Earl of Mansfield put the queſtion, " that the bill be read a ſecond time on Mon- " day next, and the lords be ſummoned ;" which was ordered accordingly ; and on the 14th of April, 1783, Lord Aberdeen made a very long and able ſpeech upon the bill then under the contemplation of the houſe : He had ſeen with infinite pleaſure, that what Ireland had required of England, had been in all its extent acquieſced in by his majeſty's miniſters. He had ſeen an act of parliament no leſs offenſive to the conſtitution of this country, than ſubverſive of the right of Ireland, repealed and expunged from our Statute Books. But he had alſo ſeen, that although this had been done at the inſtance and requiſition of both houſes of parliament in Ireland, Ireland was not ſatisfied with it ; and ſeeing that, as the true friend to both countries, he endeavoured to draw that line of relation betwixt the two, which the intereſt of each ſeemed to call for and require, and in which he felt himſelf upholden, maintained, and ſupported by the conſtitution of England.

In conſidering the ſubject, two things occurred to his obſervation ; one the right, which this country had exerciſed of internal legiſlation over Ireland ; the other, the right, which this country poſſeſſed of external legiſlation over Ireland, ſo far as that legiſlation regarded the navigation and commerce of that kingdom. With reſpect to the firſt, the right of internal legiſlation, it was clear to him, that no right ſo manifeſtly in the teeth of the conſtitution of this country, however it had been exerciſed, could on principle be maintained ; for as it was a fundamental principle of the conſtitution, that legiſlation and repreſentation were inſeparable, therefore inaſmuch as Ireland was not repreſented in the Britiſh parliament, Ireland could not be ſubject to the legiſlature of the Britiſh parliament ; but of the right of external legiſlation, ſo far as it reſpected the navigation and commerce of that kingdom, his opinion and judgment were the very reverſe : that right being founded on the right to the dominion of the ſea, was a common law right, a fundamental right coequal with the conſtitution of this country, he found it ſo laid down paſſim in all our common law books, as well as expreſsly declared in the ſtatute of the 20th of Henry VI. chap. 9. to wit :

" The parliament of England cannot bind Ireland, as to their lands, for they have a parliament there ; but they may bind them as to things tranſitory,

tory, as the ſhipping of wool, or merchandize, to the intent to carry it to another place beyond ſea." An authority, which whilſt it maintained the rights of external legiſlation *quoad* the commerce of Ireland, it defeated the right of internal legiſlation, for the reaſon given, namely, " for that they " have a parliament there."

He aſked if the people of Ireland wiſhed to remain ſubjects of the crown of England? If they did, the moment that bill paſſed, they were no longer ſo. For the ſubjects of the crown of England muſt be, and are, of continual neceſſity, under the legiſlative authority of this country. The crown itſelf is under the legiſlative authority of this country, and of courſe thoſe, who are dependant upon this crown, ſo far as the conſtitution admits of it, muſt be ſo too. That they may be ſubjects of the king of England, is true, and ſo they will be; and ſo are the people of Hanover ſubjects of the king of England; but does Ireland wiſh to be upon the footing of Hanover with this country? and yet the caſe muſt and will be ſo. Suppoſe an act of parliament were to paſs, reſtraining the prerogative of the crown in any given inſtance with reſpect to Ireland, would not Ireland be bounden by that act of parliament? Muſt not Ireland ſubmit to that act of parliament? For how could Ireland oppoſe or reſiſt it but by an act of rebellion, if the people of Ireland be the ſubjects of the crown of England, and the crown of England be ſubject to the legiſlation of England? Do the people of Ireland wiſh to have ſeats in the Britiſh parliament? This bill incapacitates them from being members of the Britiſh legiſlature. It was by acts of parliament, that the right of ſitting in the two houſes of parliament was regulated; and the people of Ireland not being to be bounden by acts of parliament, they are in ſo much aliens, *quoad* their claim to this right. From the moment that act did paſs, the Iriſh were no longer our fellow ſubjects. If that right be in us, that right is delegated to us, and no delegated right is, or can be in its nature transferable. This is found conſtitutional doctrine, and not to be oppoſed; beſides, at beſt this is but an act of parliament, and all acts of parliament are repealable; and then the right reverts to its fundamental ſource. Let the Iriſh remember, that the 6th of George I. has been repealed.

The Duke of Richmond ſaid, that in many reſpects he agreed with the noble earl, and muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, he never heard a ſeries of arguments better digeſted. His grace went over much of the old ground, and amongſt other things their lordſhips would be pleaſed to conſider, that not only

only in regard to peace and war, in regard to rivalſhip in commerce, in regard to eccleſiaſtical matters, the ſeparation created by the preſent bill would be materially alarming to England. Suppoſe that England ſhould have occaſion to go to war, and Ireland ſhould find herſelf diſpoſed to remain at peace, ſhould refuſe to give aid, and furniſh her quotas to the cauſe of the empire; ſuppoſe that in negociations for peace, the terms agreed on by the Engliſh miniſters, ſhould be objected to by the Iriſh; ſuppoſe that in regulations and treaties of commerce with foreign ſtates the Iriſh ſhould contend with the Engliſh, in theſe and a thouſand other poſſible ſuppoſitions, was it poſſible that this total ſeparation could be ſubmitted to by the people of England? But there were other moſt important dangers to be apprehended. All theſe arguments powerfully bore upon the ultimate neceſſity of an incorporate union, without which the two kingdoms muſt be conſtantly expoſed, to theſe monſtrous anomalies and miſchiefs in government. Theſe were reaſons that made it indiſpenſably neceſſary for their lordſhips to enquire whether this was to be followed by any other meaſure, and whether the preſent miniſters had adopted it as a part of a ſyſtem, upon which the mutual connexion of the two countries was to be eſtabliſhed. This was particularly neceſſary to be known, on account of the very unaccountable and oppoſite mixture of opinion and principle that exiſted in the cabinet at that time. It was impoſſible that he, or that any man could rationally truſt to the meaſures of an adminiſtration, where the principles were ſo oppoſite and contradictory; one part of which he revered as much as he reprobated the other. The noble duke ſeverely animadverted upon Lord North's conduct reſpecting Ireland, and endeavoured to prove, that the noble lord had been the cauſe of all the uneaſineſs and oppreſſion felt and complained of by Ireland, and of her taking up arms to do herſelf juſtice, when ſhe found the Britiſh parliament would do nothing for her. His Grace ſtated the frequent attempts made to relieve her trade in trifling particulars, all of which were defeated by the oppoſition of local intereſts. He mentioned the bill allowing her to import her own ſugars, which he ſaid was ultimately defeated by the interpoſition of Lord North, on a diviſion of 64 to 58; he afterwards ſtated the declaration of a noble earl at that time at the head of his majeſty's councils (Earl Gower) at the end of the ſeſſion of 1779 (that the addreſs then moved reſpecting Ireland by the Marquis of Rockingham, ſhould not be oppoſed, if the cenſure of miniſters were taken out) the accompanying promiſe, that ſomething for

the relief of Ireland ſhould be thought of againſt the next ſeſſion, and the noble earl's ſubſequent reſignation of his office, and his informing the houſe when parliament met again, that his reaſon for having quitted his majeſty's councils was, "becauſe the promiſe he had ventured to make to their lord-"ſhips had not been fulfilled, and nothing had been done for Ireland." His Grace dwelt on theſe particulars for ſome time, and then took the liberty of aſking from the noble duke, who was at the head of the new adminiſtration, not what was to be his ſyſtem, but whether or not it were the deſign of the cabinet to follow up this bill with others; and whether this were only a part, or the whole of their ſyſtem with regard to the ſettlement of the relative ſituation of the two kingdoms?

The Duke of Portland ſaid, that it would be a very improper thing for him to divulge prematurely the purpoſes of the king's miniſters. He always had been, and always ſhould be ready, to do every thing in his power to cement the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, on terms of mutual affection and mutual intereſt. He therefore moſt heartily concurred in the preſent bill; he ſubmitted to the candor of the houſe whether it were fair to ſuſpect until there was an appearance of guilt, and whether it were right to call upon him for official communications of future meaſures or deſigns. Beſide, their lordſhips would recollect how very ſhort the time was ſince they had come into office, and in fairneſs they could not be expected to be fully informed of the various topics in the offices.

Lord Thurlow profeſſed, that he could not ſee any thing unſeaſonable or improper in the queſtion, which the noble duke had aſked. It was applicable to the occaſion, and he thought, that without being ſatisfied on the point, their lordſhips could not fairly be called to the deciſion of the preſent queſtion. What was the queſtion? Was the preſent bill the whole or only the part of a ſyſtem? On what grounds was it to be adopted by the preſent miniſters? For what purpoſe was it to be paſſed? To what end was it to be applied? In all this was there any thing, which in the ſmalleſt degree, could give embarraſſment to miniſters in anſwering? There had been full time from Friday to Monday, to have examined every paper on the ſubject: and what made this appear more ſingular, was, that many of thoſe papers muſt have come from the noble duke himſelf, and a noble earl his now colleague in adminiſtration; would not their lordſhips then ſuppoſe, that no men could have been fixed on ſo capable of ſpeedily determining what was expected, and what ought

ought to be done to ſecure a laſting and permanent connexion with our ſiſter kingdom: and yet theſe men, according to their own accounts, were the moſt improper and incapable of all perſons living. He ſaid he could not but lament the frequent changes, which revolutions in politics in this kingdom made in the lord lieutenants of that country. The people were ſcarcely ſettled with a repreſentative of the crown, before intelligence arrived, that they were to part with him, and that another was appointed in his ſtead. This circumſtance was ſufficient to make them have a very poor opinion of the councils of this country, and that we were guided by caprice, whim, and unſteadineſs: the preſent nobleman who filled that high office, by his generoſity, his large connexions in both countries, his affability and integrity, had won their good opinion in a ſhort time; and this was no ſooner done than their favorite was to be taken from them.

Lord Loughborough ſaid, that on this queſtion he had no peculiar means of acquiring information with reſpect to the deſigns of the cabinet. He had no other information than as a lord of parliament, and as ſuch, he muſt declare freely, that he thought the preſent converſation, for it was not a debate, on the merits of the bill extremely irregular, if not diſorderly. Not a word was ſtarted in objection to the bill as to itſelf, but miniſters were called upon to divulge their future ſyſtem, and to declare what they were to be to the houſe. He did not think this perfectly conſiſtent with fairneſs, nor was it the kind of oppoſition, which any miniſtry would have reaſon to dread.

Lord Viſcount Townſhend ſaid, it was not candid nor fair to demand from miniſters, at ſo early a period after their introduction to office, the ſyſtem which they were to purſue with Ireland. This, at leaſt, was evident; that if they meant to act a fair, a manly, and an honeſt part, the preſent bill was neceſſary, ſince it confirmed what was done in the laſt ſeſſion, and none of thoſe alarming evils were to be apprehended from it. The fluctuation of Iriſh opinions was eaſily to be accounted for. The inceſſant change of the government muſt naturally give riſe to freſh jealouſies and new opinions, and while this very great evil continued, it was impoſſible that we could expect to ſee our ſiſter kingdom truly and permanently fixed in her ſyſtem and ſentiments. He declared it was his opinion, that for want of acting unequivocally on former occaſions, all our misfortunes, including even the loſs of America, had ariſen; that what they felt in their own breaſts ſhould govern their public conduct; and the national honor, like the perſonal honor of

their lordſhips, ſhould be deemed ſacred, and on no account to be violated Public credit depended on the public faith; the abandonment of the latter conſequently muſt prove the ruin of the former. After a very heated debate and perſonal reflections from the Duke of Chandos and Lord Radnor upon the new miniſters having ſeized on the reins of government by force, and outraged royalty by peremptory conditions, the bill was committed without a diſſenting voice.

No bill ever produced more debates, yet it never brought on one diviſion. And it muſt be allowed, that under the variety of changes, which the Britiſh miniſtry experienced at that critical period, they all centered in one accord, to give eaſe, ſatisfaction, and perfect conſtitutional liberty to Ireland. There cannot be a more unimpeachable voucher, than the *act for finally ſettling the independent legiſlation and judicature of Ireland.

Whilſt

* The act 23 George III. c. 28. intituled, "An Act for preventing and removing all doubts "which have ariſen, or may ariſe, concerning the excluſive rights of the parliament and courts "of Ireland, in matters of legiſlation and judicature; and for preventing any writ of error or ap-"peal from any of his majeſty's courts in that kingdom from being received, heard, and adjudged, "in any of his majeſty's courts in the kingdom of Great Britain."

"Whereas by an act of the laſt ſeſſion of this preſent parliament, intituled, An Act to repeal "an act, made in the 6th year of the reign of his late majeſty King George I. intituled, An Act "for the better ſecuring the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Bri-"tain, it was enacted, That the ſaid laſt-mentioned act, and all matters and things therein con-"tained, ſhould be repealed: And whereas doubts have ariſen whether the proviſions of the ſaid "act are ſufficient to ſecure to the people of Ireland the rights claimed by them to be bound only "by laws enacted by his majeſty and the parliament of that kingdom, in all caſes whatever, and "to have all actions and ſuits at law or in equity, which may be inſtituted in that kingdom, de-"cided in his majeſty's courts therein finally, and without appeal from thence, therefore, for re-"moving all doubts reſpecting the ſame, may it pleaſe your majeſty, that it may be declared and "enacted; and be it declared and enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the "advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, in this preſent parliament "aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that the ſaid right claimed by the people of Ireland "to be bound only by laws enacted by his majeſty and the parliament of that kingdom, in all caſes "whatever, and to have all actions and ſuits at law or in equity, which may be inſtituted in that "kingdom, decided in his majeſty's courts therein finally, and without appeal from thence, ſhall "be, and it is hereby declared to be eſtabliſhed and aſcertained for ever, and ſhall, at no time "hereafter, be queſtioned or queſtionable.

"II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no writ of error or appeal ſhall "be received or adjudged, or any other proceeding be had by or in any of his majeſty's courts in

"this

Whilſt the Britiſh ſenate was earneſtly employed in giving and ſecuring freedom to Ireland, and in the miniſterial interregnum, which ſuſpended the action of the Britiſh government, Ireland was not wholly inactive. The corporation of the City of Dublin preſented the following addreſs to the lord-lieutenant:

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

" WE, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens " of the City of Dublin, in common council aſſembled, unanimouſly think it " our indiſpenſable duty at this time to approach your excellency with our " ſincere acknowledgements for your prudent and indefatigable regard to the " honour and welfare of this country.

" Your excellency's early attention to the removal of all doubts rela- " tive to the independency of the legiſlation, and juriſdiction of the par- " liament of Ireland, the general and œconomical reform introduced into " ſeveral departments of the ſtate, and the many great and apparent ad- " vantages we enjoy, and are likely to experience, from your excellency's wiſe, " firm, and virtuous adminiſtration, muſt at all times excite and demand the " higheſt expreſſions of gratitude, and make us earneſtly ſolicitous for the " continuance of your government, over a people affectionate to your perſon, " and truly ſenſible of your honorable intentions.

" It has been juſtly obſerved, that all nations have experienced a period of " exaltation as well as of depreſſion.

" From an ill-judging policy, this kingdom felt the latter; from the well- " timed and liberal ſentiments which prevail, it is likely to attain the former.

" We aſſure your excellency, that the citizens expect the conſummation of " this great buſineſs from a nobleman of independent fortune and principles, " equally the friend of Great Britain and Ireland; ſenſible that their intereſts " are the ſame, they do moſt firmly rely on your goodneſs, that nothing in

" this kingdom in any action or ſuit at law or in equity, inſtituted in any of his majeſty's courts in " the kingdom of Ireland; and that all ſuch writs, appeals, or proceedings, ſhall be, and they " are hereby declared null and void to all intents and purpoſes; and that all records, tranſcripts of " records or proceedings, which have been tranſmitted from Ireland to Great Britain, by virtue of " any writ of error or appeal, and upon which no judgement has been given, or decree pronounced " before the firſt day of June, 1782, ſhall, upon application made by, or in behalf of the party in " whoſe favor judgment was given, or decree pronounced, in Ireland, be delivered to ſuch party, " or any perſon by him authorized to apply for, and receive the ſame."

" your

" your power will be wanting to ſecure to this nation the complete and per-
" petual enjoyment of commercial and conſtitutional freedom.

" In that perſuaſion, we cannot but repreſent to your excellency, that as
" the time is critical and important, no circumſtances whatſoever ſhould in-
" duce a change, which might prejudice, but cannot benefit this country;
" and your excellency muſt be convinced there are ſituations, in which the
" yielding even to the finer feelings of the mind, (however amiable in private
" life) muſt be conſidered as political error, and a deſertion of public duty.

" Your excellency will pleaſe to receive this addreſs, not as the ordinary
" and common compliment paid to perſons in your high ſtation, but as the
" language of freemen ſenſibly alarmed, who highly approve your conduct
" and revere your virtues; and who will not behold with indifference the
" moment, which ſhall terminate your excellency's adminiſtration.

" In teſtimony whereof, we have cauſed the common ſeal of the ſaid city to
" be hereunto affixed, this 7th day of March, 1783."

To this addreſs the following anſwer was returned:

" I am too ſenſible to this addreſs of affectionate regard, to anſwer it in the
" common expreſſions of good-will: my heart is indeed too full; and I truly
" feel an honeſt pride in receiving ſuch a teſtimony of the ſenſe, which the city
" of Dublin entertain of my zeal to promote the firſt object of my wiſhes, the
" conſtitutional and commercial freedom of Ireland. To ſuch an object I
" would gladly ſacrifice every private feeling: and as long as I can flatter
" myſelf, that my exertions are acceptable to his majeſty, or may be ſervice-
" able to this kingdom, I will hope that no circumſtances will prevent me
" from continuing to you that proof of my intereſt in your proſperity, which
" an unremitting attention to the great lines of an honeſt government can ſo
" truly give. But in every ſituation, I never can forget how much I owe to
" your affection; and my conſtant prayer, my conſtant object will be, that
" the honour, pride, and happineſs of Ireland, may be perpetual, and that it
" may be founded on the ſureſt baſis of a liberal and conſtitutional connexion
" with your ſiſter kingdom."

In order to gratify the public mind, and to draw it from ſpeculative queſ-
tions, it was thought adviſeable to inſtitute a new order of knighthood, that
ſhould give additional luſtre to the national conſequence, which at this time
appeared to be the favorite object of all ranks of people. Letters patent
were accordingly paſſed for creating a ſociety, or brotherhood, to be called,

" *Knights*

" *Knights of the Illuſtrious Order of St. Patrick,*" of which his majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, were appointed to be ſovereigns; and the lord-lieutenant for the time being, was to officiate as grand maſter. The following were appointed knights companions of the order, viz. His Royal Highneſs Prince Edward, his Grace William Robert Duke of Leinſter, the Earls of Clanricarde, Antrim, Weſtmeath, Inchiquin, Drogheda, Tyrone, Shannon, Clanbraſſil, Mornington, Courtown, Charlemont, Bective, and Ely. The Archbiſhop of Dublin for the time being, was appointed Chancellor; and the Dean of St. Patrick's, in like manner, Regiſter; and Lord Delvin, Secretary.

On the 11th of March, the Knights were inveſted with due ſolemnity before the lord-lieutenant at Dublin Caſtle; and on the 17th of the ſame month (being the feſtival of St. Patrick, tutelar Saint of Ireland,) they were inſtalled. And the ceremonial of the inſtallation was conducted throughout with the utmoſt regularity, order, and magnificence.

Various ſpeculations had at different periods been ſet on foot in Ireland for peopling the country by an influx of foreigners, at times when cruelty was inventive to check the population of the aboriginal natives of the ſoil. But the ill-judged policy of liſtening to the diſtreſſes of foreigners, whilſt the more piercing cries of their own ſubjects were unheard or unheeded, though frequently attempted, has generally failed.

Diſputes and diſſentions had long ſubſiſted between the ariſtocratic and democratic powers in the republic of Geneva, which had finally terminated in favor of the former, through the interference of the kings of France and Sardinia, and the cantons of Zuric and Berne. In conſequence of which, a number of the citizens of the popular party reſolved to quit a country, in the government of which their weight and authority had been totally extinguiſhed.

On this occaſion they turned their eyes upon Ireland, and commiſſioners were accordingly ſent by them to Dublin, to conſult and treat with that government in relation to their reception into that kingdom. The commiſſioners, on their arrival, received the greateſt perſonal attention from the people in general, (then all alive to every claim of civil liberty,) but more eſpecially from the different corps of volunteers in the province of Leinſter, into ſeveral of which, as a mark of reſpect paid to the cauſe they came to ſolicit, they were choſen as members.

Their requeſt, with reſpect to the admiſſion of their countrymen into Ireland, was eagerly complied with by government, who, with a degree of avi-

dity,

dity, offered them an aſylum in that country. Accordingly, the names and numbers of the emigrants from Geneva having been laid before the privy council, they fixed upon a place for their reſidence at Paſſage, near to the confluence of the rivers Barrow and Suir, in the county of Waterford, in which diſtrict a very conſiderable tract of land was then ſhortly to revert to government; and this it was reſolved ſhould be appropriated and granted in fee to theſe Geneveſe ſettlers, and the place named "*New Geneva.*"*

The

* The following warrant was iſſued by the lord-lieutenant on that occaſion:

To the Earl of Tyrone, the Right Hon. John Beresford, the Right Hon. John Blaquiere, K. B. the Right Hon. Henry Theophilus Clements, the Right Hon. John Foſter, the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, the Right Hon. William Wyndham Grenville, the Right Hon. James Gaſſe, David Latouche, Eſq. jun. Andrew Caldwell, Eſq. Traven Hartly, Eſq. Alexander Jaffray, Eſq. and Meſſeurs G. Ringler, E. Clavier, Du Roveray, E. Gaſe, Grenus, and Divernois.

Whereas the Sieur Divernois did, by his memorial of the 27th of September laſt, repreſent unto us, that, in conſequence of certain alterations, which had taken place in the political conſtitution and government of the ſtate of Geneva, a conſiderable number of the citizens and inhabitants, attached to the bleſſings of a free government, were diſpoſed, under aſſurances of the enjoyment of certain privileges and protection, to ſettle themſelves in this kingdom, to bring with them their property, and to eſtabliſh here thoſe manufactures, which had rendered the citizens of that ſtate ſo wealthy; and that the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, Britiſh money, would be neceſſary to enable the firſt thouſand emigrants to effect their purpoſe, of which a ſum, not exceeding one half, to be applied to defray the expences of their journey, and the carriage of their effects; and the remainder to be applied in the building, or providing houſes for their reception: and whereas we did lay the ſaid memorial before the lords of his majeſty's privy council, who, by their reſolution of the 27th day of September laſt, expreſſive of the importance of the object, and the advantages to be ſecured to this kingdom by the acceſſion of a body of reſpectable citizens, and to its commerce, by the introduction of a manufacture ſo extenſive and beneficial, and by the immediate acquiſition of a very material addition to the national wealth, did unanimouſly requeſt, that his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to take the ſame into his royal conſideration, and to adopt ſuch meaſures in this caſe, as to his majeſty's great wiſdom ſhould ſeem meet: and we having tranſmitted the ſaid memorial and reſolution to be laid before the king, his majeſty hath been graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify his royal approbation of the deſign aforeſaid, founded upon principles ſo truly intereſting to juſtice and humanity: and of his royal diſpoſition to induce the ſaid merchants, artiſts, and manufacturers, citizens, or inhabitants of Geneva, to ſettle in Ireland, under the conviction, that by their civil and religious principles, their induſtry, and their loyalty, they would materially contribute to the advantage of this kingdom.

Theſe are, therefore, to pray and to empower you to conſult together, and to report unto us what agreements, regulations, warrants, and authorities, will, in your opinion, be neceſſary and proper for carrying his majeſty's gracious intentions into execution, under the heads following, viz.

1ſt. For the grant of a ſum of fifty thouſand pounds to certain ſtate officers, and to certain of the nobility

The terms inſiſted upon by the Geneveſe, previous to their becoming ſubjects of a new ſtate, were, 1ſt. That they ſhould be repreſented in parliament; 2dly.

nobility and gentry of this realm, together with the ſix commiſſioners now in this kingdom from the Genevans; the ſaid ſum to be granted to them in truſt for the uſe of the Genevans ſettling in this country, whereof a ſum, not exceeding one half, is to be applied to the charges of their journey, and the carriage of their effects, to be diſtributed by the ſaid commiſſioners, in ſuch proportion as they ſhall think equitable, upon the conſideration of the circumſtances, the character, and the talents of each emigrant: and the remainder to be expended in the building a town, and ſettling them therein.

2dly. To conſider the rights, privileges, franchiſes, and immunities to be granted to the inhabitants of the ſaid new intended town; and ſo ſoon as the general ſyſtem ſhall have been ſubmitted to, and approved of by us, then to prepare a draught of a charter, which will be referred to the conſideration of his majeſty's law ſervants for their opinion, and afterwards ſubmitted to his majeſty for his royal approbation, granting to the ſaid citizens of the New Geneva, the eſtabliſhment of magiſtrates, councils, or aſſemblies, with powers for regulating their internal concerns, in ſuch manner as ſhall be moſt agreeable to the laws, under which they lived happily in their own country, and as ſhall be agreeable to the diſpoſitions of the people, obſerving nevertheleſs, that, in no inſtance whatſoever, ſuch municipal laws, or regulations, be repugnant to the laws of this kingdom; and, in caſe that it ſhould be neceſſary to apply to parliament for farther powers for carrying ſuch charters, or purpoſes, into execution, then to prepare a draught or ſcheme of ſuch bill or bills, as may be neceſſary to be ſubmitted to the legiſlature.

3dly. To conſider in what manner a ſufficient portion of land ſhall be ſecured to the ſaid citizens of Geneva, to examine and recommend with all expedition a ſituation for their new town, and to conſider and prepare every arrangement which may expedite the conſtruction of it, and to report by what mode the perſons arriving in this kingdom, ſhall from time to time be accommodated, until the new town, or a ſufficient portion thereof, ſhall be erected for their reception: as alſo in what manner the ſaid houſes ſhall be diſtributed to individuals, or a ſufficient portion of ground to thoſe, who may wiſh to build at their own expence; and in what manner the freedom of the new town ſhall be ſecured to ſuch perſons having been citizens or inhabitants of Geneva, and poſſeſſed of thoſe qualifications of conduct and of morals, upon which the ſucceſs of this eſtabliſhment muſt depend, (as are not yet arrived or naturalized) ſo that, upon their arrival and naturalization, they ſhall be entitled to the benefits of the body corporate aforeſaid.

And whereas young perſons of rank and fortune, from all parts of Europe, reſorted to the city of Geneva, to profit from the ſyſtem of education eſtabliſhed there, under profeſſors of eminence in uſeful and liberal ſtudies and accompliſhments; and whereas a ſchool or academy, formed upon the ſame principles in this kingdom, would forward his majeſty's gracious diſpoſitions for the encouragement of religion, virtue, and ſcience, by improving the education and early habits of youth, and would remove the inducements to a foreign education; and being conducted with that attention to morality and virtue, which hath diſtinguiſhed the eſtabliſhments in that city, may attract foreigners to reſide in this kingdom for the like purpoſe, we do farther pray and empower you to con-

2dly. That they ſhould be governed by their own laws. The firſt of theſe conditions might have been a matter of opinion, and ſubject to diſcuſſion; but the two laſt were holden to be incompatible with the laws and the conſtitution of Ireland, and as ſuch totally rejected.

This diſagreement between the parties on leading points ſtopped all further procedure in the buſineſs. Some of the Geneveſe, however, tranſported themſelves into Ireland; but they ſoon found by experience, that nothing was

ſider and digeſt a plan for a ſchool and academy of education, to be eſtabliſhed in the new colony, and to make a part of the conſtitution hereof, under ſuch inſtitution and regulations, and with ſuch privileges as may beſt contribute to the ends hereby propoſed.

And we do pray and empower, that, after having given theſe ſubjects in general the fulleſt conſideration, you do report unto us a particular detail of what ſhall be thought moſt fitting to be granted and ordered for the advantage and encouragement of the Genevans ſettling in this kingdom aforeſaid, and for the welfare and proſperity of the new colony, that the neceſſary repreſentations thereupon may be laid before his majeſty without loſs of time; ſo that every facility may be given to the adoption of every meaſure calculated to give the ſaid citizens of Geneva the fulleſt proofs of his majeſty's royal protection and regard.

Given under our hand and ſeal of arms, at his majeſty's Caſtle of Dublin, the 4th day of April, 1783,

By his Excellency's command,

S. HAMILTON.

The following letter was ſoon after received by Mr. D'Ivernois, from Mr. Secretary Hamilton.

SIR,

I am commanded by my lord-lieutenant to acquaint you, that he has ſigned a warrant to the proper officers to make out the draught of a commiſſion, to be ſubmitted to his majeſty for his royal ſignature, appointing the ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen who are to be entruſted with the ſettlement in this kingdom of the colony of Genevans, as alſo the draught of a royal letter, granting the ſum of 50,000*l.* to thoſe commiſſioners for that purpoſe.

His excellency has alſo given farther directions to the prime ſerjeant, attorney and ſolicitor general, to prepare a draught of a grant of a charter of incorporation for the ſaid colony, and draught of ſuch bills to be laid before the parliament at their next meeting, as ſhall be requiſite for effecting the ſeveral purpoſes deſired.

His excellency has at the ſame time commanded me to aſſure you of his cordial diſpoſition to the new ſettlement, and of his intention to forward every meaſure which ſhall be neceſſary for the protection and encouragement of the colony, with as much diſpatch as the neceſſary forms in a buſineſs of ſo much importance will admit.

I have the honour to be, with great regard, Sir,

Your's, &c.

S. HAMILTON.

gained

gained by changing their ſituation; and moſt of them, after a ſhort ſtay, quitted the kingdom.

The reciprocal advantages, which might have accrued to Ireland and the Geneveſe emigrants, from the propoſed ſettlement, even had it taken place to the fulleſt extent, could never, it is preſumed, have equalled, or been in any degree proportionable to the ſanguine expectations ſome men had been led to form on this ſubject. It ſhould be conſidered, firſt, that the Geneveſe are, for the moſt part, mechanics, and that therefore they muſt have been but ill-ſuited, from their former habits of life, to the toils of agriculture; next, that they were to be ſettled in a part of Ireland where their ſupport muſt have ariſen from their daily labours on the ſoil, and from their having but few wants of their own to gratify, more than from their ingenuity in forming and conſtructing a variety of ornamental articles, which the luxury and riches of populous and trading towns can only create a market for. Whether or no this meaſure of government, had not in fact proved abortive as it did, it is very queſtionable whether it would ultimately have been productive of any real advantage to that kingdom. Certain, however, it is, government at this time muſt have entertained the moſt implicit and unqualified confidence in the ſteady attachment of the volunteers and people of Ireland to the conſtitution of their country, or otherwiſe they never could have levied the large ſum of 50,000*l.* upon a very diſtreſſed country, to purchaſe the probable introduction of turbulent and democratic principles, with a thouſand ſelf-exiled martyrs to democracy, from the Antibazilican ſchool of Geneva.

Lord Temple did not quit the government till the 3d of June, 1783, when he was ſucceeded by the Earl of Northington. The reports of an immediate diſſolution of parliament, which in fact took place on the 15th of July, 1783, had thrown the whole nation into a new political fever. The armed body of volunteers aſſumed to themſelves, rather than allowed credit to their repreſentatives for having acquired a conſtitution at leaſt ſimilar to that of Great Britain. They conſidered, that it would be a diſgrace to quit their arms, whilſt any benefit to their country could be ſtill obtained by them; and they now generally bent their thoughts to the improvement of the ſtate of repreſentation of the people in parliament. They had been much encouraged in this purſuit by the ſpirited addreſſes of the county of York and of other counties to the commons in favor of reform, as well as by the perſevering efforts

of the Duke of Richmond, Mr. *Pitt, and other then popular members, to bring about a reform in the repreſentation of the people in England. Committees of correſpondence to this effect were inſtituted with the moſt forward and zealous advocates for reform in England, and the letters received from them were circulated with avidity throughout Ireland.†

On the 1ſt of July, 1783, at a meeting of the delegates from forty-five companies of the province of Ulſter, aſſembled at Liſburne in purſuance of a public requiſition (Lieutenant Colonel Sharman in the chair), it was reſolved unanimouſly, That a general meeting of the volunteer delegates of the province of Ulſter, on the ſubject of a more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament, is hereby earneſtly intreated, to be held at Dungannon, on Monday the 8th day of September next.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the following gentlemen (ſeven to be a quorum) be appointed a committee of correſpondence for communicating with the other corps of the province, for taking preparatory ſteps to forward the

* On the 7th of May, the day after the call of the houſe, Mr. William Pitt made his promiſed motion reſpecting the reform of parliamentary repreſentation. As the mode of proceeding by a committee, propoſed laſt year, had formed one of the principal objections againſt the reform itſelf, he thought it more adviſeable to bring forward ſome ſpecific propoſitions: theſe were,

1. "That it was the opinion of the houſe, that meaſures were highly neceſſary to be taken for "the future prevention of bribery and expence at elections.

2. "That for the future, when the majority of votes for any borough ſhall be convicted of groſs "and notorious corruption before a ſelect committee of that houſe, appointed to try the merits of "any election, ſuch borough ſhould be disfranchiſed, and the minority of voters, not ſo convicted, "ſhould be entitled to vote for the county in which ſuch borough ſhould be ſituated.

3. "That an addition of knights of the ſhire, and of repreſentatives of the metropolis, ſhould "be added to the ſtate of the repreſentation." He left the number to future diſcuſſion, but ſaid he ſhould propoſe one hundred.

The debate continued till near two o'clock, without any novelty of reaſoning or diverſification of argument. The number of petitioners this year had decreaſed. Only fourteen counties appeared, and moſt of the petitions had a very inconſiderable number of names ſubſcribed. The whole amount was ſaid not to reach 20,000. Amongſt the converts to the queſtion, appeared Mr. Thomas Pitt and the Lord Advocate of Scotland. The former of theſe gentlemen made the houſe an offer of the voluntary ſurrender of his borough of Old Sarum. The houſe divided on the order of the day, ayes 293, noes 149.

† Theſe letters were from the Duke of Richmond, Dr. Price, Mr. Wyvil, Dr. John Jebb, Lord Effingham, Mr. Cartwright, and others.

intentions

intentions of this meeting, and for collecting the beſt authorities and informations on the ſubject of a parliamentary reform, viz.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lieutenant Colonel Sharman, | Colonel Rowley, |
| Captain Black, | Major John Crawford, |
| Dr. Alex. Crawford, | Lieutenant Colonel Banks, |
| Major Burden, | Mr. Robert Thompſon, |
| Captain Wad. Cunningham, | Captain Thomas Prentice, |
| Rev. Mr. Craig, | Lieutenant Tomb. |
| Dr. Samuel Moore, | |

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the following addreſs be publiſhed in the public prints:

To the VOLUNTEER ARMY of the Province of ULSTER.

" FELLOW CITIZENS,

" In common with every claſs of Iriſhmen, you are ſen-
" ſible, that this kingdom for many centuries might have continued to bear
" its chains in ignoble and indigent obſcurity, had not an army of its citizens,
" by a great effort, dared to caſt them off.

" That the dignified conduct of that army lately reſtored to the imperial
" crown of Ireland its original ſplendor, to nobility its ancient privileges, and
" to the nation at large its inherent rights as a ſovereign independent ſtate;
" that by inculcating the glorious ſpirit of toleration, it has united the once
" diſtracted inhabitants of this country into an indiſſoluble maſs, and pro-
" moted the moſt exalted reverence for the laws, are facts that will exhibit a
" ſplendid and intereſting figure in the annals of the age.

" From a military inſtitution, ſo ſingular in its nature as to comprehend
" the ſeveral gradations of nobles, commons, merchants, yeomen, and me-
" chanics, every ſubſtantial good will be expected by wiſe and virtuous
" men.

" They will with honeſt pride behold in the ſtate an unparalleled combi-
" nation of the military with the civil character, exiſting only for the ge-
" neral intereſts of the community, and prepared, on the pureſt principles of
" the conſtitution, to give efficacy to the wiſhes of three millions of people.

" The idea of a well-digeſted parliamentary reform, has ever experienced
" a favourable reception in the uncorrupted breaſts of Iriſhmen and of Bri-
" tons. It has been uniformly looked up to as the true ſource of public vir-

tue

" tue and of political ſalvation, by the firſt characters theſe kingdoms have " produced. In this age we have ſeen it warmly ſupported by that conſum- " mate ſtateſman, the late Earl of Chatham; and revived by the heir to his " abilities and name, the preſent William Pitt. It has received the ſanction " of the moſt eminent and honeſt men in both houſes of the Britiſh parlia " ment, of a great number of the moſt reſpectable ſhires in England, and " the volunteer delegates of the province of Munſter, and within theſe " few days, of the unanimous vote of thirty-eight corps, reviewed at Belfaſt.

" Among the many glorious effects of which a more equal repreſentation " of the people of Ireland would be productive, the following are obvious:

" The deſtruction of that party-ſpirit, whoſe baneful influence has at all " times been injurious to the public weal; a revival of the native dignity " of the crown, by imparting to each branch of the legiſlature its diſtinct " and proportional weight; and the abolition of that train of courtly merce- " naries, who muſt ever continue to prey on the vitals of public virtue, till, " the balance of the conſtitution being reſtored, the neceſſity for governing " by regular ſyſtems of ſeduction, ſhall no longer exiſt.

" Then would the conſtituent body regain its conſtitutional control over " its truſtees, and venal majorities would not be found to ſupport the moſt " diſhonorable and pernicious meaſures, in oppoſition to the ſenſe of the " unpolluted part of the legiſlature, as well as contrary to the univerſal wiſhes " of the public, as to the true intent of the inſtitution of parliaments.

" With due deference for the auguſt body, which we have preſumed to ad- " dreſs, we therefore beg leave to expreſs our wiſhes, that the volunteer dele- " gates of Ulſter would aſſemble with the ſame ſpirit of loyalty, patriotiſm, " and firmneſs, which actuated them on the memorable 15th of February, " 1782: to deliberate on the moſt conſtitutional means of procuring a more " equal repreſentation of the people in the parliament of Ireland, as the only " meaſure, which can give permanency to the late renovation of our conſti- " tution, or reſtore that virtue to the repreſentative body, without which, " though the mere forms of a free government may be preſerved, its ſpirit " muſt inevitably periſh.

" Signed by order of the meeting,

" W. M. SHARMAN, Chairman."

On the ſame day was made, publiſhed, and ſent to the Dungannon dele- gates the following report of a committee of correſpondence, appointed by

forty-

forty-five corps, aſſembled by public advertiſement at Liſburne on the firſt of July laſt, for the purpoſe of obtaining information on the important ſubject of a more equal repreſentation of the people in the parliament of Ireland.

" The committee in diſcharge of the truſt inveſted in them, immediately opened a correſpondence with a number of the moſt eminent and well informed characters in Great Britain and Ireland, and received anſwers fraught with moſt valuable information on the ſubject.

" Such of them as enter minutely into the buſineſs will be ſubmitted to the provincial aſſembly if thought eligible, conſidering the length of their detail, and the great delay which their diſcloſure will unavoidably occaſion. If it be more agreeable to the meeting, for the general diffuſal of a body of knowledge on ſo great a political ſubject, the principal letters will be publiſhed by the committee's ſecretary; by which means the diſpatch neceſſary to ſo great an aſſembly will be greatly promoted.

" The Yorkſhire Aſſociation, ſo celebrated for its ſpirit and numbers, meet about the cloſe of the preſent month, in order previouſly to receive the deciſions of this province.

" The ſociety for conſtitutional knowledge in London, in which are enrolled the names of the firſt characters in England (ſtrenuous labourers in the glorious buſineſs of reform in our ſiſter kingdom), have ordered the addreſſes of the Ulſter regiment, and of the forty-five corps, convening the provincial meeting of Ulſter, to be entered in their books, publiſhed in the prints, and circulated gratis through the kingdom, in order that the exertions of Ireland may give a ſpur to the ſpirit of the Britiſh nation.

" The committee is rejoiced to obſerve, that the Engliſh letters are full of expreſſions of a high ſenſe of the wiſdom, ſpirit, and unanimity, that have characterized the volunteer army of Ireland: and that they all concur in conceiving the preſent to be the very moment, in which a radical parliamentary reform can beſt be effected. They univerſally agree in the idea, that the delegates at Dungannon ſhould enter into a very comprehenſive view of the matter, ſo as the principles of reform may be ſtrongly marked in their reſolves: receiving the ſanction and concurrence of a general convention of delegates from the four provinces, a coincidence of ſentiment in which they hold to be certainty of ſucceſs.

" Founded on much deliberation, aſſiſted by the beſt information they could procure, the committee have ventured to prepare reſolutions, comprehending a general

a general ſyſtem of ideas on the ſubject, which they will take the liberty, through their chairman, Lieutenant Colonel Sharman, with much humility, to move in the auguſt body of repreſentatives of the volunteer army of Ulſter.

"The committee of correſpondence have now only to apologiſe for their inability to ſo weighty a charge: happy if their labours ſhall meet the approbation of their fellow citizens, or tend in the moſt remote degree to any valuable purpoſe. They truſt, that the ſpirit of firmneſs and integrity, which has already reſtored this ancient kingdom to her rank in the nations, will crown the 8th of September, 1783, as a day which is to form the groundwork of internal emancipation, on a baſis as great as that on which our rights as an independent nation, have been with ſuch rapid ſucceſs already eſtabliſhed."

The eve of a diſſolution, the ſpeculations upon the new elections, and the ſucceſsful efforts of the patriots in the people's cauſe, had worked up the elated minds of the volunteers to an enthuſiaſm for parliamentary reform little ſhort of that, which they had before evinced for free trade and legiſlative independence. The ſtate and conſtitution of their Houſe of Commons was fully and fairly ſet before their eyes even by the moſt moderate of their leaders. It conſiſted of three hundred members; ſixty-four of them were ſent by the counties, the remainder by cities and boroughs. The ſixty-four from counties were in ſome meaſure, in the option of the people, and about as many more from the cities and boroughs might, by extraordinary exertions of the people, be freely choſen. Upon that calculation, the people by poſſibility might ſend one hundred and twenty-eight members to parliament. The other boroughs, which were cloſe or ſnug, ſent the remainder one hundred and ſeventy-two. Theſe were the property of ſome few lords and commoners, and being the majority, the Houſe of Commons conſequently as it ſtood was the repreſentative of an ariſtocracy. It was tothat point that government had been long tending. It was their conſtant object to keep up by means of this ariſtocratic influence in the commons that oligarchy or monopoly of power in that kingdom, which it was found nothing but an incorporate union poſſibly could diſſolve, and which whilſt it laſted was the fatal bane and calamity of that kingdom.

The next public act towards the attaining of this object, was a circular letter for England, compoſed and agreed upon by the committee of correſpondence, and dated from Belfaſt on the 19th of July, 1783. It was alſo imme-

immediately publiſhed throughout Ireland; and as it contains the feelings and ſentiments of the armed bodies of Ireland, and they had been allowed in both parliaments to ſpeak the genuine ſenſe of the people of Ireland, the hiſtorian cannot more faithfully tranſmit them to poſterity than in their own words.

Ordered, That the following circular letter, ſigned by the ſecretary in the name of this committee, be forwarded to —— —— incloſing a copy of the reſolutions of the provincial meeting of volunteers of Munſter, and of the proceedings of the forty-five volunteer delegates aſſembled at Liſburn on the firſt inſt. reſpecting a parliamentary reform.

To &c. *Belfaſt, 19th July,* 1783.

" Your attachment to the rights of the people, and to the general proſpe-
" rity of the Britiſh empire, induce us to addreſs you on the preſent great
" and momentous occaſion.

" The ſpirit of freedom, which pervades all ranks of people in Ireland, with
" the juſt and wiſe policy of the Britiſh nation, having for ever removed all
" poſſible cauſe of jealouſy between the ſiſter kingdoms, and united us to
" Britain on the baſis of equal liberty and ſimilar conſtitution; it becomes
" the duty, as it is the intereſt of each kingdom, to aſſiſt the other in their
" endeavours to reſtore to its ancient purity and vigor, a decayed, enfeebled,
" and ſickly conſtitution.

" In both nations, it is now generally acknowledged, that this great ob-
" ject can be obtained by no other means but by a reform of the repreſen-
" tation in parliament. In England, the meaſure has for the preſent miſcar-
" ried, though ſupported by ſo many wiſe, honeſt, great, and independent
" men. We truſt, however, it has miſcarried only for a ſeaſon, and that the
" next attempt will prove ſucceſsful. Ireland has now taken up the idea,
" and if we ſhall be ſo happy as to ſee ſucceſs crown our efforts, we think
" conſiderable weight will be thereby added to the endeavours of the people
" in England. The people of the two nations, united in purſuit of the ſame
" important object, muſt be not only powerful, but irreſiſtible.

" The encloſed papers, which we requeſt you may peruſe, will ſhew how
" far this country has already gone in determining to procure a more equal
" repreſentation; the unanimous reſolutions of about fifteen thouſand vo-
" lunteers, already declared in a very few weeks, aſſure us the reſolves of the
" delegates of Ulſter, who are to aſſemble on the 8th of September next, will

" be no leſs unanimous; and we well know, that what the volunteers (vaſt " numbers of whom are freeholders) ſhall determine on, the other freeholders " and people in general, who are not volunteers, will adopt and ſupport, by " every means in their power: the aged fathers cannot differ from their ſons, " reſpecting a matter, on which depends every thing, that either hold dear for " themſelves or their poſterity.

" That you may ſee the very depraved ſtate of our repreſentation, it is ne- " ceſſary to obſerve, that out of three hundred members, of which our Houſe " of Commons conſiſts, about two hundred and twenty are returned by bo- " roughs. Thoſe one hundred and ten boroughs are divided into three " claſſes: 1ſt. Thoſe, where the right of election is veſted in the Proteſtant " inhabitants at large: 2d. Thoſe, where the right of election is veſted in the " chief magiſtrate, burgeſſes, and freemen: 3d. Thoſe, where the right of " election is confined to the chief magiſtrate and burgeſſes, frequently not " exceeding five or ſix in number, and ſeldom above ten or twelve.

" Almoſt all the boroughs are either venal and corrupt, or implicitly obe- " dient to the arbitrary will of their reſpective landlords, who dictate to the " electors in the moſt abſolute manner. Thoſe landlords claim by preſcrip- " tion a kind of property in thoſe boroughs, which they transfer by ſale like " an eſtate, and receive from eight thouſand to nine thouſand pounds for a " borough, and a ſeat for a borough is generally ſold for two thouſand pounds; " ſo that every ſeven or eight years the borough brings in four thouſand " pounds to the patron. Unhappily for Ireland, our counties are alſo too " much governed by our peers and great men, whoſe influence over many of " their reſpective tenants is very great. This conſideration has given riſe " here to a doubt in the minds of ſome well-meaning men, as to the pro- " priety of adding to the number of knights of the ſhire, as generally now, " two great families endeavour to divide between them the ſeats for the " county, the others remain neutral, or join the independent intereſt. It is al- " ledged, were there ſix ſeats for the county, ſix great families would divide " them, and that to ſuch a combination, the independent freeholders would " not be able to make any effectual oppoſition.

" May we now intreat, as a moſt important favour conferred on us, and " on this kingdom, that you will favor us with your ſentiments and advice, " as to the beſt, moſt eligible, and moſt practicable mode of deſtroying, re- " ſtraining, or counteracting this hydra of corruption borough-influence;

" that

" that we may be enabled to lay your opinion before the provincial aſſembly " of delegates at Dungannon: and as our laſt meeting for arranging buſineſs " previous thereto, is fixed to be on the 20th of Auguſt, we hope you will " be obliging enough to forward your reply, ſo as to be with us about that " time.

" Many apologies are due for this long addreſs, and for the very great " trouble we have requeſted you to take; but we are young in politics, and " wiſh for information from men of more wiſdom, experience, and abilities. " This however we may venture to aſſert, that if we can only be directed to " the beſt mode, the maſs of the inhabitants of Ireland is ſo completely alive " and ſenſible to the neceſſity of a well-digeſted reform, that there cannot re- " main a doubt that what it attempts, in conjunction with the virtuous part " of England, muſt be effectual.

" The ſeveral matters on which we have requeſted your opinion are thrown " into one view in the following queries.

" In order to the purity of parliament, and to reſtore that conſtitutional " control, which the conſtituent body ſhould have over the repreſentative,

" 1ſt. Is it neceſſary that the boroughs, where the elective ſuffrage is veſted " in a few, and which in general are at the abſolute diſpoſal of one or two " perſons, ſhould be disfranchiſed, and in their place the county repreſenta- " tives increaſed?

" 2d. The Proteſtant inhabitants conſiſt of near one million, who return " three hundred members; would it be wiſe to increaſe the number of re- " preſentatives for the nation at large?

" 3d. A plauſible objection, mentioned before, has been made againſt an " increaſe of county repreſentatives; has that argument much weight, and " if it has, is it remediable?

" 4th. Should ſuffrage be extended; and if it ſhould, who are the proper " objects of ſuch extenſion?

" 5th. In order to guard againſt undue influence, would it be wiſe to have " the members returned by ballot?

" 6th. Would not a limitation of the duration of parliament, to a ſhorter " term than eight years, have excellent effects; and ſhould it be leſs than tri- " ennial?

" 7th. If the abolition of the enſlaved boroughs is neceſſary; would it be " equitable or expedient that they be purchaſed by the nation?

" 8th. What ſpecific mode of reform in the repreſentation of Ireland beſt " ſuits your own ideas, conſidering the ſituation of this country; and what " are the ſteps, which you conceive beſt adapted to effect that reform?

" You will be ſo obliging as to direct your reply to our chairman, Lieute- " nant Colonel Sharman, at Liſburn.

" Signed by order,

" H. Joy, jun. Secretary."

As ſoon as the delegates had come to unanimous and ſtrong reſolutions upon the neceſſity and nature of ſome parliamentary reform before the members were all returned, in order to influence the electors in their choice, and the elected in their obedience to the call and wiſhes of their conſtituents, on the 8th of September, 1783, the following reſolutions were publiſhed, and rapidly and gratuitouſly circulated throughout every part of the kingdom.

ULSTER VOLUNTEER ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of two hundred and ſeventy-two companies of the Volunteer Army of the province of Ulſter, by their delegates held at Dungannon, on Monday the 8th of September, 1783,

Colonel JAMES STEWART, of the Tyrone regiment, in the chair,

The following reſolutions were unanimouſly entered into:

I. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That freedom is the indefeaſible birthright of " Iriſhmen and Britons, derived from the author of their being; and of " which, no power on earth, much leſs a delegated power, hath a right to " deprive them.

II. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That they only are free, who are governed by " no laws, but thoſe to which they aſſent, either by themſelves in perſon, or " by their repreſentatives freely choſen, ſubject to the control, and frequently " returning into the common maſs of conſtituents.

III. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the majority of our Houſe of Commons " is not choſen by the people, but returned by the mandate of peers or " commoners; either for indigent boroughs, where ſcarcely any inhabitants " exiſt, or conſiderable cities and towns, where the election franchiſe is veſted " in a few, who are thus ſuffered to place the higheſt truſts of ſociety againſt " the intereſt and will of the many, in the hands of men, who ſeldom act as if " they conſidered themſelves accountable for their conduct to the people.

IV. " *Reſolved*

IV. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That by the ancient conſtitution of parlia-
" ments, elections of repreſentatives were for centuries annual, and in many
" inſtances more frequent; and the exerciſe of ſuffrage among freemen
" univerſal.

V. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That every approach to thoſe fundamental
" principles, tends to a renovation of, not an innovation in the conſtitution.

VI. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the elective franchiſe ought, of right,
" to extend to all thoſe, and thoſe only, who are likely to exerciſe it, for
" the public good.

VII. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the preſent inadequate repreſentation,
" and the long duration of parliaments, deſtroy that balance, which by our
" conſtitution ſhould ſubſiſt between the three eſtates of the legiſlature, ren-
" der the Commons Houſe independent of the people, procure certain majori-
" ties in favour of every adminiſtration, and threaten either an abſolute mo-
" narchy, or that ſtill more odious government, a tyrannical ariſtocracy.

VIII. " *Reſolved* therefore, That the preſent imperfect repreſentation, and
" the long duration of parliaments, are unconſtitutional, and intolerable
" grievances.

IX. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That as the voice of the commons of Ireland
" is no leſs neceſſary for every legiſlative purpoſe, than that of either the king
" or lords, the people have a juſt and inherent right to correct the abuſes of
" repreſentation, whenever ſuch abuſes ſhall have ſo increaſed, as to rob them
" of their conſtitutional ſhare in their own government.

X. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That it is the intereſt of parliament itſelf to
" effect a ſubſtantial reform; as the very exiſtence of that aſſembly muſt be-
" come precarious, when it ſhall loſe the confidence of the people, to whom
" originally it owed its creation, and from whom alone its powers were
" derived.

XI. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That we ſolemnly pledge ourſelves to each
" other and to our country, to ſeek a ſpeedy and effectual redreſs of theſe our
" grievances, and to co-operate with our fellow ſubjects, in every exertion
" neceſſary to obtain it. We call for the aid of every upright ſenator, of
" every man, whether in Ireland or Great Britain, who bears or wiſhes to ac-
" quire the title of a freeman.

XII. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That we have attended with admiration to
" the noble, though hitherto ineffectual efforts, of thoſe illuſtrious characters

" and

" and virtuous citizens who, in England and Scotland, ſtrenuouſly labour to " procure redreſs of ſimilar grievances. May the examples of the ſiſter na- " tions mutually animate the inhabitants of each to perſevere with unremit- " ting ardour, till the glorious labour be finally completed.

XIII. "*Reſolved* unanimouſly, That a committee (of five perſons from each " county) be now choſen (by ballot) to repreſent this province in a grand " national convention, to be held at noon in the Royal Exchange of Dublin, " on the 10th day of November next; to which we truſt each of the other " provinces will ſend delegates, to digeſt and publiſh a plan of parliamentary " reform, to purſue ſuch meaſures as may appear to them moſt likely to ren- " der it effectual, to adjourn from time to time, and convene provincial meet- " ings if found neceſſary.

" The following gentlemen were accordingly choſen by ballot, viz.

DELEGATES.

*Antrim.*

Colonel O'Neill
Lieutenant Colonel Sharman
Colonel Rowley
Captain W. Todd Jones
Colonel T. M. Jones.

*Armagh.*

Earl of Charlemont
Lieutenant Colonel Brownlow
Sir Capel Molyneux
Lieut. Colonel Sir Walter Synott
Captain James Dawſon.

*Cavan.*

Lord Farnham
The Hon. J. J. Maxwell
Captain Francis Saunderſon
Colonel George Montgomery
Captain Henry Clements.

*Donegal.*

Colonel Alexander Montgomery
Colonel John Hamilton
Lieutenant Colonel A. Stewart
Colonel Robert M'Clintock
Lieutenant Colonel Charles Neſbitt.

*Down.*

Colonel Robert Stewart
Captain Matt. Forde, jun.
Major Crawford
Col. Pat. Savage
Captain Gavin Hamilton.

*Fermanagh.*

Colonel Irvine
Colonel Sir Arthur Brooke
Captain A. C. Hamilton
Jaſon Hazard, Eſq.
Captain James Armſtrong.

*Londonderry.*

Lord Biſhop of Derry
Col. Right Hon. Thomas Conolly
Col. Right Hon. Edward Carey
Captain Lecky
Captain Ferguſon.

*Monaghan.*

| *Monaghan.* | *Tyrone.* |
|---|---|
| Colonel Charles Powell Leſlie | Colonel Stewart |
| Colonel Francis Lucas | Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery |
| Colonel John Montgomery | Colonel James Alexander |
| Captain William Forſter | Lieutenant-Colonel Charleton |
| Colonel James Hamilton | Captain Eccles. |

XIV. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That it be an inſtruction to ſaid com-
" mittee, that the delegates from each county do prepare, and carry with
" them to the national convention, an account of all the cities, towns, and
" boroughs of this province, the mode of election in ſuch as at preſent return
" members to parliament, as near as may be the proportionate number of
" Proteſtant and Roman Catholic inhabitants in each, and a conjecture of
" their comparative properties.

XV. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That we are decided in opinion that the
" repreſentatives of the people ought not in future to conſent to any bill of
" ſupply for a longer term than twelve months, nor more than ſix months,
" until a complete redreſs of the aforeſaid grievances be obtained."

The following Addreſs of the Firſt Regiment of Iriſh Brigade, to the Chairman of this Aſſociation, on the 15th of February, 1782, being read:

" To Colonel WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman of the Ulſter Volunteer Dele-
" gates, aſſembled at Dungannon, February 15, 1782.

" SIR,

" I AM directed by the Firſt Regiment of Iriſh Brigade, to
" acquaint you, that on the 22d day of laſt month, at a full meeting of that
" corps, they unanimouſly adopted the reſolutions of the Ulſter delegates
" aſſembled at Dungannon, on Friday, the 15th day of February laſt.

" To that aſſembly, unprecedented in the annals of mankind, which is the
" glory of the preſent times, and muſt be the wonder of futurity, Ireland
" owes her emancipation.

" Toleration, the offſpring of benevolence and wiſdom, was no ſooner
" adopted by that illuſtrious body, than received and cheriſhed through the
" whole nation, and the inhabitants of Ireland from a divided, became an
" united people.

" You, Sir, and the highly reſpectable body, of which you are chairman,
" will hear with pleaſure of every acceſſion of ſtrength to the volunteer army:
" I am happy, therefore, to acquaint you, that this regiment, though but four
" months

" months embodied, is numerous and reſpectable, a circumſtance ſufficient to " convince the world, that the public virtue of this kingdom daily increaſes, " and that the glorious flame of liberty blazes through the nation.

" At this great criſis, when the weſtern world, while laying the foundation " of a riſing empire, temptingly holds out a ſyſtem of equal liberty to man- " kind, and waits with open arms to receive the emigrants from ſurrounding " nations; we think it a duty we owe to our country, to promote, as far as " our example can reach, an affectionate coalition of the inhabitants of Ireland. " Animated by this ſentiment, and convinced that national unanimity is the " baſis of national ſtrength, this regiment affords a ſtriking inſtance how far " the divine ſpirit of toleration can unite men of all religious deſcriptions in " one great object, the ſupport of a free conſtitution.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" With the higheſt reſpect,

" Your faithful and moſt obedient ſervant,

" JOHN SUTTON, Preſident.

XVI. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That this aſſociation entertain the moſt " grateful ſenſe of the approbation of ſuch liberal and patriotic men as com- " poſe that reſpectable body; that we rejoice in the acceſſion of their abilities " to the common cauſe, and that we will be happy to co-operate with them " in effecting the complete liberty and happineſs of the good people of this " kingdom.

XVII. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the following addreſs to the volun- " teer armies of the provinces of Munſter, Leinſter, and Connaught, be " printed with theſe reſolutions.

" To the VOLUNTEER ARMIES of the Provinces of Munſter, Leinſter, " and Connaught.

" FELLOW SUBJECTS,

" THE tranſcendant events, which our united efforts have " produced, preſent an eminent inſtance of the protecting hand of heaven; " whilſt the progreſſive virtue and general union of the people, naturally " prompt them to revive the ſpirit of an unrivalled conſtitution, and to vindi- " cate the inherent rights of men.

" The moſt important work yet remains, which neglected, our paſt attain- " ments are tranſitory, unſubſtantial, inſecure! an extenſion to thouſands of

" our

" our beloved fellow-citizens of a franchiſe, comprehending the very eſſence " of liberty; and drawing the line which preciſely ſeparates the freeman from " the ſlave.

" Suffer us therefore, to conjure you by every endearing tie, that connects " man with man,-with unceaſing zeal to purſue one of the moſt glorious ob- " jects, that ever agitated the human mind: a reſtoration of virtue to a ſenate " long unaccuſtomed to ſpeak the voice of the people; a renovation of the " ancient balance of your government; and a firm eſtabliſhment of the firſt " gifts of nature, on the ruins of an avowed corruption, at once the bane of " morals and of liberty.

" From a grand national convention, diſtinguiſhed by integrity, and in- " ſpired with the courageous ſpirit of the conſtitution, every bleſſing muſt " reſult.

" With one voice then, the voice of united millions, let Ireland aſſert her " claim to freedom!

" Through her four provincial aſſemblies, let her temperate declarations " flow to one common centre; and there, matured into an extenſive plan of " reform, be produced as the ſolemn act of the volunteer army of Ireland: " as a demand of rights, robbed of which, the un-animated forms of a free " government would be a curſe; and exiſtence itſelf, ceaſe to be a bleſſing.

" FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

" THE eyes of an enlightened world, are this inſtant upon " us! Munſter has, in part, already led the way: and millions of our fellow- " ſubjects of Britain, in whom the flame of liberty ſtill burns with luſtre, be- " hold with delight our exertions in the common cauſe; and in our ſucceſs, " ſee the certain harbinges of their own.

" Let the reflection that Greece, the ſeat of liberty and of ſcience; that " Rome, the miſtreſs of the world; and that innumerable ſtates, once flou- " riſhing and free, now lay proſtrate by the hand of tyranny:——Teach Ire- " land wiſdom. To our deliberative aſſemblies they convey awful warning to " be ſpirited, unanimous, and firm; leſt the preſent wretched condition of " other countries be ſoon the fate of our own!

" May the Supreme Ruler of the univerſe crown his other bleſſings, by " being preſent with us, by promoting union and the love of our country " among all ranks of men; and by finally directing our exertions to virtue, " liberty, and peace."

A ſpecific plan of parliamentary reform being produced, and read by the committee of correſpondence.

XVIII. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That ſaid plan be referred to the conſi- " deration of the national convention; and that the thanks of this meeting " be preſented to Lieutenant-Colonel Sharman, and the gentlemen of the " committee of correſpondence, for their great trouble in collecting informa- " tion on a parliamentary reform, and for their abilities and zeal in digeſting " matter for the meeting of this day.

XIX. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the thanks of this meeting be pre- " ſented to the Lord Biſhop of Derry, for his attendance and aſſiſtance in the " buſineſs of this day; for his warm attachment to the volunteer cauſe; and " for proving himſelf the ſteady friend to the liberties of Ireland upon all " occaſions.

XX. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the ſincere thanks of this meeting be " preſeuted to the inhabitants of Dungannon, for their very polite conduct; " and to the Dungannon Battalion, for their vigilant conduct, when on guard " this day.

XXI. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That we lament that unavoidable buſineſs " of conſequence, prevented our late chairman, Colonel William Irvine, " from attending this meeting; and that the thanks of this meeting be " tranſmitted by our ſecretary to Colonel William Irvine, for his polite letter " of excuſe, for his non-attendance this day.

" James Stewart, Colonel of " the Tyrone Regiment, } Chairman.

" James Dawson, Captain of " the Orier Grenadiers, } Secretary.

Colonel James Stewart having left the chair, Colonel Robert Stewart, of the Firſt Independent County of Down Regiment, was unanimouſly called thereto, and having taken the chair accordingly,

XXII. " *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the particular thanks of this meet- " ing be preſented to Colonel James Stewart, for his very great propriety of " conduct in the chair.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the thanks of this meeting be preſented to " our ſecretary, Captain James Dawſon, for his very particular attention and

" ability

" ability in the diſcharge of the duties of his laborious office of ſecretary to " the volunteer aſſociation of this province.

" ROBERT STEWART, Colonel
" Firſt Independent County } Chairman.
" of Down Regiment,

On the 14th of October, 1783, the new Iriſh Parliament met, when Mr. (now Lord) Pelham, the ſecretary to Lord Northington, propoſed Mr. Pery, who was again elected ſpeaker unanimouſly, The lord-lieutenant opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech;

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" IT is with more than ordinary ſatisfaction, that, in obe- " dience to his majeſty's commands, I meet you in the full poſſeſſion and en- " joyment of thoſe conſtitutional and commercial advantages, which have " been ſo firmly eſtabliſhed by your laſt parliament. The ſacred regard, on " the part of Great Britain, to the adjuſtment made with Ireland at that pe- " riod, has been abundantly teſtified by the moſt unequivocal proofs of ſince- " rity and good faith.

" It will ever be my wiſh, as it is my duty, to promote the mutual confi- " dence of both kingdoms, and the uniting them in ſentiments as they are in " intereſt, ſuch an union muſt produce the moſt ſolid advantages to both, " and will add vigour and ſtrength to the empire.

" I ſincerely congratulate you on the happy completion of his majeſty's " anxious endeavours to reſtore the bleſſings of peace to his faithful people. " The eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity is peculiarly favorable at this " period, and will naturally give ſpirit and effect to your commercial purſuits. " Both kingdoms are now enabled to deliberate with undivided attention on " the ſureſt means of increaſing their proſperity, and reaping the certain fruits " of reciprocal affection.

" I have the higheſt ſatisfaction in acquainting you of the increaſe of his " majeſty's domeſtic happineſs, by the birth of another princeſs.

" GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

" I have ordered the proper officers to lay the national ac- " counts before you. From thence you will be enabled to judge of the cir- " cumſtances of the kingdom; and I rely upon your wiſdom and loyalty to

11 Com. Journ. p. 11.

" make ſuch proviſion as ſhall be fitting for the honorable ſupport of his ma-
" jeſty's government.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" THE miſeries of an approaching famine have been averted
" by the bleſſing of Divine Providence upon the meaſures, which the privy
" council adviſed; the good effects of which were ſoon viſible, in the imme-
" diate reduction of the price of grain, and the influx of a valuable and neceſ-
" ſary ſupply to the market. Any temporary infringement of the laws to
" effect ſuch ſalutary ends, will, I doubt not, receive parliamentary ſanction.

" Among the many important objects which demand your attention, I re-
" commend to your conſideration laws for regulating the judicature of the
" court of admiralty, and for making a new eſtabliſhment of the poſt office.

" The linen manufacture being the ſtaple of your country, it is needleſs for
" me to recommend perſeverance in the improvement of that moſt important
" article.

" The fiſhery on your coaſts will claim your attention as a promiſing ſource
" of wealth to this kingdom, and the encouragements granted to it, will, no
" doubt, be regulated by you in the manner moſt likely to produce the beſt
" effect, and leaſt ſubject to fraud and impoſition.

" The Proteſtant charter ſchools, an inſtitution founded in wiſdom and hu-
" manity, are alſo moſt eminently entitled to your care.

" I recommend likewiſe to your attention the propoſals adopted by go-
" vernment for providing an aſylum for the diſtreſſed Genevans. It well
" becomes the generoſity of the people of Ireland, to extend their protection
" to ingenious and induſtrious men, who may prove a valuable acquiſition to
" this country, which they have preferred to their own. But in forming
" this eſtabliſhment, you will doubtleſs conſider it as a part of your duty to
" avoid unneceſſary expence, and ultimately to ſecure the utmoſt advantages
" to your country.

" I anticipate the greateſt national benefits from the wiſdom and temper
" of parliament, when I conſider that the general election has afforded you
" an opportunity of obſerving the internal circumſtances of the country, and
" of judging by what regulations you may beſt increaſe its induſtry, encou-
" rage its manufactures, and extend its commerce.

" In the furtherance of objects ſo very deſirable to yourſelves, I aſſure you

" of

" of every good diſpoſition on my part; ſenſible that in no manner I can " better fulfil the wiſhes and commands of our gracious ſovereign, than by " contributing to the welfare and happineſs of his loyal ſubjects. With an " honeſt ambition of meriting your good opinion, and with the warmeſt hope " of obtaining it, I have ventured upon my preſent arduous ſituation; and " with ſentiments pure and diſintereſted towards you, I claim your advice, " and firmly rely upon your ſupport."

Lord Sudley moved the addreſs of thanks to the crown, and was ſeconded by Mr. Totnum Loftus; to which no oppoſition was given. His lordſhip moved alſo on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, an addreſs of thanks to the different corps of volunteers in Ireland for their effectual ſupport to the civil magiſtrates in ſuppreſſing all tumults and riots, and preſerving peace and good order throughout the kingdom. And it was reſolved *nem. con.* that the thanks of that houſe ſhould be given to the volunteers, for the ſpirited endeavours to provide for the protection of their country, and for their ready and frequent aſſiſtance of the civil magiſtrate in enforcing the due execution of the laws. And the ſheriffs of the different counties were ordered to communicate this reſolution to the different corps within their reſpective ſhrievalties.

This appears to have been a guarded motion on the part of government, calculated to prevent any other motion, likely to have been dictated by the intemperance of ſome volunteer member, that might have attributed very different effects to the armed aſſociations, as very different effects were unqueſtionably produced by them, than the mere ſuppreſſion of riots: for we read of few that exiſted from their arming up to that period (except in the ſouth, where they were ſuppreſſed by the army.)

On the ſecond day of the ſeſſion, Mr. Gardiner moved a vote of thanks to the late governor Lord Temple. He ſaid, that this nobleman had received addreſſes of thanks from every county in that kingdom, for his conduct as chief governor, as each of his public meaſures carried with it ſo much wiſdom and integrity; and in his private character he had concurred in every thing tending to the intereſt of Ireland; and had laid down ſuch plans, as would have been a national benefit, had he continued in the government of that nation: that he had been addreſſed from perſons of all ranks whatever; and that nothing but the ſanction of this houſe was neceſſary to render the thanks of the people of that country univerſal.

Mr.

Mr. Cuffe ſeconded the motion, having been witneſs to the many anxious days and nights he had ſpent in preparing plans to promote the welfare of that country, which, had he ſtaid long enough in Ireland to have put in execution, would have been highly approved of.

*Mr. Adderly oppoſed the motion, and aſſigned his reaſons for diſſenting from the vote of thanks. He would be glad to know what good he had done for Ireland; he inſiſted he had done nothing meritorious. The addreſſes preſented to him were procured by himſelf.

Sir Henry Cavendiſh ſaid, he could very well ſuppoſe that ſome gentlemen had opportunities of knowing the integrity and wiſdom of Earl Temple; but in his opinion, it was fit the houſe ſhould have authentic evidence of it before they paſſed a vote of thanks to Lord Temple, who never met parliament. In his opinion, this queſtion ſhould be poſtponed for a few days; they would then ſee whether he had the economical hand, which had been mentioned. Public fame had not ſpoken of Lord Temple, as he has been ſpoken of in that houſe; public fame repreſented him as a jobber.

Mr. St. George alſo oppoſed the reſolution propoſed, obſerving, that there were ſome characters of ſuch a nature, that the leſs he ſaid about them the better; and he looked upon Lord Temple, as a chief governor, in that light: that with reſpect to the department, to which he belonged, his lordſhip left the eſtabliſhment of the barracks greater than he found it, and under his own new ideas of reform had laid the foundation of a conſiderable increaſe of expence

* Three gentlemen only out of the whole Houſe of Commons, ſtood forth in the invidious light of oppoſing this vote of thanks. Mr. Adderly aſſigned as his reaſon for it, the lord-lieutenant's cruelty in proſecuting him as a defaulter to government, notwithſtanding his clerk at the barrack board had owned the embezzlement, and he had promiſed to make good the deficiency in ſome few months. The attorney-general, and ſome others, treated both Mr. Adderly and Sir Henry Cavendiſh, as debtors to the king The latter denied it: and Mr. St. George boaſted that Sir Henry Harſtonge for Cork, Mr. John Beresford for Waterford, Sir Samuel Bradſtreet for the City of Dublin, anſwered for the addreſſes to Lord Temple being ſpontaneous and unſolicited. Mr. Adderly, in explanation, confined himſelf to the addreſſes of the Roman Catholics: and he ſaid in debate, that he verily believed he was no Proteſtant, becauſe his carriage had been ſeen near the door of a Catholic chapel. (2 Parl. Debates, p. 12.) The honorable member was probably more ſore at the lieutenant's communications with the crown ſolicitor, than with a prieſt in the confeſſional.

to

to the kingdom under that head: that he admitted his lordſhip deſerved praiſe for his great aſſiduity in buſineſs; and he believed he could not be charged with want of integrity to the public; but that he doubted his wiſdom, for he certainly wanted judgment; that in his opinion, there had not been any lord-lieutenant there during the preſent century, more unfit to govern that kingdom as a repreſentative of majeſty, than Lord Temple; for he was of an arbitrary diſpoſition; and if he had remained there long enough to hold a ſeſſion of parliament, he was confident it would neither have contributed to his honor, or to the proſperity or quiet of the people.

*On the 28th of October, Sir Henry Cavendiſh moved, that the condition of that country demanded, that every practical retrenchment conſiſtent with the ſafety thereof, and with the honorable ſupport of his majeſty's government, ſhould be made in its expences. This motion brought on a diviſion, which aſcertained the force of the oppoſition, which had been raiſed againſt the adminiſtration of Lord Northington. The truth of the propoſition was admitted on all ſides of the houſe: the regularity of bringing it forward before the national accounts had been examined, was denied by Mr. Maſon, and all on the treaſury bench, who had been at all converſant with the practices of that houſe and the public offices: the expediency of it was violently oppoſed by Mr. Grattan, and ſuch of the patriotic whigs as ſided with the preſent adminiſtration. Mr. Flood, on the other ſide, warmly ſupported his friend's motion; though he recommended an amendment in it, by introducing the words, *and that the military eſtabliſhment in its preſent ſtate affords room for effectual retrenchment.* If miniſters meant economy, they would agree with that amendment; if not, (alluding to the lord-lieutenant's ſpeech) they meant to amuſe them only with idle words.

Sir Edward Newnham was remarkably violent in the debate; aſſerting, that the Britiſh miniſtry had taken the royal cloſet by aſſault. under the pretence of economy, and leſſening the undue influence of the crown; they had deceived the people: for in Ireland, their ſubſtitutes proved the friends of prodigality, and enemies to economy: in power, their ſentiments and actions were the very reverſe of what they were when out of power. The hypocriſy was too daring. This debate became ſo perſonal and over heated between the two rival patriots, Meſſrs. Flood and Grattan, that they were both ordered into

* 11 Journ. Commons, p. 35.

cuſtody

cuſtody, in order to prevent any miſchievous conſequences of their unhappy difference. Their perſonal invectives were illuſtrative of many traits of the Iriſh government.* The diviſion was, for the motion 27, againſt it 84: a majority of 57 in favor of government.

On the 3d of November, 1783, Mr. Flood returned again to the neceſſity of retrenchment in the military eſtabliſhment, as the only ſolid ground of œconomy. To reduce the civil liſt, he contended, would be frivolous, pitiful, and undeſerving the name of œconomy, and therefore ought to bring contempt on ſuch, as would venture to reſt ſolely there. Not that he thought the civil liſt ought to eſcape the pruning hand of that houſe, for every little would help: but ſo materially did their then expenditures exceed their income, that the whole civil liſt being ſtruck off, would by no means equal them; to begin with that therefore was ridiculous: that that was the proper time for entering on the diſcuſſion, no man could deny: if they waited till the committee of the ſupply ſat, they would be told, it was too late. So rapid and conſtant too had their extravagance been, that no time ſhould be loſt in interpoſing on behalf of their diſtreſſed country. In the year 1755 they were not in debt: in the beginning of the late war, they were not in debt. At the concluſion of the war, they owed but 500,000*l.* yet in the time of peace, they quadrupled that debt, notwithſtanding the people and manufactures were burthened with new and exceſſive taxation. Their revenue had increaſed, and their debts had kept pace with it: ſince the augmentation was voted, ſuch had been regularly the courſe of things. Let the virtue then of 1783, correct the abuſes of 17 2. The cauſes had originated in the breach of faith of the miniſter of that day: a man as able as he was crafty: a man who wanting natural, had ſubſtituted pecuniary influence; who unconnected with Ireland, had great native connexions to oppoſe: thus ſituated, he at firſt carried his ideas ſo far, that he applied for an augmentation of 20,000 men: but that was ſo truly laughable, that it was ſcouted. This unreaſonable plan was reduced to 15,000 men; but foreſeeing, that it would not be eaſy to carry even that point at one ſtroke, he artfully introduced a reſolution, that 12,000 men were neceſſary for the defence of the country, knowing that we dared not meddle with the 3500, which we had always paid for England.

* They are given as reported in the ſecond volume of the Parliamentary (Iriſh) Debates, Append. No. LXX. They exhibit a curious ſpectacle of two ſuch great orators deſcending into the moſt pitiable and invidious perſonalities.

Thus

Thus did they become dupes to his ambition, and were ſaddled with an army of officers, not privates; an army of expence, not of uſe; an army of the miniſter, not of the people. Then the report of the committee in 1768, ſtating the burthenſome military eſtabliſhment as the cauſe of the great national inability and diſtreſs, having been read by the clerk, Mr. Flood moved, "That an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, ſtating the "ſame, and that ſince an augmentation had taken place, additional burdens "had been laid on, by which they had been prevented from making any "effectual retrenchment, but had much increaſed the expence of the nation."

Mr. Denis Browne entirely coincided in the motion of the Right Honorable gentleman, and if miniſters ſhould oppoſe that great œconomical meaſure, it muſt appear to that houſe, that their intentions and declarations were widely different: and he had no doubt but many reſpectable gentlemen, whom he ſaw diſpoſed to concur with the adminiſtration, would abandon it.

The attorney general ſpoke ſtrongly againſt the motion, as did alſo Sir John (now Lord) Blaquiere, Mr. Ogle, Sir Hercules Langriſhe, Mr. Conolly, the provoſt, and ſeveral others: amongſt whom in particular the recorder referred to the volunteers, whom he now ſtrongly recommended to return to their occupations. Was garriſon duty and other military ſervice to be for ever thrown upon the volunteers? Were agriculture, the ſhuttle, and the loom, for ever to remain neglected? No: let the volunteers have reſt, and return to their occupations. They had uſed their arms in their country's ſervice, and, he had no doubt, would keep them bright and ready to ſupport the law and conſtitution of their country when attacked.* On the other

* The Duke of Portland was by many accuſed of not wiſhing well to Ireland, and not acting fairly by her or Great Britain with reference to the 100,000*l.* granted for raiſing the 20,000 ſeamen for the Britiſh navy: he was charged with employing a great part of that money in raiſing fencible regiments, to bring into diſrepute the volunteers; and on that account Mr. D. Browne moved the Houſe of Commons on the 1ſt of November, that the proper officers ſhould be ordered to lay before the houſe an account of the expenditure of that ſum of money, with the agents receipts for the ſame. This was afterwards denied by Mr. Yelverton, attorney general, on the 29th of November, who ſaid, that from the inveſtigation of the accounts of the expenditure of the 100,000*l.* it turned out, that the inſinuation of part of it being applied to raiſe fencible regiments was falſe. To which Mr. Flood replied, that he had good reaſon to believe, that men were enliſted for the navy, and were afterwards turned over to fencible regiments, and that they were ſuffered to retain their bounty money, which was the ſame thing as if the money had been given to them in the firſt inſtance. 2 Parl. Deb. p. 224.

hand, Mr. Corry, Mr. Browne of Trinity College, Mr. Parſons, Mr. Gardiner, and others ſpoke ſtrongly for the motion: they called upon miniſters to act up to their boaſted profeſſions of œconomy: that peace was the only moment, when they could with propriety reduce the military eſtabliſhment, and then they ought to do it, unleſs they intended that kingdom merely as a barrack to Great Britain. Mr. Flood ſpoke a ſecond time in the debate, which ended with Mr. Grattan's reply, who roſe to ſpeak once more on this ſubject, which had been ſo frequently before the houſe. The queſtion is, ſaid he, will you withdraw from the common cauſe, that quota of troops, which hitherto you have maintained? Are the circumſtances of the country ſuch as you think demand it, and if you are crazy enough to think ſo, will his majeſty aſſent to that opinion? There never was a time, when he could make reduction with a worſe grace, becauſe this country is now as eminently happy in trade, as Britain is the reverſe.

In 1769 England poſſeſſed, almoſt unrivalled, the trade of all the world. She poſſeſſed America, and owed one hundred and fifty millions leſs than ſhe owes at preſent. Ireland had no trade at all, and her conſtitution was denied; yet at that day it was thought wiſe to augment the army; and ſhall we reduce it now, when we have obtained a free conſtitution, a free trade? When we have obtained a judge's bill, a limited mutiny bill, an *Habeas Corpus* bill? When every thing that we have demanded, has been conceded? Shall we in that moment withdraw our quota of troops? Before ſhe obtained theſe advantages we ſaid to Britain, that provided ſhe would acknowledge our conſtitutional and commercial rights, we would ſtand or fall with her. And when they have been acknowledged to the full ſatisfaction of every man, it is propoſed to withdraw the ſupport of our army. Suppoſe, inſtead of ſaying we will ſtand or fall with Great Britain, we had ſaid, "and when thoſe "things ſhall be done (when our rights ſhall be acknowledged and eſtabliſh-"ed), we will then in return, withdraw from you the ſupport of our army;" and yet in effect, this is the propoſal at preſent made. I do not entirely agree in all that has been ſaid of gratitude; we owe no gratitude but for the plantation trade; but this we owe to England, and to our own honour, that we ſhould not depart from an old covenant. The navy of England protects our trade, and we, as an equivalent, pay 70,000*l.* a year to maintain the troops deſtined to ſerve in the plantations. This is not a dear purchaſe for partaking that, which has coſt England ſo many millions. Has ſucceſs made

made us niggardly, and ſhall we become unkind to England, juſt at the moment ſhe has ſhewn kindneſs to us? We have indeed held out the language of magnanimity to England, and ſhall we fail in the performance? No; there are many other places to make retrenchment, we grant a penſion liſt of 80,000*l.* a year, yet complain of 70,000*l.* paid to an army; paid for the protection of the Britiſh navy. We may indeed make very great reductions in the army extraordinaries. We may make great reductions in the revenue department, and in others. Thoſe reductions will, I truſt, far exceed the pay of our augmentation. Theſe are retrenchments that ought to be made; but the number of our forces ought not to be diminiſhed.

On the queſtion being put, there appeared a majority of 74 againſt the queſtion; ayes 58, noes 132.

On the 10th of November Sir Henry Cavendiſh again brought forward his motion, that the condition of that kingdom required every practicable retrenchment conſiſtent with the intereſt and ſafety thereof, and with the honor and dignity of his majeſty's government. Mr. Maſon ſeconded the motion, and Mr. Attorney General gave it his hearty concurrence, now that the national accounts had been examined. And as the ſpeaker was about to put the queſtion, Mr. Flood ſaid, he had an amendment to propoſe; the motion as it ſtood at preſent, was giving too great a latitude to adminiſtration; it was leaving them to purſue any meaſure they thought proper, they had only to ſay, that it was for the intereſt of the nation, or for the dignity of his majeſty's government. He therefore moved for the following amendment, "and that the military eſtabliſhment in particular will admit of a conſiderable retrenchment, inaſmuch, as 12,000 men are at preſent ſufficient, not only to maintain the defence of this kingdom, but alſo to afford Great Britain, for her ſervice abroad, as many men as we granted to her by the augmentation; and inaſmuch as many important ſavings may be made in the expence of maintaining that number of 12,000 men;" he obſerved, that certainly ingratitude could not be objected to the motion, ſince they were not about to withdraw their aid from Great Britain, but to allow her as many men out of 12,000 men as they formerly did out of 15,000 men; and ſurely there was more generoſity in giving three out of twelve, than three out of fifteen.

This amendment brought on a very long and warm debate, in which General Luttrell and Major Doyle and ſome other military gentlemen ſpoke

ſtrenuouſly in ſupport of the army, which had been mentioned in a very invidious manner, and placed in an ungracious compariſon with the volunteers. *On the diviſion, 65 were for the amendment, and 143 againſt it. Then the original motion of Sir Henry Cavendiſh was put and unanimouſly carried. On the ſame day, when the attorney general put one of his official motions, namely, "that the ſupply to be granted to his majeſty to commence the 25th of December, 1783, continue for 15 months, that is, "until the 25th of March, 1785," Sir Edward Newnham ſaid, it was the general ſenſe of the nation, that the money bills ſhould not exceed the term of ſix months, and he accordingly moved, that the word *ſix* ſhould be ſubſtituted for fifteen. Mr. Hartley ſeconded the motion, as he had been inſtructed by his conſtituents to vote for no bill of ſupply for a longer term than ſix months, until the great national meaſures then pending were decided: on this diviſion 32 were for and 92 againſt the amendment.

Mr. Grattan having oppoſed the retrenchment in the military eſtabliſhment, and having uniformly avowed his principles of œconomy, on the next day moved for a committee to enquire into the expence of collecting the revenue; and ſaid he was convinced it was an object of retrenchment, as though there were an increaſe in the revenue laſt year of 150,000*l.* it would have been much more, if the collection had not amounted to 16½ per cent. and he was certain, that it could be collected at an expence of 10 per cent.

Mr. Beresford aſſured the houſe, that the more minutely the accounts of the revenue department were inſpected, the greater would be his ſatisfaction, and that of the gentlemen, with whom he had the honor to ſit at the revenue board; however, the amount of the collection, though much greater than he wiſhed, was not ſo great as the Right Hon. gentleman had ſtated, for in it he had included the incidental expences of the cuſtom-houſe, and great works then carrying on; were theſe deducted, the expence of collection would not amount to 14 per cent. though formerly it had been 18: beſides, in comparing that country with England, gentlemen had fallen into a miſtake. A ſingle great diſtiller in England, paid more duty than a whole county there, though he required but one officer to watch him, and the country perhaps forty. He ſaid, there were twenty-ſix ports in Ireland, of which nineteen did not produce a revenue equal to the expence of guarding them; and

* 11 Com. Journ. p. 94.

*the*

the whole balance in the public favor, aroſe from ſeven ports, Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Belfaſt, Limerick, Derry, and Newry, though the neceſſity of watching the inferior ports muſt be obvious to every man. It was ſaid, that in England the revenue was collected at ſeven per cent. but of thoſe ſeven ports, that had been mentioned, the revenue was collected at five and nine-tenths per cent. The manner of eſtimating the expence of collecting in England, and comparing with Ireland, was unfair; England was a market for the whole world, goods imported there paid heavy duties, for the purpoſe of re-exportation: when thoſe duties were drawn back, that increaſed her fictitious revenue, though it did not add one farthing to the real one; and that reduces the relative proportion of expence in the collecting.

The revenue board of Ireland, which was originally conſtituted for revenue buſineſs only, had the buſineſs and expences of the whole ſtate heaped upon it. The expence of paſſing bills, and ſundry circumſtances of the law buſineſs, had raiſed that particular charge from 1800*l.* per annum to 4800*l.* The revenue cruizers, which government employed for convoying troops, had in the laſt year ſtood in 32,000*l.* which was charged as a revenue expence. Nay, the very expreſſes, which government ſent to different places on government affairs, were paid by the revenue board. Thoſe things together made a prodigious ſum, and it was all charged to the prodigality of the commiſſioners of revenue, who were blamed for expences, in which they had no manner of concern. The revenue incidents had many improper charges upon them; and ſalaries, which if they ought to appear any where, ought to appear upon the eſtabliſhment.

Mr. Grattan ſaid, he thought the Right Hon. gentleman had very candidly explained to the houſe the condition of that department. As to the incidents, which increaſed the expence of collecting, not by induſtry but by idleneſs, they ſhould be curtailed at preſent, and guarded from abuſe in future; for if people who had ſalaries on that liſt, were placed on the penſion liſt, parliament would ſee them, and ſtrike them off. But as at preſent circumſtanced, the revenue incidents might be called a concealed penſion liſt.

Sir John Parnel admitted there were many abuſes in the revenue department; that department was under a particular control, but he rejoiced that that control was under the control of parliament. He recommended to the country gentlemen to teach their tenants obedience to the revenue laws, as there was amongſt all ranks of people a diſpoſition to oppoſe them.

So

So unwearied was the preſent oppoſition in preſſing military retrenchment upon the houſe, that they omitted no opportunity during the ſeſſion of bringing it forward, but always with the like failure of ſucceſs. Their party conſiſted of about one ſixth of the houſe, and as uſual, few or none were moved from their ranks by eloquence, argument, or reaſon. When on the 13th of November Mr. Foſter had reported the different reſolutions from the committee of ſupply, which the houſe unanimouſly agreed to, Sir Edward Newnham again attempted to urge the granting of the ſupplies for ſix months, when Mr. Grattan obſerved, that the queſtion had been already debated and decided, and nothing new was then offered; on which Sir Edward Newnham remarked, that there was a time, when the Right Hon. gentleman and he coincided in opinion, and he was ſorry to find, that they then differed ſo widely. Mr. Grattan replied, that their differences were leſs, than apprehended: let but parliamentary reform be tacked to the money bill, and he would agree to it.

When the protecting duties were brought before the houſe, they were not ſupported by government in the way, which the half-ſtarved unemployed manufacturers expected: they had been taught to conſider them eſſentially neceſſary for the ſupport of trade: they flocked round the parliament houſe in anxious expectation of the protecting duties being eſtabliſhed in their favor. Government took great offence at the concourſe of people crowding the avenues to the houſe, and conſidered that aſſemblage brought thither by oppoſition to intimidate. It was however obſerved from the oppoſition bench, that the people came thither as ſupplicants, not as rioters, and they ought to meet the protection of every man in that houſe: but apprehenſions were conceived, that the diſpoſition to poſtpone the buſineſs foreboded no good: if it went over the receſs, it would be heard of no more. When Mr. Gardiner, on account of whoſe illneſs the committee of ways and means had been kept open for the purpoſe of receiving his propoſition for the protecting duties, appeared in the houſe on the 20th of November, he obſerved, that he was convinced, that the buſineſs muſt gain ground by delay, for every enquiry would add ſtrength to the reaſons for its expediency. He therefore requeſted his Right Hon. friend (Mr. Foſter) would adjourn the committee until Monday. In what he propoſed he was far from having any idea of prohibitory duties, he only wanted reſtrictive duties, and thoſe only on ſuch articles as could be manufactured in Ireland.

He

He took that occaſion to advert to the conduct of people out of doors, who had filled the avenues of the houſe, as if to intimidate its members: he had ſent to them, and declared what he then did, that if ſuch improper conduct were perſiſted in, he had done with the buſineſs; and he had the pleaſure to find, that the maſter manufacturers had entered into very ſtrong reſolutions for preventing a repetition of ſuch unwarrantable behaviour.

Mr. Hartley* informed the houſe, that a great number of weavers had waited

* The popular ſpirit and wiſhes appear at this time to have been ſtrongly with the oppoſition, as appears from the fate of a petition from the chamber of commerce reſpecting the importation of tobacco, preſented by Mr. Hartley to the Houſe of Commons on the 24th of November, 1783, when the government ſide of the houſe, and particularly Mr. Fitzgibbon, urged that the houſe could take no cognizance of the petition of a body of men, ſtyling themſelves, *A Council of a Chamber of Commerce*, a title utterly unknown to the houſe, either as a chartered or a corporate body. Moſt of the leaders of the oppoſition were for receiving the petition (2 P. D. p. 207, and 11 Com. Journ. p. 186.) At length Prime Serjeant Kelly roſe and ſaid, "I feel myſelf extremely hurt by ſome gentlemen "making any diſtinction between one ſide of the houſe and the other; I ſay place ought to make "no difference, and I truſt there are honorable men on both ſides. I am alſo hurt at hearing a "miniſter's majority mentioned, no man who has not the merits of the queſtion with him can "have a majority: I hope it will never be preſumed, that a majority can be obtained in any other "way. For my part, though I hold an office under government, I never will object to this peti- "tion for the ſtyle; there is no fault in the ſtyle; here is a ſelect body of men, called the chamber "of commerce; the uſe of names is to know, who the perſons petitioning are, in caſe of any im- "propriety we may call them before us. To this petition we have the name of an honorable member "of this houſe, he is anſwerable for it, it is acknowledged to be a matter of importance, and ſhall "we for mere matter of form reject an important petition ſo well authenticated? No, though I am "on this ſide of the houſe, and will ſupport government in every honorable meaſure, and in none "but honorable meaſures, I will receive this petition; no power on earth ſhall prevent me." (Here a loud clapping of hands taking place, the gallery was ordered to be cleared. As ſoon as that order was complied with, and the houſe was cleared,)

Mr. Fitzgibbon warmly cenſured the indecent conduct of the gallery, and moved, that the houſe ſhould enter into a reſolution, "That a groſs and indecent outrage, by clapping of hands, having "been committed this night by the ſtrangers admitted to the gallery, reſolved, that the ſerjeant at "arms do from time to time take into his cuſtody any ſtranger or ſtrangers, that he ſhall ſee or be "informed of to be in the houſe, while any committee of the whole houſe, or the committee of "privileges is ſitting, and that this order ſhould be ſtrictly enforced." The motion was ſupported by a great number of the treaſury ſide, and oppoſed by the other part of the houſe as ſtrenuouſly.

Mr. Flood, who came in late, was an able advocate for the admiſſion of conſtituents to hear their debates,

waited on him, and aſſured him the violence complained of did not proceed from them, but gave him to underſtand, that they were ſet on by perſons enemies to the meaſure in queſtion.

The great outcry of the oppoſition againſt Lord Northington's adminiſtration was, for acts inſtead of profeſſions of œconomy. Mr. Flood was their leader, and they were joined by many perſons of great perſonal talent, influence, and property. They differed alſo from the generality of the miniſterialiſts upon the ſubject of the volunteers: government conſidered the armed aſſociations of the volunteers to have performed their miſſion, and that they then ought to diſarm and diſband. Oppoſition looked to the attainment of further rights or liberties, and conſidered the influence of the volunteers as neceſſary to procure the future, as they had been inſtrumental in acquiring the former.* The next popular queſtion, which they urged was a reform in the repreſentation of the people. In conſequence of the reſolutions of the Dungannon meeting, on the 8th of September, 1783, delegates were appointed to form a grand national convention, which aſſembled at Dublin on the 10th of November, when the Earl of Charlemont was nominated their chairman. They proceeded to enquire into the moſt eligible ſyſtem of parliamentary reform, and having entered into a variety of reſolutions expreſſive of their ſentiments on that ſubject, they requeſted, that Mr. Flood would introduce a

debates, and declared, that if gentlemen were not aſhamed of their conduct, they had nothing to fear from its being known, and that it was unreaſonable and unjuſt to preclude all from the galleries for the intemperate conduct of a few.

The motion was then carried,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ayes | — | 157 |
| Noes | — | 72 |

* The oppoſition ſtuck faſt to the retrenchment of the military, diſdaining the petty ſavings that were to be made in the civil eſtabliſhment. Mr. Molyneux had indeed on the 22d of November (as he ſaid himſelf upon his own free motion) moved for and carried a vote of the Houſe of Commons for an additional ſalary of 4000*l.* per ann. to the lord lieutenant: there were 77 for and 54 againſt it. Mr. Grattan found himſelf called upon by the principles of œconomy, which he had ever maintained, to take ſome active ſtep towards forwarding that neceſſary ſyſtem, eſpecially after he had oppoſed Mr. Flood and his friends frequent motions for military retrenchment. On the 26th of the month, when Mr. Grattan moved to take into conſideration all practical retrenchments in the collecting of the revenue, he ſaid he ſhould ſtrenuouſly have oppoſed Mr. Molyneux's motion had he been in the houſe. It is to be obſerved, that Lord Northington declined accepting of the addition.

*bill*

bill for that purpoſe into the Houſe of Commons. It has been ſaid, that the government was at firſt ſeriouſly alarmed at this meeting of the national convention, and that a privy council was ſummoned to determine on the propriety of arreſting both the chairman and ſecretary of the meeting; but the meaſure having been conſidered as hazardous, another expedient was adopted: It was artfully contrived to divide the opinion of the aſſembly reſpecting the extenſion of certain privileges to Roman Catholics; and the common intereſt and ſentiment of the people in general being thus diſunited, the efforts of the convention became leſs formidable, and all means were deviſed to oppoſe and decry them in parliament.

*On the 29th of November, 1783, Mr. Flood moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament. This was immediately oppoſed by the attorney general. "I do not mean (ſaid he) "to go into the diſcuſſion of the bill, but I would wiſh the honorable mem- "ber would now ſtate the neceſſity there is for bringing it in at all, and alſo, "who thoſe perſons are, who are diſcontented with the preſent conſtitution, "and with whom it originates: for I will ſay, if it originate with an armed "body, it is inconſiſtent with the freedom of debate for this houſe to receive "it. We ſit not here to regiſter the edicts of another aſſembly, or to receive "propoſitions at the point of the bayonet: I admire the volunteers, ſo long "as they confine themſelves to their firſt line of conduct; it was their glory "to preſerve the domeſtic peace of their country, and to render it formidable "to foreign enemies: it was their glory to aid the civil magiſtrate, and to "ſupport their parliament; but when they turn aſide from this honorable "conduct; when they form themſelves into a debating ſociety, and with "that rude inſtrument the bayonet, probe and explore a conſtitution, which "requires the niceſt hand to touch, I own my reſpect and veneration for "them is deſtroyed. If it ſhall be avowed, that this bill originated with "them, I will reject it at once, becauſe I conſider that it decides the queſ- "tion, whether this houſe, or the convention, are the repreſentatives of the "people, and whether parliament, or the volunteers, be to be obeyed. I "conſider it as a queſtion involving the exiſtence of the conſtitution; and it "is in vain, whatever may be avowed or pretended, to ſhut our ears and "eyes, to what every one has ſeen and heard, armed men walking bare-

* 2 Parl. Deb. p. 353, &c.

" headed through the ſtreets under a military eſcort, courting the ſmiles " and applauſes of the multitude, and meeting in the pantheon of divinities, " the rotunda, for we are told it is blaſphemy to utter a word againſt them; " forming committees and ſub-committees; receiving reports and petitions, " and going through all the mockery of parliament. It is in vain then to " pretend, that this bill is not their mandate; and can any man, who has the " leaſt regard for that conſtitution, which our anceſtors purchaſed with their " blood, bear to ſee government forced from its centre by theſe reformers? " I think the time is now arrived, things are come to ſuch a criſis, that even " our ſelf-preſervation, as a parliament, depends on the vote we ſhall now " give. This is the ſpot to make our ſtand, here we muſt draw our line; for " we have retired ſtep by ſtep, as they have advanced: we are now on a pre- " cipice; and to recede one ſtep more, plunges us into inevitable ruin.

" Sir, I lament, for the honor of my countrymen, that they ſhould have " choſen this period for introducing innovation, or exciting diſcontent. " What is the occaſion, that calls forth their diſpleaſure againſt the conſtitu- " tion, and what is our preſent ſituation? Bleſſed with a free trade and a free " conſtitution, our peers reſtored to their rights and to their lawful authority, " our judges rendered independent, the manacles fallen from our commons, " all foreign control aboliſhed, we take our rank among nations, as a free " ſtate; and is this a time to alter that conſtitution, which has endured " ſo many ſtorms, and riſen ſuperior to all oppreſſions? Will the armed aſſo- " ciations, wiſe as they may be, be able to form a better, though they reject " this? Before they have for a ſingle ſeſſion entered into the enjoyment of " it, like children, they throw away the bauble, for which with all the eager- " neſs of an infantine caprice, they have ſtruggled; or like ſpendthrifts, " they would make away with their inheritance, before they enter into poſſeſ- " ſion of it. But I will ſay to the volunteers, you ſhall not throw from you " the bleſſings you may poſſeſs under your happy conſtitution, cultivate " your own proſperity, and enjoy the fruits of your virtue, beat your ſwords " into ploughſhares, return to your different occupations, leave the buſineſs " of legiſlation in thoſe hands, where the laws have placed it, and where you " have had ample proof it will be uſed for the advantage of the country. " But, Sir, it is in vain on the part of the convention, to diſclaim their in- " tent of overawing the parliament; nay, I am told their ſeſſion is not yet " prorogued, and perhaps they may meet on Monday to reverſe the opinion,

" which

" which this houſe may give this night. Sir, I call upon the houſe to exert " their ſpirit, and vindicate their rights; I ſhall call upon them in the words " of a great man—' *Expergiſcimini aliquando et capeſſite rem.*'

" I appeal to the candour of gentlemen: are they ſure they come into par- " liament to deliver their ſentiments as freely as they would do, if they were " not members of the convention? Or will gentlemen who are not, vote as " free? Is it decent, while the convention are watching to controul our ac- " tions, to enter into any ſubject that they can propoſe? I have the higheſt " reſpect for the volunteers as men, and for their former actions; but if the " queſtion appear to the houſe, as it does to me, the reſult of any reſolution " formed at that meeting, it is our duty to reject it with indignation."

Mr. Flood ſaid, he had not mentioned the bill as being the bill of any ſet of men, or any body of men whatſoever. He was as free to enter into the diſcuſſion of that bill as any gentleman in the houſe, and with as little prepoſſeſſion in favor of what he ſhould propoſe. He preferred it to the houſe, as the bill of his right honorable friend who ſeconded him. Would the houſe receive it from them? In the laſt parliament it was ordered, that leave be given to bring in a bill for the more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament. This was in the Duke of Portland's adminiſtration; an adminiſtration which the right honorable gentleman profeſſed to admire, and which he would not ſuſpect of overturning the conſtitution. Armed with the authority of that precedent, he little thought any one would be ſo deſperate as to give ſuch a violent oppoſition to the ſimple introduction of a bill. He then roſe for the firſt time, to ſpeak upon the ſubject, and called upon every man, auditor, or ſpectator, in the houſe, or in the galleries, to remember this truth; that if the volunteers were introduced into this debate, it was not he who had done it.

The right honorable gentleman ſays, if the volunteers have approved, he will oppoſe it: but I ſay, I bring it in as a member of this houſe, ſupported with the powerful aid of the right honorable gentleman, who ſits behind me, (Mr. Brownlow): we bring it in as members of parliament, never mentioning the volunteers. I aſk you, will you receive it from us, from us your members, neither intending by any thing within doors, or without, to intimidate or overawe you? I aſk, will you receive it as our bill; or will you conjure up a military phantom of interpoſition to affright yourſelves? I have not introduced the volunteers; but if the volunteers are aſperſed, I will defend their conduct againſt all the world. By whom were the commerce and conſtitution

of this country recovered? By the volunteers. Why did not the right honorable gentleman make a declamation againſt them, when they lined our ſtreets; when parliament paſſed through ranks of thoſe virtuous armed citizens, to demand the rights of an inſulted nation? Are they different men at this day; or is the right honorable gentleman different? He was then one of their body; he is now their accuſer. He who ſaw the ſtreets lined, who rejoiced, who partook in their glory, is now their accuſer. What has changed them ſince that time? Are they leſs wiſe, leſs brave, leſs ardent in their country's cauſe? Or has their admirable conduct made him their enemy? May they not ſay, we have not changed, but you have changed? He cannot now bear to hear of volunteers: but I will aſk him, (and I will have a ſtarling taught to halloo it in his ear,) Who got you the free trade; who got you the conſtitution? Who made you a nation? The volunteers. If they were the men you now deſcribe them, why did you accept of their ſervice? Why did you not then accuſe them? If they were ſo dangerous, why did you paſs through their ranks, with your ſpeaker at your head, to demand a conſtitution? Why did you not then fear the ills you now apprehend? Have your lord-lieutenants refuſed the ſervice of thoſe men? Look back to their offers in Lord Carliſle's adminiſtration. Have not ſuch of them as could obtain that honour, been proud to be eſcorted by them to ſea! And has not parliament returned repeated thanks to this body of men, who are now ſo degenerated, that rectitude becomes depravity in them? Were not reſolutions ſought from them to give a ſanction to the inadequate ſecurity of ſimple repeal? When betrayed into wrong, they were cheriſhed; now, when right, they are oppoſed.

What do ſome of the greateſt men in England ſay, (ſpeaking of the volunteers) "That the hiſtory of mankind, the annals of the world do not furniſh ſuch another glorious example of patriotiſm and moderation?" And now will any man condemn them, if they wiſh to crown themſelves with never fading glory, and finiſh their labours by rendering perfect that conſtitution, which their labours have acquired? Should you comply, it would for ever render unneceſſary the interference of ſuch bodies of men as they are. I am conſcious, that I have not done juſtice to that much honoured, and much injured body of men; but be it remembered, that it was not I who introduced their name; it was not I who wiſhed to inflame your paſſions, when I had not arguments to ſupport me: it was not I who wiſhed to debauch them on the ſide of fear: ſuch a proceeding ſhews the rottenneſs of the cauſe. *If* the

the volunteers and the parliament ſhall ever be committed, (which God Almighty forbid) no great thanks will be due to thoſe men, who repreſent the volunteers as endeavouring to dragoon parliament. Men who endeavour to exaſperate them, and if their moderation were not greater than the wiſdom of their accuſers, great and miſerable would be the confuſion indeed; but they have too much wiſdom not to deſpiſe their accuſers; though I will tell the man, who accuſes them, that there was a time, when he was proud to join in their ranks, and ſhare the glory of their conduct.

I am called on for an explanation of my plan of reform, in order that exceptions may be taken to it; but I am ready to explain it, and to refute all exceptions on the ground of reaſon and argument. As in this houſe votes go by tale, and not by weight; and as the vote of the meaneſt wretch that ever diſgraced the walls of parliament, though repreſenting the moſt venal borough, tells for as much as the moſt illuſtrious character, repreſenting the firſt county in the kingdom; the people wiſh to correct the ill-effects of this, by opening the boroughs, and giving them an opportunity of being virtuous. This is the voice of the people, and it is oppoſed becauſe it is the demand of the volunteers; but the volunteers and the people are the ſame; they have been made conſtitutional by every act, but that of being placed on your eſtabliſhment, which they deſpiſe. Does any man ſay, that there is not a poſitive act of parliament, directing every proteſtant to bear arms? And will you ſay, that becauſe one man fulfils more of his duty, as a citizen, than another, that he ſhould leſs enjoy a citizen's privilege? Or will any man ſay, that becauſe the volunteers, in obedience to the laws, bear arms, therefore that obedience ſhould ſtrip them of their franchiſe.

But who will deny, that the repreſentation of cities and boroughs demand reform? And are plans of reform to be rejected, becauſe agreeable to the volunteers? If ſo, how came the Duke of Portland to ſend volunteer delegates to the throne with letters to deliver into the ſacred hand of majeſty? And if the Duke of Portland acted thus, will any man ſay, that the volunteers have ſince done any thing to transform them into the Gorgons and hydras they have been repreſented? No, they are not changed, they are ſeen through the medium of borough intereſt; it is this, that has given them this terrible aſpect; it is the ſordid intereſt of a proſtituted government to ſay they have ſtrength, though it be the ſtrength of borough-mongers; but it is the ſtrength of a virtuous government to be ſupported by the public good opinion; and it is no credit

credit to any government to depend rather on a venal parliament, than on the honeſt voice of an ingenuous nation. The bill ſets at defiance all objection; for is there a man who will ſay, however political declamation may attempt to miſlead, that the conſtitution wants no reform? Will any man ſay, that that conſtitution is perfect, when he knows that the honour of the peerage may be obtained by any ruffian, who poſſeſſes borough intereſt!

Mr. Flood then proceeded to trace the general outline of the plan of reform agreed to at the convention; and concluded with ſaying: I ſhall neither endeavour to intimidate nor overawe the houſe: but, on the contrary, I ſhall moſt humbly hope, that in the infancy of your liberty, whilſt a body of freemen and citizens, who are determined to treat with reſpect that conſtitution, which they have recovered by fortitude, bear arms for their country's ſervice, you will not go to fiſh for objections, until theſe people ſhall do ſomething derogatory from that authority, which they have eſtabliſhed; no body of men can make me affirm to be right what I know to be wrong; neither will I be ſo abſurd as to deny that, which I know to be right, becauſe other men think ſo too.

Scarcely a member, who had ever opened his mouth in the houſe, was ſilent on this important occaſion: the debate laſted till paſt three o'clock on the Sunday morning. Several of the members, who admitted the neceſſity of the reform, voted againſt it under the circumſtance of the ſitting of a national convention of delegates, who had previouſly agitated the queſtion, and were waiting the reſult of its diſcuſſion in parliament. This was the firſt blow given to the credit and power of the volunteers. Several alſo of the minority gave the expreſs inſtructions of their conſtituents as their reaſon for voting for the bill. Towards the cloſe of the debate, Mr. Grattan ſpoke for a ſhort time, declaring himſelf decidedly the friend of a parliamentary reform. It has always been, ſaid he, my favorite object, to increaſe by thoſe means the power of the people. He was glad to inveſtigate that ſubject, let it come from what quarter it might; it did not come before in a queſtionable ſhape; neither did he ſee any thing to juſtify an oppoſition to his favourite ſcheme. He loved to blend the idea of parliament and volunteers; they had hitherto concurred in eſtabliſhing their conſtitution in the laſt parliament, and he hoped they would do it in the preſent. He recommended, therefore, an union between parliament and the illuſtrious body of volunteers, which union it ſhould be the ſtudy of his life to preſerve. The queſtion having been loudly called for, when the Speaker

Speaker was riſing to put it, Mr. Flood ſaid, " I have very often found, when a queſtion cannot be controverted by fair argument, it is thrown out by a majority calling for the queſtion; but it is impoſſible for the mind of man to bend to mere matter, or to be ſatisfied with ſuch conduct. I am aſked, is not this bill the order of ſome other aſſembly? I never received any order. I have examined with men of all ranks upon this ſubject, and approve it; but what appearance of hoſtility or control is there in the preſent application? Have the volunteers lined the ſtreets, or drawn up before your houſe? No; they have given their opinion with all humbleneſs and deference to yours, and beg you will take it up. How could they more proſtrate themſelves at the feet of parliament? This bill was moved a year ago, when there was no convention ſitting; and will you now reject it, becauſe men, who ſometimes wear ſwords, and ſometimes wear none, approve it? The volunteers of Ireland are a peculiar body of men, they are citizens as well as ſoldiers; nor does their ſkill and diſcipline, as ſoldiers, deſtroy their franchiſe as citizens."

Mr. Daly confeſſed he was aſhamed, that the gentleman who had made this motion, ſhould not only evade giving an anſwer to the enquiry, " whether it " were the reſult of deliberations in the conventions?" but almoſt to deny it.

Mr. Flood. I ſaid, they were my own ſentiments.

Mr. Daly. I did not ſay they were not his own ſentiments; but they were more notoriouſly the ſentiments of the convention, whatever influence he might have had in forming them; and he ſaid, that he brought them thither by order of that body. He proteſted, that while an armed aſſembly was ſitting in the capital, their debate was not free. We are told of the great moderation manifeſted by the delegates, conſidering how powerfully they are ſupported; but, (ſaid Mr. Daly,) as I did not oppoſe, or ſcorn the volunteers, when weak, as I never went to a county meeting, and with a contumelious aſpect, aſked if the country were arrayed, and when anſwered, no, never turned my back upon them; neither will I now, when they are ſtrong and mighty, turn my back to them; but I will meet them as a friend, and will ſay to them, you are advancing to anarchy and deſtruction; I beſeech you retreat while you may with honour; for there is a turbulent demagogue amongſt you, that urges you to your own diſgrace.

It has been the misfortune of this country, that parliament has, in too many inſtances, for a while withſtood the wiſhes of the people, but has yielded in the end; the conſequence is, that the people are told by the demagogue, perſevere,

ſevere, and you will at laſt carry your point. But this is the time to draw a line, and I do rely upon it. I pledge myſelf for the conſequence, that if parliament act with firmneſs, the people will be content; in a ſhort time they will deſpiſe the promoters of faction, and all their boaſted menaces will vaniſh in the air. But if parliament recede one ſtep now, it will fall into a gulph of inevitable deſtruction.

Upon a diviſion, there appeared

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| For receiving the bill - | 49 |
| Againſt it - | 158 |

Then Mr. Attorney-General moved the following reſolutions:

* *Reſolved*, That it is now become neceſſary to declare, that this houſe will maintain its juſt rights and privileges againſt all encroachments whatſoever.

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| Ayes - - | 150 |
| Noes - - | 68 |

And then Mr. Conolly made the following motion, which was carried unanimouſly.

*Reſolved*, That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to declare the perfect ſatisfaction, which we feel in the many bleſſings we enjoy under his majeſty's moſt auſpicious government, and our preſent happy conſtitution; and that at this time we find it peculiarly incumbent upon us to expreſs our determined reſolution to ſupport the ſame with our lives and fortunes.

Notwithſtanding, Mr. Flood, the great leader of the oppoſition, immediately after this debate went over to England, ſeveral matters were brought before parliament by his adherents.

Mr. Molyneux introduced to the houſe once more the queſtion of an abſentee tax: he complained, that before the buſineſs wanted ſupport, many were prominently forward in offering their aſſiſtance; now that it was before them, they excuſed themſelves, ſaying, the time was improper. Thus, after a long debate, the motion was loſt by a diviſion of 184 againſt 22.

On the 9th of December, 1783, Mr. D. Brown prefaced a motion for an addreſs to the crown, with a moſt diſtreſsful picture of the kingdom at that period. He repreſented thoſe, who lived on the ſpoils, like waſps, ſucking their blood, and ſmiling at their ruin; he repreſented the farmer, ruined by the calamitous times, the lower order of people ſtarving, and obliged to ſell their proviſion to ſatisfy the landlord, who himſelf could barely get the means of exiſting from his lands? The avenues to the capital beſet with ſtarv-

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ing manufacturers, and at the very doors of that houſe, begging of the members to avert, by a ſmall donation, the miſeries of impending famine: their neceſſities made them bold; they even ventured into the Caſtle yard: their complaints were heard, though but ſeldom heard before, and proper ſteps were taken to relieve them; the privy council were ſummoned, the doors were barred, and the guards of the city were doubled; the garriſon ordered to hold themſelves in readineſs to maſſacre people already conquered by hunger! Such is the ſituation of your country. Yet this was the time when you were to keep up an uſeleſs and expenſive army, and miniſter to the uſeleſs pageantry of a court.

The hour of ripe iniquity had arrived; the hour of retribution would ſpeedily follow. He then moved the following reſolutions:

"That an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, humbly to lay themſelves "at his majeſty's feet, to aſſure his majeſty of their inviolable attachment to "his majeſty's perſon and government, and of the grateful ſenſe they felt of "his majeſty's paternal goodneſs and attention to his ſubjects of Ireland; "and to declare their readineſs and zeal to ſupport, in the moſt honorable "manner, at all times, the neceſſary expences of his majeſty's government, "and the dignity of his crown.

"That they thought it, however, incumbent on his faithful commons, humbly "to lay before his majeſty, that for a ſeries of years paſt, the expences of his "majeſty's government had conſtantly far exceeded the net produce of the "revenue, whereby the nation had incurred a great and accumulating debt; "and in order to diſcharge the intereſt thereof, his majeſty's faithful com-"mons had been under a neceſſity of diverting a conſiderable part of thoſe re-"venues, which formerly ſerved towards defraying the current ſervices of his "majeſty's government.

"That in the year 1773, his majeſty's faithful commons did grant ſeveral "new duties, and had ſince, from time to time, increaſed them.

"That they were induced thereto, upon the faith of promiſes made to his "majeſty's commons, by his majeſty's miniſter, that the expences of govern-"ment ſhould be retrenched, ſo that the new grants of the people, and the "promiſed retrenchment by the miniſter, ſhould concur in a ſyſtem of equali-"zation, and put an end to the ruinous practice of running in debt.

"That his majeſty's faithful commons had fully performed their part of the "engagement; but that their bounty had been ſo far from being anſwered on

" the part of his miniſters, that in no period of time had the debt of the na-
" tion advanced with ſo rapid a progreſs as ſince that period; inſomuch, that
" his majeſty's commons then found themſelves burthened with a debt enor-
" mouſly greater than it was at that period: vaſtly greater than the nation
" was ever before loaded with, and ſtill accumulating; beſides being alſo
" loaded with thoſe new taxes, which were granted for the ſole purpoſe of
" putting an end to ſo ruinous a practice.

" That his majeſty's preſent miniſters, finding themſelves unable to ſupport
" the charges of government without increaſing the debt of the nation, al-
" though aided by all the new taxes, and an increaſe of produce in the reve-
" nues; and although a very great proportion of the army were not upon
" their eſtabliſhment, did in that ſeſſion apply for 300,000*l.* to ſupply the defi-
" ciency of the revenues, ſo that his majeſty's faithful commons could not
" even then ſee any end to the ruinous accumulation of their debt.

" That ſuch a practice, if ſuffered to continue, muſt exhauſt the reſources,
" and check the trade of that country, and muſt end in the impoveriſhment
" and ruin of the nation, and ultimately diſable his majeſty's faithful com-
" mons from thoſe exertions, which might become neceſſary thereafter, and
" which they ſhould ever be moſt willing and deſirous to make in ſupport of
" his majeſty's government.

" That they had long confided in the repeated aſſurances of œconomy
" given them from time to time, by his majeſty's miniſters; but at length
" finding it in vain any longer to wait for redreſs from that quarter, they
" thought it inconſiſtent with their duty to his majeſty, and thoſe, whom they
" repreſented, any longer to refrain from applying for redreſs at the foot of
" the throne, and imploring his majeſty's protection againſt his miniſters."

Mr. Parſons ſeconded the motion. It was violently oppoſed by the attorney-general. It was, ſaid he, a queſtion, upon which the ſenſe of the houſe had been already taken three times that ſeſſion; it looked extraordinary, to have it introduced at that time, after a committee had been appointed to take into conſideration, the only plan practicable, which was a plan for the reduction of the civil eſtabliſhment; and after the houſe had paſſed a reſolution for all practicable retrenchments. He was as much an enemy as any man to the accumulation of debt, ſeſſion after ſeſſion; but the increaſe of the revenue afforded a proſpect of their being ſoon able to put an end to it, by its reaching

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the amount of their expences. It conſequently followed, that an addreſs of that nature was never leſs neceſſary than at that time.

Mr. Corry replied to the attorney-general in a moſt animated ſpeech. After having taken a view of the country from the arrival of the Duke of Portland into it, he lamented that thoſe flattering proſpects had proved all deluſion, and there was the moſt decided reaſon, in reviewing the conduct that had been holden for withdrawing their confidence from the preſent adminiſtration, and agreeing in an addreſs, which contained in itſelf an undeniable train of facts; and concluded with ſtating, that they could not confide in the promiſes of his majeſty's miniſters, and therefore implored his majeſty's aſſiſtance againſt them upon the ſubject of œconomy; the truth of that muſt appear, whether the eyes of the nation were turned to their military eſtabliſhment, to their commercial ſyſtem, or to their internal œconomy. At a late hour the queſtion was diſpoſed of, by the ſecretary's moving the order of the day, without a diviſion.

In conſequence of the commons having tacked ſome clauſes to the money bills ſent up to the lords, the Houſe of Peers, on the 4th of December, 1783, came to two ſtrong and pointed reſolutions, which on the next day they ordered to be added to the ſtanding orders of their houſe.

*I. "*Reſolved*, by the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, *nemine diſſentiente*, that all grants for the encouragement of particular manufactures, arts, and inventions, or for the conſtruction or carrying on of any public or other works, ought to be made in ſeparate acts; and that the practice of annexing ſuch grants to bills of aid or ſupply, for the ſupport of his majeſty's government, is unparliamentary, and tends to the deſtruction of the conſtitution.

II. "*Reſolved*, by the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, *nemine diſſentiente*, that this houſe will reject any bill of aid or ſupply, to which any clauſes or clauſes, the matter of which is foreign to, and different from the matter of the ſaid bill of aid or ſupply; or any clauſe or clauſes for the granting of any ſum or ſums of money for the encouragement of particular manufactures, arts, or inventions, or for the conſtruction or carrying on of any public or other works, ſhall be annexed."

Mr. Curran took up this matter as an inſult and injury offered to the dignity

* 5 Lords Journal, p. 409.

and rights of the Houſe of Commons; and gave notice, that on the 16th of that month he ſhould bring it before them; and on that day, there being a very thin houſe, he entered upon the ſubject, by obſerving, that while he reflected, that the motion he was going to make was of the utmoſt importance to the honour, and even exiſtence of that houſe; and that he had given full notice of his intention, he was much ſurpriſed at the little regard that ſeemed intended to be paid to it, as was manifeſted from the emptyneſs of thoſe benches. It was a queſtion of party; he was of no party; he deſpiſed the principle: he never did, nor never would attach himſelf to party: the queſtion went to aſſert the privileges of the people of Ireland repreſented in the Houſe of Commons, and every deſcription of men in that houſe was equally concerned in ſupporting it. It was the ſole and excluſive right of the commons of Ireland to originate and frame money bills in ſuch manner, as they ſhould think proper, and the reſolution he intended to propoſe, was only to vindicate that privilege from the encroachments of a neighbouring aſſembly, which had lately, by certain reſolutions, invaded that right, that palladium of the conſtitution, which he truſted every man in the houſe would think himſelf bounden to defend.

He was ſorry to ſay, that the conſtitution of Ireland was ſo young, that he needed not go back to a very remote period, to prove that the excluſive right of originating and framing money bills had always reſided in their houſe; but for thirty years back, it certainly had, and in England, from whence they derived their conſtitution, it always had been the practice. The peers and the crown poſſeſſed an undoubted right of rejecting ſuch bills *in toto*, but, in the commons alone reſided the power of originating or framing them; the very mode of giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills, demonſtrated that the commons alone was the ſource from whence they flowed. *His majeſty thanks his faithful commons, accepts their benevolence, and wills it to be ſo*, and this mode obtained both in Britain and Ireland. To whom ſhould the people of Ireland look for the redreſs of grievances, for the encouragement of arts, for the promotion of commerce, but to their repreſentatives in that houſe? What powerful engine had that houſe, by which it could obtain the redreſs of grievances, the encouragement of arts, for the promotion of commerce, but by including thoſe objects in the bill of ſupply? And if the right be once given up, or wreſted from the commons, they ceaſed to be the patrons and repreſentatives of the people; another aſſembly would aſſume that power, and the

people

people would learn to look for that encouragement and ſupport from the ariſtocratic, which they received from the democratic branch of the ſtate, and that houſe would become a very cypher, and its members inſtead of poſſeſſing the power of encouraging arts, rewarding merit, or in a word, of ſerving the country, would become the humble ſolicitors of another aſſembly.

From the reign of Henry III. the power of annexing the redreſs of grievances to money bills, had been the conſtitutional privilege of the commons of England; the practice of inſerting ſuch clauſes as the commons deemed proper, had obtained in Ireland for more than thirty years, and to any perſon acquainted with their conſtitution, muſt at the ſlighteſt view appear to be their inherent right: he could not therefore ſuppoſe that houſe would be ſilent, when that privilege was invaded by another aſſembly; no man entertained an higher opinion of that aſſembly than he did, and he was perſuaded, that ſo great was their lordſhips' wiſdom, that when that matter ſhould be duly conſidered by them, they would ſee the impropriety of the two reſolutions, which appeared upon their Journals. It remained for the commons, to vindicate their own privileges by a mild and temperate reſolution, which he ſhould propoſe to the houſe; for even admitting, that ſometimes a Houſe of Commons had erred in making improper grants, they ſhould rather reform themſelves, and determine not to err again, than ſubmit to have a monitor over them.

Were he addreſſing a Houſe of Commons, the moſt virtuous or the moſt corrupt, he ſhould expect to be ſupported in the meaſure; he would ſay to a virtuous houſe, the privilege of originating and framing money bills is the palladium of your liberty, the great engine to reſtrain oppreſſion, to redreſs grievances, or to encourage merit. He would ſay to a corrupt houſe, it is the palladium of your corruption, the ſecurity of the wages of your venality, the means, by which you may obtain the reward of your proſtitution. But to the houſe before which he ſtood, the arguments of virtue and of honor would be ſufficient. He then entered into a perſonal apology for the diſcontinuance of his intimacy with Mr. Flood, who if preſent he had no doubt would ſupport the motion; he ſpoke very handſomely of Mr. Flood, notwithſtanding the late difference on ſome political opinions. He then moved,

" That it is the ſole and undoubted privilege of the commons of Ireland " to originate all bills of ſupply and grants of public money, in ſuch manner " and with ſuch clauſes as they ſhall think proper."

Mr.

Mr. Parſons ſeconded the motion, which was only ſupported by 11 againſt 58.

Under the late rapid changes in the Britiſh cabinet, and the ſtill fluctuating ſtate of the adminiſtrations of both countries, it was no wonder, that the Iriſh Houſe of Commons ſhould not have ſettled into a regular ſyſtem of oppoſition: the ſubdiviſions of that general patriotiſm, in which Meſſrs. Flood and Grattan had formerly agreed, had been productive of the only oppoſition, which then exiſted: Mr. Flood having long acted in oppoſition to the Whig or Rockingham party, appeared leſs diſpoſed to coaleſce with them than Mr. Grattan, who had ever adhered to their principles. Mr. Grattan gave them full credit for every meaſure and every profeſſion: Mr. Flood diſſided in their promiſes, and arraigned their conduct. It appears to have been the ſyſtem of the Rockingham adminiſtration to leave almoſt unlimited diſcretion to the Iriſh government to ſettle their political ferment in their own way. The generality even of the more thinking people confidently looked up to the new miniſtry for ſome efficient ſteps towards the attainment of *protecting duties, a reduction in the army eſtabliſhment, œconomy in the civil department, and a reform in the popular repreſentation in parliament. The laſt of theſe objects in particular had not unreaſonably raiſed the expectations of the friends of reform to the higheſt pitch of confidence: they expected that the weight of government would have been thrown into their ſcale, as the firſt miniſter in each country, Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Rutland, had ſo recently been amongſt the moſt eager and loud in ſupport of that meaſure in Great Britain.

On the 20th of December, 1782, his majeſty's anſwer to the joint addreſs of both houſes, preſented on the 1ſt inſtant, was communicated to both houſes of parliament, and was to the following effect:

" His majeſty returns his hearty thanks to the lords ſpiritual and temporal, " and commons, in parliament aſſembled, for their dutiful and loyal addreſs. " His majeſty receives with the higheſt ſatisfaction, the ſentiments expreſſed " by his parliament reſpecting his majeſty's government; and his majeſty's " faithful parliament may reſt aſſured of his majeſty's determined reſolution " to concur with them at all times in the maintenance and preſervation of

* *i. e.* For protecting their own manufactures, and enforcing the conſumption of them at home by laying heavy duties on ſimilar manufactures imported from other countries.

" that

" that free and excellent conſtitution, on which the happineſs and intereſts " of his people of Ireland ſo eſſentially depend."

*The extraordinary movements in the cabinet and the ſenate of Great Britain

* A more important moment to the fate of the Britiſh empire certainly never exiſted than that under our preſent conſideration. For to the changes in the adminiſtration of that day are to be attributed the wonderful effects that have diſtinguiſhed the eventful period of nearly twenty years, which will cloſe the ſubject of theſe ſheets. The advantages or diſadvantages reſulting from that extraordinary revolution in the Britiſh cabinet will be eſtimated by every man reflecting on the effects of it by the political bias, intereſt, or judgment of the individual. Political differences are at all times, and particularly in the preſent, of too ſenſitive a quality for the annaliſt to touch.

(A. R. 69.) On the 8th of December, 1783, Mr. Fox's India Bill had paſſed the Houſe of Commons on a diviſion of 208 to 202, and the next day was carried up to the Houſe of Lords. Hitherto no ſymptoms had appeared, at leaſt to the public eye, that indicated the approaching fate both of the bill and its authors. Great pains indeed were taken, and with conſiderable ſucceſs, by an almoſt incredible circulation of pamphlets and political engravings, to inflame the nation againſt the meaſures and the perſons of adminiſtration; and it was alſo remarked, that in the Houſe of Commons, ſeveral of that deſcription of members, well known by the name of king's friends, gave their votes on the ſide of oppoſition. But it was generally imagined, that the coalition miniſtry was then too ſtrong to be ſhaken by the breath of popular clamour, and wholly improbable, that they ſhould have adopted a meaſure of ſuch infinite importance, either without knowing, or contrary to the wiſhes of the king. It went up to the lords on the firſt reading on the 11th of December. Lord Temple, Lord Thurlow, and the Duke of Richmond, expreſſed their abhorrence of the meaſure in the ſtrongeſt and moſt unqualified terms. After a ſhort debate, the ſecond reading was fixed for Monday, December 15.

In the mean time various rumours began to circulate, relative to ſome extraordinary motions in the interior of the court. It was confidently affirmed, that on the 11th of December the king ſignified to Lord Temple in a cloſet audience, his diſapprobation of the India Bill, and authoriſed him to declare the ſame to ſuch perſons as he might think fit; that a written note was put into his hands, in which his majeſty declared, "That he ſhould deem thoſe who ſhould vote for it not only " not his friends, but his enemies; and that if he (Lord Temple) could put this in ſtronger words, " he had full authority to do ſo." And laſtly, that in conſequence of this authority, communications had been made to the ſame purport to ſeveral peers in the upper houſe; and particularly to thoſe whoſe offices obliged them to attend the king's perſon.

The circumſtances, which happened on the ſecond reading of the bill, confirmed the probability of the truth of theſe reports. On the diviſion upon a queſtion of adjournment, the miniſters were left in a minority of 79 to 87.

The ſame day the Houſe of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Baker, took into conſideration the reports above alluded to. He ſtated ſhortly, that the public notoriety, both of the fact itſelf and of the effects it had produced, called on the houſe, which was the natural guardian of the conſtitution, for their immediate interference. He divided the criminality of the ſubject matter of the report into

Britain occaſioned a long adjournment in the Iriſh parliament, in order to give time for the neceſſary arrangements for the new miniſtry. But on the 22d

into two parts; firſt the giving ſecret advice to the crown; and, ſecondly, the uſe, that had been made of his majeſty's name, for the purpoſe of influencing the vote of members of parliament in a matter depending before them. The firſt he contended was a direct and dangerous attack upon the conſtitution. The law declared, that the king could do no wrong; and therefore had wiſely made his miniſters amenable for all the meaſures of his government. This was of the very eſſence of the conſtitution, which could no longer ſubſiſt, if perſons unknown, and upon whom, conſequently no reſponſibility could attach, were allowed to give ſecret advice to the crown. With regard to the ſecond, Mr. Baker proved, from the Journals, that to make any reference to the opinion of the king, on a bill depending in either houſe, had always been judged a high breach of the privileges of parliament; he therefore concluded with moving, "That it is now neceſſary to declare, that to report "any opinion, or pretended opinion, of his majeſty, upon any bill or other proceeding depending "in either houſe of parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, is a high crime "and miſdemeanour, derogatory to the honor of the crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges "of parliament, and ſubverſive to the conſtitution."

The motion was ſeconded by Lord Maitland, and ſtrongly oppoſed by Mr. W. Pitt, who urged the impropriety of proceeding on mere unauthenticated rumours; he concluded his ſpeech with reproaching the miniſters for their baſe attachment to their offices, though, upon their own ſtate of the caſe, they had loſt their power, and no longer poſſeſſed the confidence of their prince.

In anſwer to theſe obſervations, it was ſaid to be a ſtrong preſumption of the truth of the reports, that though ſeveral members, nearly allied to the noble earl, whoſe name had been mentioned on this occaſion, had ſpoken in the debate, none of them had ventured to aſſert they were falſe. After a long and warm debate the houſe divided, and there appeared for the motion 153, againſt it 80. It was then reſolved, "that on Monday next the houſe would reſolve itſelf into a committee of the "whole houſe, to take into conſideration the preſent ſtate of the nation."

As a change of miniſters appeared to be a meaſure determined upon by the king, and the diſſolution of parliament an immediate and neceſſary conſequence, the majority of the houſe thought no time was to be loſt in endeavouring to render the attempt as difficult as poſſible. With this view, immediately after the above reſolutions were agreed to, Mr. Erſkine made the following motion, "That it is "neceſſary to the moſt eſſential intereſts of this kingdom, and peculiarly incumbent on this houſe, "to purſue with unremitting attention the conſideration of a ſuitable remedy for the abuſes, which "have prevailed in the government of the Britiſh dominions in the Eaſt Indies; and that this "houſe will conſider as an enemy to his country any perſon who ſhall preſume to adviſe his majeſty "to prevent, or in any manner interrupt the diſcharge of this important duty."

The motion was oppoſed, as manifeſtly factious, and as interfering with the executive part of government, and trenching on the undoubted prerogative of the crown without any juſtifiable cauſe. The motion was however carried by the ſame majority with the former.

On Wedneſday the 17th of December the India Bill was rejected by the lords, on a diviſion of 95 to 76. It was remarked, that the Prince of Wales, who was in the minority in the former diviſion,

22d of December,* 1782, the ſpeaker, on preſenting the money bills, expreſſed himſelf as follows:

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

" HISTORY cannot furniſh many inſtances of ſuch re-
" markable events, as have happened in the courſe of the laſt ſeven years; of
" theſe none are more worthy of obſervation, than the changes in the human
" mind, and the more ſo, becauſe they have been produced by cauſes, from
" which they were the leaſt to have been expected. New tenets more con-
" ſonant to the principles of humanity and juſtice, have been univerſally
" adopted in civil and religious policy; theſe are the happy but unexpected
" fruits of the calamities of war. In other countries national benefits may
" have compenſated for national misfortunes: but it has been the peculiar
" felicity of this kingdom to acquire the former, without feeling the ſeveri-

viſion, having learned in the interim, that the meaſure was offenſive to the king, was abſent on this occaſion. At twelve o'clock on the following night a meſſenger delivered to the two ſecretaries of ſtate his majeſty's orders, " that they ſhould deliver up the ſeals of their offices, and ſend them by " the under ſecretaries, Mr. Frazier and Mr. Nepean, as a perſonal interview on the occaſion " would be diſagreeable to him." The ſeals were immediately given by the king to Lord Temple, who ſent letters of diſmiſſion the day following to the reſt of the cabinet council: at the ſame time Mr. William Pitt was appointed Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Earl Gower, Preſident of the Council. On the 22d, Lord Temple reſigned the ſeals of his office, and they were delivered to Lord Sydney, as Secretary of State for the home department, and to the Marquis of Carmarthen for the foreign. Lord Thurlow was appointed High Chancellor of Great Britain, the Duke of Rutland Lord Privy Seal, Lord Viſcount Howe Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, and the Duke of Richmond Maſter General of the Ordnance; Mr. William Grenville and Lord Mulgrave ſucceeded Mr. Burke in the Pay-Office, and Mr. Henry Dundas was appointed to the office of Treaſurer of the Navy.

On the 22d of December Mr. William Grenville begged leave to inform the houſe, that the noble earl to whom ſuch frequent alluſions had been lately made, had authoriſed him to declare, that he was ready to meet any charge that ſhould be made againſt him; and that he had thought fit to reſign the ſeals of his office, in order to avoid the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of ſeeking for protection or ſhelter in the power and influence of a miniſter. In anſwer to this extraordinary notification, Mr. Fox obſerved, that, with reſpect to the propriety of the noble earl's relinquiſhing an office, which he had held but for three days, he was doubtleſs himſelf the fitteſt judge; that as to the facts alluded to, facts of public notoriety, and which materially affected the honor of parliament, and the ſafety of the conſtitution, he truſted the houſe would ſee the neceſſity of taking them into their moſt ſerious conſideration: but that the ſecret nature of thoſe tranſactions almoſt precluded the poſſibility of bringing a perſonal charge againſt any one.

* 11 Journ. Com. p. 182.

" ties of the latter; to her ſteady virtue ſhe owes theſe attainments, and by " her virtue I am confident ſhe will preſerve them, and tranſmit to poſterity " unimpaired the Britiſh conſtitution, the very eſſence of which is liberty and " order. Good government and liberty are inſeparable; they are neceſſary " to and mutually ſupport each other, and neither can exiſt without the " other. The commons ſince the commencement of this ſeſſion have directed " their attention to theſe important objects, which were ſo wiſely recom- " mended to them by your excellency, to improve and ſecure thoſe advan- " tages, which had been acquired in the laſt parliament; they have alſo made " proviſion, without laying new burthens on the people, for the honorable " ſupport of his majeſty's government, and for the diſcharge of the arrears " upon the eſtabliſhments; and they have the fulleſt confidence, that your " excellency will repreſent them to his majeſty as loyal, dutiful, and affec- " tionate ſubjects."

The revenue ſtill continued to be unequal to the expences, and 300,000*l.* were ordered to be borrowed towards ſupplying the deficiencies; alſo 50,000*l.* were to be advanced as a loan to the undertakers of the grand canal, upon ſecurity given; and 25,000*l.* as a loan to Captain Brooke, to ſupport and employ the manufacturers by him eſtabliſhed in the cotton line at Proſperous, in the county Kildare, upon his giving ſecurity for paying the intereſt half yearly into the treaſury, and the principal at Lady-Day, 1794. Theſe ſums were to be raiſed upon debentures, or treaſury bills, aided by one or more lotteries, at the diſcretion of the chief governor.

Immediately upon the change of miniſtry in England, Lord Northington ſent in his reſignation; it was accepted on the 7th of January, and yet his ſucceſſor, the Duke of Rutland, was only appointed on the 24th of February, 1784. The Houſe of Commons had adjourned to the 20th of January, on which day they met according to adjournment, and then adjourned to the 9th of February, which was the day, to which the Houſe of Lords had adjourned from the 22d of December. During this ſpecies of inter-regnum, one lord lieutenant having reſigned, and his ſucceſſor not having been appointed, the Houſe of Commons met on the 9th of February, when the attorney general moved the houſe to adjourn to the 18th, which was oppoſed by Sir Lucius O'Bryen, who ſaw no reaſon, why they ſhould adjourn on account of the ſquabble of ſome gentlemen in England for place, at a time when the diſtreſsful ſituation of that country called ſo urgently upon their attention.

tion. Mr. Browne (of the College) oppoſed the adjournment and ſaid, that all, who reſpected his majeſty ſhould vote againſt an adjournment propoſed by Lord Northington, who was actually in oppoſition to the king: the adjournment was carried upon a diviſion of 108 againſt 42. When the houſe met on the 18th, a long converſation took place upon Mr. John Ponſonby's motion for 3000*l.* to be diſtributed in the diſcretion of the lord lieutenant amongſt the poor of Dublin. This brought up ſeveral members to move for proportionate relief in favour of the diſtreſſed poor of their reſpective boroughs, which were all negatived, except the original motion. In the courſe of the converſation, Sir Henry Cavendiſh obſerved, that money ſhould be granted to ſet people to work, not to promote idleneſs: for to ſuch a degree was that now advanced, that there might be ſeen twenty or thirty ſturdy beggars in a knot, and they were grown ſo outrageous, as to offer force in ſome meaſure. He ſhould not be ſurprized, if in a ſhort time they forced people's doors, and took their property, whether they would or no.* And when the provoſt expreſſed a wiſh, that ſome general mode of giving bread to the poor could be deviſed, Sir Edward Newnham ſuggeſted a bill for protecting duties, which the right honorable member's talents and influence could effectually ſecure. Then Ireland would flouriſh, and they would hear no more of ſtarving manufacturers. Ready money was but a temporary relief: let the great baniſh foreign fopperies, and be content with home manufactures: protecting duties would be a permanent ſecurity againſt want in the lower order of the people: it behoved them to take thoſe hard-working men under their peculiar protection.

The attorney general informed the houſe, that he had it in command from his excellency to ſignify to them his majeſty's deſire, that they ſhould adjourn till Monday the 23d, and that an official account had arrived of the appointment of the Duke of Rutland to the government of that kingdom. Soon after which, Mr. William Brabazon Ponſonby ſaid, that the lord lieutenant was diſtinguiſhable for many virtues, and that he was not ever outdone by any of his predeceſſors in office, either for integrity, humanity, or public ſpirit; and as his excellency was ſhortly to quit the government of the country, he felt it proper to move, though no more than the uſual form, that an humble addreſs be preſented to the lord lieutenant, to aſſure his excellency,

* 2 Parl. Deb. p. 358.

that the houſe learnt with the deepeſt regret his excellency's determination of relinquiſhing the government of the kingdom; to aſſure him, that the uniform wiſdom and virtue of his excellency's adminiſtration, manifeſted by his attention to the encouragement of agriculture, the protection and advantage of their commercial intereſts, and by his zeal and firmneſs in ſupport of their happy conſtitution, intitled him to the moſt grateful thanks of the repreſentatives of a free people; that they entreated his excellency to believe, that as they thankfully acknowledged his virtues, they ſhould ſincerely regret his no longer continuing to preſide over them, and to requeſt that his excellency would be pleaſed to add one further favor to thoſe already received at his hands, by repreſenting to his majeſty their unſhaken loyalty to his perſon and government, their inviolable attachment to their happy conſtitution, and their determined reſolution to ſupport the juſt rights and privileges of the commons of Ireland againſt all encroachments whatſoever.

Mr. Conolly ſeconded the motion, at the ſame time teſtifying, that Lord Northington had come over at a critical period, and yet manifeſted the moſt ſteady reſolution in ſupporting the conſtitution and promoting the real intereſts of Ireland.

Sir Edward Newnham declared, he could not agree to ſuch an addreſs; it glanced in very diſagreeable terms, on the honor and dignity of the volunteers, who ſaved their country in defiance of corruption. He could not thank a viceroy, under whoſe adminiſtration a parliamentary reform was (in the language of ſome members) ſcouted out of the houſe: he ſpoke plain Engliſh, and ſaid, a reform of that houſe, for no houſe ever wanted it more. He would wait the iſſue of the preſent motion, to make one that would do honor to a parliament, of real independent members, which motion he had in his hand, and that was, to thank his majeſty for diſmiſſing his late miniſtry, a part of whom robbed the crown of half its dominions; and to thank his majeſty for appointing a new miniſtry, in whom the people might confide, and whoſe principles were declared friendly to the much wanted parliamentary reformation.

Mr. O'Hara, after dwelling pretty much on the ſervices the volunteers had rendered the country, and ſaying, that inſtead of the cenſure indirectly thrown on them by the laſt paragraph of the addreſs, they deſerved the utmoſt praiſes, that every friend to Ireland could beſtow, moved an amendment, by expunging theſe words, " we will ſupport the juſt rights of the commons of

" Ireland

" Ireland againſt every encroachment whatſoever." Theſe, he ſaid, were inſidious words, and ſeemed directed to the advocates of parliamentary reform.

Mr. Griffith ſeconded the amendment.

Mr. Grattan obſerved, that Lord Northington had not been above eight months in that kingdom, and if he had not greatly diminiſhed the national expences, he had done more than moſt of his predeceſſors, for he had not at all increaſed them. The army had been mentioned as an inſtance of profuſion, but would any man lay the blame of a vote of parliament at the door of a lord lieutenant? As to any ſcheme of ſyſtematic reduction, it was impoſſible, from the ſhortneſs of Lord Northington's adminiſtration; but they ſhould not forget, that no objection had been made from him, when the expence of collecting the revenue was propoſed to be reduced; formerly it was objected to: but with this ſymptom in his favour, they could not condemn him for not having time to carry a ſcheme of retrenchment into execution.

As to commercial advantages, he would ſtate a duty on foreign beer, which muſt operate powerfully in favor of their own breweries and of tillage. When that was announced to the houſe, he recollected the honorable baronet riſing, and laying his hand upon his breaſt, to return thanks for ſo great a favour.

Another advantage was the duty laid upon callico, in favour of Iriſh manufacture. The duty on ſugar, that had been conceded that ſeſſion, was formerly thought an object of the firſt magnitude in that commerce.

As to conſtitution, an idea totally new and unſolicited was introduced into their admiralty bill, that is, to cut off any appeal to the Britiſh admiralty, by which all that fooliſh ſuppoſition of any power of external legiſlation for Ireland remaining in Great Britain was for ever done away.

Mr. George Ponſonby approved of the noble and diſintereſted manner, in which his excellency had refuſed the additional 4000*l.* a year. But as his excellency did not employ news-papers, their puffers did not blazon it forth with half the aſſiduity they were known to uſe on much more trifling occaſions. The queſtion being then put, there appeared for the amendment 5, againſt it 109.

When the houſe met, according to their laſt adjournment, on the 26th of February, Mr. Gardiner moved a congratulatory addreſs to the Duke of Rutland, which was unanimouſly agreed to; and on the 1ſt of March the

ſame

ſame gentleman communicated his Grace's anſwer to the houſe. On the ſame day thirteen ſeveral petitions from counties and populous boroughs were preſented to the Houſe of Commons by their reſpective repreſentatives, praying a reform in the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament.* Amongſt other motions on this day, which was properly the firſt meeting under the Duke of Rutland, Mr. Anneſley Stewart moved, that the proper officer ſhould lay before the houſe the grants of looms and wheels made that year by the truſtees of the linen board, and an account of the particular perſons, to whom they were ordered to be delivered. When General Cunningham ſaid he was ſure there was ſomething rotten at the bottom in the management of that board: he had improved as much as any man in the kingdom, and helped manufactures, by eſtabliſhing manufactories, and aſſiſting poor manufacturers, yet could never obtain a loom, unleſs he would accept of it as a particular gift to himſelf, which he declined doing. The truſtees of the linen board did not conſider themſelves, he ſaid, as truſtees, but proprietors, ſome of whom appropriated thirty looms to themſelves.

Mr. Foſter wiſhed for the enquiry, as he was convinced nothing would come to light but what would be to the honor of the members of the linen board; and the motion was agreed to unanimouſly.

The nation now was in the heighth of a political fever: elated with what they had obtained; ſoured at their diſappointment in being refuſed what they were taught to believe, was ſtill wanting to complete their freedom; the public attempts both of parliament and government to diſcredit and diſſolve the volunteers; the failure in the attempts of the oppoſition to procure a reduction of the military eſtabliſhment at the return of peace, all tended to foment jealouſies between the citizen and the ſoldier. A riot had lately hap-

* 2 Parl. Deb. p. 389. namely, from the county of Armagh by Mr. Brownlow, from the county of Meath by Sir Herc. L. Rowley, from the county of Londonderry by the Hon. Edward Cary, from the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin by Mr. Hartley, from the county of Carlow by Sir Richard Butler, from the county of Louth by Mr. Foſter, from the county of Dublin by Sir Edward Newnham, from the county of Corke by the provoſt, from the county of the town of Drogheda by Mr. William Ogle, from the county of Longford by Colonel Gore, from the county of Leitrim by Mr. Peter Latouche, from the county of Sligo by Mr. Owen Wynne, from the county of Sligo from Mr. O'Hara. And on the 5th of the month a ſimilar petition was preſented by Mr. Rowley from the county of Antrim, and another from the inhabitants of Belfaſt. A like petition was preſented from the county of Down by Mr. Ward, and a counter petition by Mr. Anneſley. A like petition was preſented by Mr. Leſlie from the county of Monaghan.

pened

pened at Iſland Bridge, where the outrages of the ſoldiery had exceeded the rules of military diſcipline or even common humanity. This exaſperated the populace, and in vindictive retaliation, they had recourſe to the barbarous practice of houghing the ſoldiers, whenever they found them ſtraggling and off their guard.

*General Luttrell, (afterwards Lord Carhampton) therefore acquainted the houſe, that he had a motion to make, for the prevention of a robbery of the worſt nature, the robbery of life and limb, by a cruelty practiſed there in the 18th century, that would have aſtoniſhed the barbarians of the 14th; it was the inhuman practice of houghing men for no reaſon but their being ſoldiers, by the people of the trade and myſtery of butchers, whoſe qualifications were a ſtrong arm, a ſharp knife, and a hard heart.

He ſaid, that ſuch acts were ſufficient to exaſperate men againſt the civil authority, if the officers of the army had not been watchful to prevent any evil conſequences. In the inſtance of the Iſland-bridge riot, the civil power vindicated its authority; that immediately after that event, the whole garriſon of Dublin had been drawn up on the parade, (he was himſelf on duty by order of General Baugh) the offended inhabitants were encouraged to appear on the parade, to pitch on ſuch of the ſoldiers, whoſe perſons they could identify, and the offenders were, in the preſence of the high ſheriffs, both for city and county, given up to the civil power, and committed to Newgate.

He was the laſt man in the houſe, who would get up to excuſe the ſoldiery in that inſtance, and he mentioned the provocation in mitigation of thoſe proceedings; for he thought a reverence for the laws of civil ſociety, and a peaceable demeanor towards their fellow ſubjects, was the beſt part of military diſcipline.

He quoted the ſtatute of the 5th of Edward VI. whereby perſons, who were only ſuſpected of being guilty of offences leſs horrid than the act of houghing, were liable to have their heads cut off by the parties aggrieved, and the vicinity mulcted into the bargain; but he obſerved, that the redreſs was as barbarous as the crime.

That individuals might be urged to retaliation, he aſſerted, and as a proof, he alluded to a commanding officer of a regiment of dragoons, who declared to them aloud *in terrorem*, that if a man of them were houghed in Dublin, and they did not the next morning bring him a butcher's head, he would flog

* Parl. Debates, p. 419.

them

them all; but this was as an additional argument to prove, that the gratitude for protection ought to ſuperſede the idea of revenge.

He then moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to give better protection to ſoldiers, and others, againſt the barbarous practice of houghing. Which was ordered.

On the 13th of March, Mr. Flood, who had lately been over to England, mentioned to the houſe, that when he laſt did himſelf the honour of moving that houſe for leave to bring in a bill for a more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament, it was the pleaſure of the houſe to negative the propoſition by anticipation, and to declare they would not ſuffer the bill even to be brought in. The ſubject was ſent back to the people, where it had been diſcuſſed with exceſs of application. The approbation it met could be only equalled by the ardor, with which it was adopted. The more examination it underwent, the more it appeared founded in right; and the unanimous and perſevering ſpirit, with which it came back to that houſe, proved it too firmly riveted in the hearts of the people, to be eaſily eraſed by an abrupt and unuſual mode of refuſal. It contained not his ſentiments alone, but the ſentiments of the nation, declared both publicly and privately in every capacity. He was therefore anxious to return to that kingdom, that he might be in his place, in order to ſtand forward in promoting the meaſure. He admitted, it would be thought by certain gentlemen injurious to their private intereſt, if the conſtitution were reſtored to its original ſecurity; but they muſt alſo admit, that it was contrary to every principle of right and juſtice, that individuals ſhould be permitted to ſend into that houſe, two, four, or ſix members of parliament, to make a traffic of venal boroughs, as if they were houſehold utenſils. It ſeemed a point agreed upon in England, that a parliamentary reform was neceſſary; he ſhould mention, he ſaid, the opinion given by Lord Chatham, upon whoſe poſthumous fame the preſent adminiſtration ſo firmly ſtood defended by the nation, though that great and illuſtrious man had been neglected for ten years by the public, and ſo large a portion of his valuable life ſuffered to be loſt to the community. What were his ſentiments on that important matter? His words moſt ſtrongly enforced its neceſſity: in his anſwer to the addreſs of the city of London, in which he ſaid, that a reform in parliament was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to infuſe freſh vigor into the conſtitution, and that rotten boroughs ought to be ſtrucken off. A deciſion in England had eſtabliſhed that doctrine.

Lord

Lord John Cavendiſh, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, ſupported it; and the borough of Shorcham's meaſure was intended to be made general.

Much argument had been drawn againſt the meaſure from the people's overawing that houſe; but he aſked gentlemen, if they had not known many benefits to have reſulted from the people's interference with their repreſentatives? Let them go back to Lord Carliſle's, and ſome other adminiſtrations before him; was not parliament, in direct oppoſition to the ſentiments of the people; and had not they reaſon to change their opinions in ſubſequent adminiſtrations, when the ſentiments of the people without doors overturned thoſe of people within. They recovered your authority, continued he; do you reſtore them their privileges. They were a body of men, that ought always to be mentioned with reſpect in that houſe, while it continued to enjoy the conſequence it had acquired from their exertions. That he would endeavour to give a conciſe account of what the nation expected. That the people ſhould have a real, and not a nominal repreſentation. That the unjuſt privileges of boroughs ſhould be aboliſhed. That the election of their repreſentatives ſhould be in the body of the people. And that corruption ſhould be checked in the elected as well as the elector.

It was to be expected, from the natural impetuoſity of the Iriſh, that the volunteers ſhould violently engage in every purſuit, that tended to keep up their conſequence, and extend the cauſe of liberty, which they had long identified with the neceſſity of arming. The generality of them unqueſtionably were ſanguine for a reform of parliament. They were ſpirited up by Mr. Flood, and his friends, loudly and ſtrongly to urge their claims of reform: and were on the other hand buoyed up with the conviction, that parliament dared not to refuſe or reſiſt them. The great conteſt, was on the ſecond reading of Mr. Flood's bill on the 20th of March, 1784. Mr. Monk Maſon began the debate, and in a ſet and able ſpeech, drew together all the general and particular objections at any time made againſt attempts at reforming the popular repreſentation in parliament.*

Sir Boyle Roche ſaid, the deſign of the bill was to transfer the franchiſe of election from the few to the many; or, in other words, to deprive the preſent poſſeſſors of the patronage of boroughs, and give it to another ſet of men:

* In order that the reader may have before his eyes at one view the grounds of oppoſing this attempt at reform, Mr. Maſon's ſpeech is given at full length in the Appendix, No. LXXI.

while they were endeavouring to gratify one ſet of men, they ſhould not act as tyrants to another. This bill would be a proſcriptive act againſt the Roman Catholics, who would be all turned out of their farms to make room for forty ſhilling freeholders. The Roman Catholics were a brave and loyal people; their loyalty had been proved in the fire of adverſity; they required only that portion of liberty, which the legiſlature ſhould deem conſiſtent with the happineſs of their fellow ſubjects. But if the conſtitution were to be broken up, and a new one to be formed, they had as much right to an equality of repreſentation as any other ſet of men. He would, therefore, make an amendment, "That proteſtants be expunged from the bill, and the words perſons of any "religious denomination, inſerted in their ſtead."

The Speaker informed them, that the amendment, till the queſtion before the houſe, "whether the bill ſhould be committed," was decided, was premature.

This objection to the bill was alſo urged by Major (now General) Doyle, who ſaid, "But, ſir, the greateſt objection to this, is the grievous oppreſſion, "that will be thrown upon three-fourths of as loyal ſubjects as his majeſty can "boaſt of, I mean the Roman Catholics of Ireland; an enlightened parlia- "ment had done away the illiberal prejudices of former ages; and ſhould "they, in the very act of renovation, re-rivet thoſe chains, from which that "parliament freed them? That would operate cruelly againſt the Roman "Catholic tenant; for no ſooner would his leaſe expire, than he, his wife, "and helpleſs children, would be ſet adrift to make way for the Proteſtant "freeholders, to augment the influence of the petty baſhaw of the barony: "the propoſed extenſion of the right of ſuffrage, excluding the Roman "Catholic, was adding inſult to injury; they brought the cup of liberty to "his parched lips, but, like Tantalus, precluded him from the taſte."

Mr. Grattan ſo far differed in his patriotic efforts to ſerve his country from Mr. Flood, that until they had procured a conſtitution, he was indefatigable and foremoſt in every exertion, that could tend to promote the cauſe of civil freedom: he had laboured inceſſantly till the year 1782; and when Great Britain had, with ſuperior wiſdom and liberality, called upon Ireland to ſtate her own terms, and had moſt magnanimouſly granted them without ſtint or cavil, for a time he appeared to reſt upon his oars: he never receded from the principles he avowed: though his enemies objected to him, that the relaxation of his fervor was an effect of the donation of 50,000*l.* There never was any perſonal cordiality between Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood; the purity of Mr. Flood's

Flood's patriotiſm appears to have been much queſtioned, from the recency of its birth, the doubtfulneſs of its parentage, and his intemperance in the indulgence of the novelty. On this important debate, Mr. Grattan was the only member of the houſe who did not exceed his uſual powers. He temperately obſerved, that the queſtion before the houſe was, whether the bill ſhould be committed? And that queſtion ſhould be decided by the principle of the bill, and not by any defect in its clauſes. He believed that bill never would be carried into effect; but a bill might be formed by correcting all its defects, ſtill preſerving its principles. The committee was the place to make alteration or improvement.

That the bill was an innovation on the conſtitution, he denied; the fundamental principles of the conſtitution were abuſed by the corruption of boroughs, and if they were ſo, reformation had become neceſſary. That bill went to firſt principles; it was an innovation upon abuſe; but a renovation of the conſtitution. What was the octennial bill; what were the election laws, but innovations upon abuſes, and renovations of firſt principles? Their forefathers were not ſo apprehenſive of innovation: the great charter was an innovation upon tyranny: the bill of rights was alſo ſuch an innovation; but they were both reſtorations of the people's rights.

It was ſaid, that the bill would increaſe both the oligarchical and democratical factions of the ſtate; that was impoſſible; the power of the commons and of the people, were the ſame; and he was a bad man, who would wiſh to ſeparate them. It was not three hundred gentlemen ſitting in parliament, that were the commons of Ireland, but thoſe gentlemen and their conſtituents together: it was that alliance, that gave ſtrength and longevity to the conſtitution, which long ago would have fallen under tyranny, if not ſupported by the people; that was the cauſe why the conſtitution of England had not fallen, as that of France had done, for want of ſuch an invigorating principle.

Another argument was, "that we ought not to diſfranchiſe thoſe perſons, who "at preſent enjoy the right of voting in boroughs;" but could that be called a franchiſe, which was uſed as a private property, either to be ſold or given away? Beſides, they impoſed no hardſhips on thoſe people, but what the law had already impoſed; for the law of the land diſallowed the ſelling ſeats in parliament.

He had declared his approbation of the principle of the bill, and would vote to have it committed; ſo far would he go, and no farther: he would not

commit the parliament, nor give their conſent to any act or reſolution, or expreſſion injurious to the commons, becauſe that would be to diſcredit their authority, and impeach the law-makers; and what had they been contending for, but the ſupremacy of their parliament? He acknowledged their conſtitution had ſome defects, but ſuch as it was, it was the beſt exiſting; and though it might be a proper ſubject for reform, it ought not to be the ſubject of calumny. Mr. Pitt had ſet a proper example: animated with his father's patriotic ſpirit, he wiſhed to invigorate the conſtitution of his country, to ſupply it with ſtrength, and remedy its infirmities; but he felt a dutiful reſpect, which reſtrained him from any violent or raſh proceeding. He knew, that if by any exceſs of the reformer, a reform were once loſt, every hope muſt periſh with it.

Gentlemen had intimated, that diſcontents might prevail among the volunteers and the people, if that meaſure ſhould be rejected; he doubted not there might be ſome little ebullition; but nothing leſs than a miracle could convince him, that they would ever violate the public peace and good order; they were reſtrained by the conſtitution they poſſeſſed, and by the fame, which they had acquired. When he declared that opinion of the volunteers, he knew he ſpoke before men, who in conjunction with them, had done more than the barons at Runnymede, or the convention parliament: men who had acquired more by wiſdom and diſcretion, than others with the ſword. He did not like the diſtinction, which ſaid, the people, and not parliament, acquired the great objects, for which that country lately contended: the diſtinction was not juſt or true; they were acquired by an happy concurrence and union of both.

Who acquired the free trade? The Houſe of Commons.

Who acquired the repeal of the 6th of George the Iſt.? The Houſe of Commons.

Who reſtored the appellant juriſdiction? The Houſe of Commons.

Who framed an Iriſh mutiny bill? The Houſe of Commons.

In a word, who obtained all, that could be demanded or deſired? The Houſe of Commons, backed, not bullied, by the volunteers; ſupported, but not intimidated. The volunteers never did, nor never would attempt to overawe that parliament, under which they formed: that parliament, which they had pledged their lives and fortunes to ſupport.

As the principle of the bill went to a reform, he would vote for having it go into a committee; the defective clauſes might there be altered, as was done

in

in the caſe of the bill for relieving their Catholic fellow-ſubjects, which he had the happineſs to ſupport. The right honorable gentleman who introduced that bill, being convinced of its imperfection, conſented to a total alteration of its form, retaining its principle and ſpirit; the ſame thing might be done with this bill; and he ſincerely wiſhed it the ſame effect,.

About four o'clock on Sunday morning, the queſtion, whether the bill ſhould be committed, was put, and on a diviſion, the numbers were—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ayes | - | - | 85 |
| Noes | - | - | 159 |

Thus, for the preſent, was put an end to the grand queſtion of reform in parliament. The majority of 74 was too deciſive not to deter the partizans of reform from attempting any thing further upon the ſubject. Two other objects of great national importance werebr ought before parliament that ſeſſion; the regulation of the revenue, by Mr. Grattan, and the improvement of commerce, by Mr. Gardiner: the firſt on the 31ſt of March,* the laſt on the 2d of April.†

The backwardneſs of the parliament in ſeconding the wiſhes of ſeveral of the armed aſſociations, and their aſſumption of a right to give inſtructions to, and watch the motions of their conſtituents in parliament, had ſo ſharpened the rancour and animoſity of the people, that they flew out into the moſt audacious outrages. On the 5th of April, a complaint was made to the houſe of a breach of privilege, by ſeveral perſons riotouſly breaking into the houſe; two of the perſons guilty of the offence, having been ſeized by the ſerjeant at arms, were ordered to be proſecuted, and immediately Mr. Foſter moved a committee to enquire into the conduct of the magiſtrates of the city of Dublin, reſpecting an outrageous mob, which had broken into the houſe that day, and behaved riotouſly and abuſively to ſeveral of the members, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the lord-lieutenant, that he would be pleaſed to iſſue a proclamation, offering ſuch reward as he ſhould think proper, for the diſcovery of ſuch perſons, as had been concerned in tumultuouſly breaking into the houſe, or who had incited or encouraged others thereto; and on the ſame day a complaint was made of ſeveral

* The ſpeeches of Mr. Grattan and of Mr. Beresford, lay open the whole ſyſtem of revenue in Ireland at that time, and are are to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. LXXII.

† Mr. Gardiner's ſpeech is given in the Appendix, No. LXXIII. as a moſt valuable piece of hiſtorical information on the commerce of Ireland.

paragraphs

paragraphs in a printed newspaper, intituled "*The Volunteer's Journal, or Iriſh Herald,*" publiſhed that morning; which being read, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the ſaid paper was a daring, falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel on the proceedings of that houſe, tending to promote diſcontents among his majeſty's ſubjects, to create groundleſs jealouſies between that kingdom and Great Britain, to alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty's government, and to excite an oppoſition to the laws of the land; and it was ordered, that the printer and publiſher of the paper ſhould forthwith attend the houſe.

On the ſame day Mr. Foſter moved, that the printer and publiſher of *The Evening Chronicle*, ſhould alſo be brought to the bar of the houſe, the ſame ſeditious and libellous paragraphs having alſo appeared in that paper: and almoſt immediately after, he reported from the committee appointed to enquire into the conduct of the magiſtrates on that occaſion. The houſe came to the following reſolutions, viz.

"*Reſolved*, That it appears to this committee, that the Right Hon. Tho-
" mas Green, the lord mayor, received notice on Monday laſt, at nine o'clock,
" from Mr. Secretary Orde, that he had information of an intended tumult
" in the city on that day; and that the lord mayor had ſeen, on Sunday
" evening laſt, one of the ſeditious hand-bills, which were diſperſed through-
" out the city on that day.

"*Reſolved*, That it appears to this committee, that notwithſtanding ſuch
" information, the ſaid lord mayor did not take any ſtep to prevent the tumul-
" tuous riſing of the people, which happened in this city on Monday laſt.

"*Reſolved*, That it appears to this committee, that the ſaid lord mayor has
" not acted with that caution and prudence which becomes the magiſtrate of
" this city."

Mr. Griffith ſaid, he thought the lord mayor had acted with a becoming regard for the principles of the conſtitution. He had refrained from calling on a military force, which the conſtitution abhors, until compelled by the laſt extremity. In doing this, he was warranted by the prudent and conſtitutional advice of Mr. Speaker.

The Prime Serjeant ſaid, that the lord mayor had entered upon his office at a time, when the city was in the moſt perfect ſtate of tranquillity, and when its police was much more completely regulated, than ever it had been at any former period. In that ſtate, his predeceſſor's great ability and unwearied application

application to the duties of his high office, had left the city; but hardly had Mr. Green entered upon his year of mayoralty, when he, who had been an active officer in the county of Wicklow, ſuffered every thing to run into diſorder; the ſtreets became impaſſable, riots became frequent, and every duty neglected. The man who could ſo far forget himſelf, as not to prevent ſuch tumults as had ariſen, he ſaid, muſt be conſidered as little better than an accomplice, and therefore, though with infinite reluctance he ſhould conſent to any thing diſgraceful to a magiſtrate, he thought Mr. Greene ought to be cenſured.

The Recorder and Alderman Warren ſuported the lord mayor, as did Mr. Hartley.

Mr. Hayes, of the County of Wicklow, ſaid, that he had for many years known the lord mayor in that county, where he was eſteemed a worthy public ſpirited man, and an active upright magiſtrate.

Upon a diviſion there appeared, for cenſuring the lord mayor 35, and 17 againſt it.

Among other matters then pending, Sir John Blaquiere's paving bill had created diſcontent amongſt a large part of the citizens of Dublin, and many of them had petitioned againſt it.* On the 7th of the month, Mr. Alderman Warren ſaid, that ſuch was the tenor of that bill, as induced the inhabitants to think it inexpedient, agreeable to the petitions preſented on the preceding day; that to prevent the grievances ariſing therefrom, counſel ought to be heard, who were ready to attend at the bar.

Sir Boyle Roche diſſented, not only in approving of the principles of the bill, but alſo thought it repugnant to the dignity of that houſe, to pay attention to the ſolicitations of an unruly people. He wanted to know if it were not an inſult to the houſe, to have petitions offered up by ringleaders of mobs. He then entered into a detail of his being ſurrounded by a riotous mob near the Tholſel, and challenged by them to know, if he were not an abettor of Sir John Blaquiere's bill; but as a guiltleſs man, that could never be intimidated, he declared he was; in conſequence of which, he found himſelf ingulphed in a vortex, whence he could not extricate himſelf; and on demanding who they were, he received for anſwer, that they were the aggre-

* 3 Parl. Debates. Although the petition were preſented, yet was it not accepted by the houſe, which rejection irritated the populace very much: even the preſentation of it is not noticed in the Journals.

gate

gate body. Thus he perceived, that if Napper Tandy thought proper to go into the remoteſt receſſes of that city, and excite the inhabitants to acts of deſperation, theſe meetings were to be legalized by the ſpecious appellation of *aggregate bodies.*

The Recorder, in the ſtrongeſt terms, reprobated the whole bill, as a ſyſtem of unexampled tyranny and oppreſſion. It placed, he ſaid, in the hands of a ſet of low perſons, (for commiſſioners acting for 150*l.* a year could be no other) a power to fine and torment with all the inſolence of authority, every citizen of Dublin. It gave them power to raiſe taxes, and to borrow money; to ſummon whomſoever they thought proper before their tribunal; and upon neglect or diſobedience, to impoſe a fine of 40*l.* By this inquiſitorial act, the father would be compelled to give evidence againſt his ſon, and the ſon againſt his father before that honorable board.

The principle of the bill, he ſaid, was utterly repugnant to the law and conſtitution; and although the mover of the bill expreſſed his readineſs to admit of any reaſonable amendment to it, that could be ſuggeſted, he objected to the whole principle, as utterly incapable of being modelled to the public benefit.

In this licentious diſpoſition of the public mind, Mr. Foſter had been particularly marked as an object of obloquy* in the newspapers: he therefore brought in a bill for reſtraining the liberty of the preſs, which was the only remaining ſubject of importance, that was agitated in parliament during the ſeſſion. It was then oppoſed by ſome of the oppoſition.

On the 2d reading of the bill, Sir Edward Crofton ſaid, he was aſtoniſhed

* This appears to have been the caſe from what Mr. Gardiner remarked in the debate. "The continuation of abuſe, which is thrown upon one of the moſt virtuous characters in this houſe; a man, to whom the trade and agriculture of Ireland is more indebted, than to any other perſon living, demonſtrates the neceſſity of the bill. No man can ſerve this country as things are now conducted, without becoming at one time or other the object of calumny. I have experienced this myſelf, though now I happen to be a favorite, poſſibly with as little reaſon, as my right honorable friend is the mark for obloquy.

"The licentiouſneſs of the preſs is ſo great, that no man can reſt one hour ſecure, that his character will not become the prey of ſome hireling defamer. A bill, therefore, to ſecure character from malignant attacks, is abſolutely neceſſary. Nothing can be more moderate than the principle of that which is now before us. It allows every man to publiſh whatever he thinks proper, only making him reſponſible for what he does publiſh. This is ſimply the principle of the bill; if there be any defect in its clauſes, that may be remedied by going into a committee." 3 Parl. Debates, p. 162.

that

that a bill of ſuch a dangerous tendency to the conſtitution, and ſo violent an attack on the liberty of the ſubject, ſhould be agitated in ſuch thin houſes. He conſidered the preſs as the ſtrongeſt bulwark of the conſtitution; and as he valued that conſtitution, would reſiſt any meaſure of a tendency to leſſen its ſecurities. He then moved, that the ſecond reading be poſtponed to the 1ſt of Auguſt.

Mr. Foſter ſaid, that it was highly unjuſt to ſuppoſe any injury intended to the liberty of the preſs by the bill in queſtion; the manifeſt deſign of that bill was to preſerve the liberty of the preſs, by curbing its licentiouſneſs, which of late had grown to ſuch a degree of enormity, as to become a national reproach. The bill was not intended as a reſtraint upon any man, to prevent his publiſhing his ſentiments or opinions. If the bill ſhould paſs, every man would hereafter be at full liberty to publiſh whatever he ſhould think proper, with this difference only, that if a jury of his countrymen ſhould deem ſuch publication a falſe, ſcandalous, or malicious libel, he would be anſwerable. After a very warm debate, the houſe divided, 22 for the adjournment, and 77 againſt it. On a ſubſequent day Mr. Brownlow ſupported the bill; and Mr. Grattan ſaid, the neceſſity of the firſt clauſe of the bill, that for making known the real name of the printer or proprietor of every newspaper, was apparent, and if carried with unanimity, would produce the moſt ſalutary conſequence. There was one paper, ſaid he, that teemed with exhortations and incitements to aſſaſſination, which daily publiſhed ſuch atrocious matter, as would not be ſuffered in any other country exiſting. Parliament was called upon to check ſuch proceedings, and to guard the liberty of the preſs from the injury it might receive, through the ſcandalous and licentious conduct of the newspapers. He had no idea of wounding the liberty of the preſs; but if it were ſuffered to go on in the way it then did, one of two things would enſue; it would either excite the unthinking to acts of deſperation, or it would itſelf fall into utter contempt, after having diſgraced the nation. To prevent either of which conſequences, he thought parliament called upon to interfere conſonant to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, not by impoſing any new penalty, nor by compelling printers to have their publications licenſed, but merely to oblige them to put their names to their newspapers.

The Houſe of Commons had ordered their Serjeant at Arms to take the publiſhers and printers of the offenſive newſpapers out of the cuſtody of the civil power, and commit them over to military eſcorts, under which they were more cruelly and ſeverely treated, than they could have been by the civil

power. Againſt theſe illegal ſtretches of power, ſome of the warmeſt patriots vehemently exclaimed. Although the bulk of the houſe were againſt them, the agitation of the queſtion upon the unwarrantable exerciſe of a rigor ſo manifeſtly beyond the law, produced in that ferment* of the public mind the very worſt of conſequences.

* General Luttrell, who was at no time a popular favorite, may by ſome be ſuſpected of having exaggerated the truth, when on the 12th of April, he ſaid in the houſe, no country was ever diſgraced in the manner Ireland had lately been; nothing leſs than eſſays in praiſe of murder, inveſtigating the different means, by which it might be perpetrated, and giving preference to the poignard as the moſt certain and leaſt dangerous to the aſſaſſin. There was no place in the world where excitements to murder would be permitted; and if the mobs there committed murders, they muſt be attributed to the news-printers, who, not content with aſſaſſinating characters, had proceeded to the ſhedding of blood. The bill before them, would, he hoped, remedy that enormity, and alſo another, which they had lately imported from London, that is, the raiſing contributions by defaming, or threatening to defame innocent perſons. He hoped a newſpaper would no longer be able to ſay, give me ſo much money, or your character ſhall be deſtroyed by calumny. This is like the means uſed to raiſe contributions by a ſet of infamous miſcreants in England, againſt whoſe practices the legiſlature of that country was compelled to exert itſelf; they uſed to threaten perſons, that if not paid for ſilence, they would accuſe them of crimes, which to mention, ſhocks our nature: how much better, he aſked, have been the practices of ſome news-printers here?

Mr. Gardiner, however, who was at that time the prime favorite of the people, as he was the avowed advocate of the diſtreſſed manufacturers, thus confirmed the General's ſtatement: —"I "have been in ſome degree, the innocent cauſe of the diſturbances that have prevailed of late; "but I truſt the houſe will do me the juſtice to recollect, that I did declare in November laſt, upon "the very firſt appearance of them, that if the people would not deſiſt from all violence, and de"mean themſelves in a peaceable manner, I would abandon the cauſe, which I had undertaken. "And could I have foreſeen the tumults that have happened, I certainly would have been as good "as my word; nor will I in future ever undertake the ſmalleſt thing for the relief of the manufac"turers, if the people continue to act ſo improperly as of late they have done; and I hope the gen"tlemen who divided with me upon the queſtion of protecting duties, will make the ſame deter"mination.

"As to the bill now before us, the firſt clauſe is on all hands admitted; and the neceſſity of the "laſt, (by which the hawker of any unſtamped, inflammatory, or libellous paper, may be com"pelled to prove from whom he received it,) is obvious. It was by the inflammatory hand-bill "lately diſperſed, that all this tumult has been excited, as I am well aſſured by the working peo"ple themſelves, who declared, that they had no idea of ſtirring till they ſaw it.

"I muſt ſay once more, that had I foreſeen what was to happen, I never would have undertaken "the cauſe of the manufacturers; and I feel myſelf extremely hurt at the improper conduct of the "working people: I lament it on their own account, becauſe parliament never will be driven into "meaſures; and though otherwiſe what I promiſed might be taken up and carried into effect, "perhaps in a leſs degree, yet while riot and diſturbance continue, nothing can be done."

Towards

Towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion Lord Hilwarlin's motion in the Houſe of Commons for a ſpecial addreſs to the lord-lieutenant, declaratory of their approbation of his Grace's juſt and wiſe adminiſtration, produced ſome very angry debates for ſeveral days. The treaſury bench reſounded with the higheſt eulogies of the peculiar and ſignal advantages of the Duke of Rutland's adminiſtration. His moſt impreſſive panegyriſt was Mr. Foſter, who in anſwer to the three chief arguments from the oppoſition benches, namely, that the people was diſcontented, that the ſeſſion had been diſgraceful, and that the Houſe of Commons was unpopular, thus expreſſed himſelf. "They ſay, the people have cauſe to be diſcontented. I deny it, unleſs they "mean that cauſe, which no human power could prevent, the inclemency of "the late ſeaſon. The utmoſt efforts indeed have been made to alleviate it, "by the corn bill and other meaſures: I know the news-papers have taken "pains to inflame the public mind, and to irritate the paſſions of the people, "by falſe and ſeditious writings; and thoſe, who credit the falſehoods of "news-papers may be diſcontented, but I will not believe, that there are "many ſuch; the more reaſonable and diſcerning perſons cannot be miſled, "they muſt ſee, that their repreſentatives have been watchful of their intereſts, "and that that ſeſſion of parliament had been diſtinguiſhed by many wiſe and "beneficial acts. They ſay, that it has been a diſgraceful ſeſſion. He had ſat "many ſeſſions, and he never knew one wherein ſo many good acts had been "paſſed, or more public benefits procured. They ſaid, that houſe was un-"popular: unpopular it might be with the promoters of diſcontent and ſe-"dition, but it was popular with the wiſe and diſcerning: it would be a fatal "day to Ireland, when the people ſhould quarrel with their parliament. The "privileges of that houſe were the privileges of the people: its ſtrength was "their's, and if they failed to ſupport its ſtrength and its privileges they were "undone."

The cry on the other hand from the oppoſition benches was for what bounties received from the Duke of Rutland were the people of Ireland to offer up their thankſgiving? Was it for the rejection of their favourite bill to reform the repreſentation in that houſe, and to renovate the conſtitution? Was it for the precipitate diſmiſſal of the equalization bill, without deigning it any offer of redreſs, any ſlight promiſe from the miniſter, to ſooth the diſappointed? Was it for that lenient and equitable act the poſt-office bill, the adoption of which from a former adminiſtration only aggravated the injury?

Was it for the contemptuous rejection of every reſolution propoſed there, to enforce the reſidence of certain abſentee great officers of the ſtate, who drew immenſe ſalaries from that kingdom, and ſquandered them in another, inattentive to, and negligent of the duties annexed to theſe offices? Was it for filling the ſtreets of the capital of that free country with an armed hoſt, not amenable to the control, and derogatory to the privileges of its peaceful citizens? Or was it for the transforming the Houſe of Commons into a court of ſtar chamber, and converting the Caſtle from an Iriſh court to a French baſtile, or a Grenada inquiſition? The thanks the people owed for ſuch benevolences were in fact rendered by the torrent of diſapprobation and diſcontent out of doors, which rolled from ſhore to ſhore of that kingdom, loudly proclaiming their diſapprobation of the adminiſtration of his Grace of Rutland *in toto.*

The original addreſs, which was highly flattering to the lord lieutenant, was carried by a very decided majority.* Afterwards Mr. Griffith moved an addreſs

* The following was the addreſs preſented to the lord lieutenant (11 Journ. Com. p. 282.)

To his Grace Charles Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

The humble addreſs of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in parliament aſſembled.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

" WE his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Ireland, in par-
" liament aſſembled, ſee with particular ſatisfaction the arrival of that period, which calls upon us
" to review the various meaſures of our ſeſſion, and to teſtify to your Grace thereupon the warm
" ſenſe of our obligation and duty.

" We have at once to congratulate ourſelves, and to acknowledge the goodneſs of our ſovereign,
" in the appointment of a chief governor, who by attention to regulate his conduct by our wiſhes,
" hath fully confirmed the juſtice of that early confidence, which we zealouſly profeſſed in the libe-
" rality of his diſpoſition, and the ſpirit of his hereditary virtues; a juſt eſtimation of ſuch qualities
" muſt ever render him the favourite of a ſpirited and generous nation.

" We are perſuaded, that his majeſty hath obſerved with pleaſure our attention to thoſe objects,
" which were recommended to our deliberation at the opening of the ſeſſion, and has graciouſly
" accepted the aſſurance of ſatisfaction, which we have repeatedly expreſſed in the bleſſings of our
" happy conſtitution.

" And when we reflect upon the meaſures we have taken to enſure a conſtant ſupply of corn
" under every poſſible circumſtance; upon the proſpect of benefit in the management of the re-
" venue; upon our attention to make the additional ſecurity of private property a cauſe of increaſe
" to the national credit; upon our proviſion for the improvement of the metropolis; and our en-
" couragement of uſeful eſtabliſhments, and of various branches of trade and manufacture, we
" doubt

addreſs to his majeſty, which ſpoke more dubiouſly of the lord lieutenant's exertions to ſecond the calls of the country for the improvement of manufactures and other commercial advantages, which was ſo moderate and ſo tranſcendently true, that Mr. Foſter, fearing to permit it to go to a vote, artfully compromiſed the matter, and brought over Mr. Griffith to the treaſury bench, where with the alteration of ſome few words, which Mr. Griffith did not conſider very material, ſuch an addreſs was ſettled as ſhould meet with no oppoſition. Mr. Griffith in concluding a very warm and impreſſive ſpeech, before he moved his original addreſs, added theſe emphatical words. He hoped, "that no man would be bold enough to move the previous queſtion "upon it, the previous queſtion, that political bowſtring, with which the "mutes of the Caſtle ſtrangle every honeſt ſubject, which they dare not "openly arraign." The addreſs amended and ſettled by Mr. Foſter, which was voted unanimouſly, was, "That his faithful commons humbly begged "leave to approach his majeſty's throne with hearts full of gratitude for the "many bleſſings they enjoyed under his wiſe and benignant government; "and at the ſame time to expreſs to his majeſty the deep concern they felt "for thoſe diſtreſſes, which affected many of the lower ranks of manufac-

"doubt not of receiving the true reward of our ſervices, in the approbation of our ſovereign, and "in the gratitude of our fellow ſubjects.

"We reflect with true pride and ſatisfaction upon the ſolid advantages, which have been obtained "for this country within a very ſhort period. We are aware of the ſituation of the empire, and "the peculiar circumſtances, which have prevented the adjuſtment of ſome points, which concern "our trade and manufactures, and we rely upon the readineſs of your Grace's liberal and benevo-"lent aſſiſtance for the furtherance of ſuch practical meaſures as deliberate wiſdom and generous "policy may adapt to our real neceſſities and general intereſts.

"As guardians of the rights and ſafety of our fellow ſubjects, as well as aſſertors of the national "honour, we have felt ourſelves called upon to expreſs our abhorrence of tumult and of ſeditious "publications; zealous to uphold the true ſpirit of the conſtitution, we have made it the object of "our unanimous reſolution to defend its genuine liberty againſt the attacks of licentiouſneſs.

"We have not ſuffered to eſcape our grateful obſervation the early anxiety, which your Grace "manifeſted to remove every apprehenſion of party prejudices or partial charges in the councils or "meaſures of government. We feel and acknowledge the benefits ariſing from ſuch a principle; "we have ſtudied to ſhew a ſincere diſpoſition to confirm them, by a liberal imitation; and we "ſhall be zealous to concur in diffuſing throughout every part of the kingdom the ſucceſsful in-"fluence of ſo happy an example. Convinced as we are of the importance to this kingdom of a "ſteady and permanent adminiſtration, it is our ardent wiſh, that his majeſty may long continue "your Grace in the government of Ireland."

"turers

" turers in that kingdom. That his faithful commons begged leave humbly " to repreſent to his majeſty, that his majeſty's ſubjects in Ireland had always " been a loyal people, and had, on every occaſion, manifeſted the warmeſt " attachment to his majeſty's royal perſon and family. That as they were " deeply impreſſed with his majeſty's paternal care and affection, they enter- " tained the warmeſt hopes that the interval between the cloſe of the preſent " ſeſſion and the beginning of the next would afford ſufficient opportunity " for forming a wiſe and well digeſted plan for liberal arrangement of com- " mercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland to be then brought " forward. That his faithful commons humbly begged leave to aſſure his " majeſty, that ſuch a plan, formed upon the broad baſis of reciprocal ad- " vantages, would be the moſt effectual means of ſtrengthening the empire " at large, and cheriſhing the common intereſt and brotherly affection of " both kingdoms."

The parliament was prorogued on the 14th of May, 1784, and the lord lieutenant concluded the ſeſſion with a *ſpeech appropriate to the important and

*" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" IN addreſſing you for the firſt time in parliament, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, " I embrace with pleaſure the occaſion, which is afforded me of returning you my affectionate ac- " knowledgment for the cordiality of my reception, and the early aſſurances of your confidence. " And I am at the ſame time highly gratified in being authoriſed to communicate to you the ſen- " timents of perfect ſatisfaction with which his majeſty approves of your exertions for the public " welfare.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I am happy in obeying his majeſty's commands, to thank you for the chearfulneſs with which " you have made proviſion for the exigencies and honour of his government. Let me aſſure you, " on my part, that the readineſs with which you have granted ſupplies ſtimulates my utmoſt atten- " tion and care, that they ſhall be managed with œconomy, and applied with prudence.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" You will have much ſatisfaction in reflecting, that the various objects which, in conſequence " of the acknowledged independence of the legiſlature, were recommended for your deliberations, " at the opening of this ſeſſion, have been diligently purſued and accompliſhed.

" You have wiſely given your ſanction to the extraordinary expedients, which it has been neceſ- " ſary to employ in order to preſerve the kingdom from famine; and I feel great ſatisfaction in the " proſpect, that they will be prevented for the future, by the new and judicious arrangement of your " corn laws, and the improved extenſion of your agriculture.

" I ſee with pleaſure the exertions of an humane and liberal principle, which has prompted you " to give encouragement to the national induſtry, by favourable regulations and well directed boun-

" ties,

and critical ſituation of the kingdom. That was the firſt time the Duke of Rutland had perſonally addreſſed the parliament. The difficulties of the ſeſſion were greater from without, than from within the walls of the ſenate. It appears from the efforts of ſome of the members upon the armed aſſociations when the ſeſſion was over, that attempts were made to carry the queſtions loſt in parliament by a majority out of it. After the prorogation the diſcontent and violence of the people rather increaſed than diminiſhed. The populace frequently aſſembled, and committed unjuſtifiable outrages; they attacked the houſes and perſons of ſhopkeepers, who were ſuſpected of not favoring the non-importation agreement, and in ſome inſtances they proceeded after the American faſhion to the deſperate meaſure of "tarring and feathering." Some of the moſt daring received puniſhment; and the mob once proceeded to ſuch extremities, that one of the high ſheriffs, Mr. Kirkpatrick, in endeavouring to ſuppreſs them, received a ſevere wound in the head, and

"ties. I have warmly at heart the advancement of your trade, and the ſucceſs of all your ma-
"nufactures, and I ſhall not fail either to conſider, or to repreſent thoſe inſtances whereof the pe-
"culiar circumſtances of the empire have hitherto prevented a full inveſtigation, and which ſhall
"be found to require a further adjuſtment.

"The uſeful regulations propoſed to be introduced into the collection and management of the
"revenue; the ſecurity of private property, and extenſion of national credit, by depoſiting in the
"bank of Ireland, the money of ſuitors in the courts of chancery and exchequer; the plans for
"improving the metropolis, calculated not more for ornament and ſplendour, than for health and
"convenience; your unanimous determination to defend the freedom of the conſtitution againſt
"the attacks of licentiouſneſs; and your attention to the ſupport of charitable inſtitutions, are all
"unequivocal teſtimonies of your wiſdom, humanity, and juſtice.

"I have not failed to convey to our ſovereign the ſatisfaction you have ſo decidedly expreſſed in
"the bleſſings of that happy conſtitution, which you enjoy under his majeſty's auſpicious govern-
"ment. Senſible as you are of thoſe eminent advantages, it can hardly be neceſſary for me to
"deſire, that you ſhould be attentive to impreſs them on the minds of others, over whom your ſupe-
"riority of rank and information muſt and ought to give you a juſt and benevolent influence.

"I have a ſure confidence, that during your reſidence in your reſpective counties, you will ſeek
"to direct and encourage the induſtry of your neighbourhood, in the purſuits beſt adapted to their
"ſituations, and by which the community at large may be moſt effectually benefited. You will
"point out to them the real reſources of a free and fertile country, under the bleſſings of peace,
"and the mild protection of the laws; and you will not ſuffer miſapprehenſions to perplex, or falſe
"informations to miſguide them.

"It is my happineſs and pride to reflect, that our united attention has been, and is directed to
"the ſame objects, of maintaining and advancing the rights, the dignity, and the proſperity of Ire-
"land, and the general intereſts of the empire."

matters

matters would have proceeded to more ſerious conſequences, had not a party of the military, headed by another magiſtrate, fortunately came to the ſheriff's aſſiſtance.

As the principal objection to the introduction of Mr. Flood's bill for a parliamentary reform was, that it originated with an armed body, it was now thought expedient to attempt the meaſure in ſome way leſs exceptionable. The ſheriffs and chief magiſtrates were therefore called upon to convene the inhabitants of their reſpective counties, fully to diſcuſs that meaſure; and ſuch a meeting having been convened at Dublin on the 7th of June, 1784, at which the high ſheriffs preſided, the following reſolutions were agreed to, viz.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the preſent imperfect repreſentation, and the " long duration of parliaments, are unconſtitutional, and intolerable griev- " ances.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the voice of the commons of Ireland is no " leſs neceſſary for every legiſlative purpoſe, than that of either the ſovereign " or the lords; and therefore the people claim it as their juſt, inherent, and " unalienable privilege, to correct abuſes in the repreſentation, whenever ſuch " abuſes ſhall have ſo increaſed as to deprive them of their conſtitutional ſhare " in their own government.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the people of Ireland have, and always had " a clear, unalienable, and indefeaſible right to a frequency of elections, as " well as to an adequate and equal repreſentation, founded upon ſtronger " grounds than that of any act or acts of parliament; and that the attain- " ment of thoſe conſtitutional important objects, is the moſt effectual expe- " dient for reſtoring and ſecuring the independence of parliament.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the preſent inadequate repreſentation, and " the long duration of parliaments, deſtroy that balance, which by our con- " ſtitution ſhould ſubſiſt between the three eſtates of the legiſlature, render " the members of the Houſe of Commons independent of the people, pro- " cure determined majorities in favour of every adminiſtration, and threaten " either an abſolute monarchy, or that ſtill more odious government, a ty- " rannical ariſtocracy.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the majority of the Houſe of Commons is " not choſen by the people, but returned by the mandates of peers of the " realm and others, either for indigent boroughs, where ſcarce any inhabi-

" tants

" tants reſide, or for conſiderable cities and towns, where the elective power " is veſted in a few.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the venality and corruption of the preſent " Houſe of Commons, evinced by the many arbitrary acts paſſed in the laſt " ſeſſion, and the contempt and indignity, with which they treated the appli- " cations and petitions of the conſtituent body, oblige us now to requeſt " the people at large to unite with us in the attainment of a more adequate " repreſentation, and in petitions to the throne for a diſſolution of the pre- " ſent parliament.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the ſtrength of a nation conſiſts in the union " of its inhabitants.

" *Reſolved* (with one diſſenting voice), That a participation in general " rights muſt for ever engage mankind to operate moſt effectually for each " other.

" *Reſolved* therefore (with one diſſenting voice), That to extend the rights " of ſuffrage to our Roman Catholic brethren, ſtill preſerving in its fulleſt " extent the preſent Proteſtant government of this country, would be a " meaſure fraught with the happieſt conſequences, and would be highly con- " ducive to civil liberty.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That a committee of twenty-one gentlemen be " now appointed to prepare an addreſs to the people, requeſting their co- " operation with us; and alſo, a petition to his majeſty, ſtating our griev- " ances, and praying a diſſolution of the preſent corrupt parliament, in whom " we cannot place any truſt or confidence, and that they report the ſame to " this body on Monday the 21ſt of June inſtant."

The committee having at a future meeting made their report, the following addreſs to the people of Ireland was agreed to and publiſhed by that meeting.

" FRIENDS and COUNTRYMEN,

" Permit us, the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, with all the affection " due to fellow ſubjects, and that anxiety which every citizen muſt feel for " his native country, to addreſs you on the moſt important ſubject, that ever " engroſſed the attention of a free people.

" Long and painfully have we endured, in common with you all, the mi- " ſeries ariſing from the abuſe of power, and the well known defects in the " preſent ſtate of repreſentation in the Commons Houſe of parliament; defects " tending to the total annihilation of our boaſted form of government, and

" productive of the higheſt oppreſſion to the inhabitants of this loyal and in-
" dependent nation.

" It is with reluctance we find ourſelves compelled to enter into a detail
" of grievances, which being felt by all, cannot be unknown to any. But
" whilſt we conſider it prudent to juſtify our proceedings to the world, we
" muſt intreat your indulgence, if we ſtate particulars, which might otherwiſe
" be thought unneceſſary.

" Perfectly ſenſible muſt you be of that ariſtocratic influence, which has
" rendered the repreſentation of the people ,merely nominal, and deſtroyed
" that equal balance in the three eſtates of the legiſlature, on which alone
" depends the exiſtence of our glorious conſtitution. You have beheld the
" charters granted to divers boroughs in this kingdom, entitling the bodies
" thereby incorporated to a return of repreſentatives, abuſed and perverted
" to the moſt deſtructive purpoſes, inſomuch that the intention of the crown
" in eſtabliſhing theſe borough towns, has been fruſtrated by the artful prac-
" tices of deſigning men; and perſons returned to parliament from depopu-
" lated places, where ſcarce any inhabitants exiſt, or for conſiderable cities
" and towns, where the elective franchiſe is confined to a few. Nor is it
" leſs notorious, that the proprietors of the ſoil, where ſuch depopulated bo-
" roughs once ſtood, have dared to uſurp a power of ſelling ſeats to members
" in the preſent Houſe of Commons, and by ſuch unwarrantable and cor-
" rupt means have thoſe purchaſers become illegal repreſentatives of the
" people.

" Convinced by dear-bought experience of the many evils from hence
" ariſing, we have joined in every meaſure to obtain redreſs, which has hi-
" therto been pointed out to us by the complaining voice of an injured and
" inſulted kingdom; but unhappily, we have as yet found every attempt in-
" effectual to reſtore the conſtitution to its pure and primitive principles.

" In vain did the noble aſſertors of liberty, compoſing the volunteer army
" of Ireland (arrayed and embodied at their own expence, the unexampled
" protectors of their country againſt foreign foes and domeſtic uſurpation),
" adjuſt by their delegates, agreeable to the deſire of this nation, a more equal
" repreſentation, ſolemnly and deliberately agreed upon. In vain did the
" united voice of the electors of this kingdom, through every free country,
" city, and borough, declare itſelf in favour of ſuch plan of reform, and
" inſtruct their ſeveral repreſentatives to ſupport the ſame. In vain was

" an

" an attempt made by the real friends of their country to introduce ſuch " plan into parliament, and obtain it the ſanction of a law. The baneful " influence of corruption and venality prevented any ſucceſs; and with equal " folly and audacity, were the juſtifiable demands of the people treated with " ignominy and contempt.

" Had the perſons thus obtruded into the parliament of this kingdom con- " ſidered it with a due degree of juſtice and moderation, poſſibly the legality " of their title to a ſhare in its legiſlature might have remained unexamined, " or at leaſt uncontroverted. But when uſurpation is followed by injury " and inſult, that nation muſt be compoſed of ſlaves indeed, which can " tamely ſubmit, without any exertion in its defence.

" But the policy of our oppreſſors loſt ſight of this principle, and not con- " tent with the exerciſe of an authority unconſtitutionally derived, they have " extended it to the entire deſtruction of our moſt valuable rights, and our " civil and commercial intereſts.

" Hence it is, that during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament the moſt wanton " and reiterated acts of oppreſſion have been multiplied; perſonal liberty has " been rendered inſecure; protecting duties (adopted by every wiſe nation) " refuſed; our chartered rights infringed; the ſubject unconſtitutionally and " illegally impriſoned; the trial by jury in many inſtances ſuſpended; the " freedom of the preſs (that grand palladium of all our liberties) violated; " an infamous power given to expoſe and reſtrain private correſpondence; a " large ſtanding army kept up in the time of profound peace; that badge of " ſlavery the ſtamp act, ſo diſgracefully altered, as to make it a ſtill greater " grievance, and taxation unneceſſarily augmented, to the general ruin of " the nation. Such are the proceedings of a parliament, in which the mem- " bers of the Houſe of Commons do not really repreſent the people, but have " become the repreſentation of an overgrown and overbearing ariſtocracy, " raiſed upon the ruins of our rights and privileges; whereby the original " purpoſe of the democratic branch of the legiſlature is defeated, the conſti- " tution effectually deſtroyed, and inſtead of being a ſhield againſt unneceſ- " ſary taxation, the commons are rendered the hired inſtrument to pillage an " already impoveriſhed and diſtreſſed people.

" Thus, fellow ſubjects and countrymen, is all confidence in parliament, " and the dignity thereof, deſtroyed, the truſt of repreſentation betrayed, the " inſtructions of the conſtituent body of the people diſobeyed, commercial

" intereſts neglected, and emigration conſequently promoted, to the great " diſcouragement of population and the diminution of the national wealth; " and thus doth experience evince, that a Houſe of Commons under the " undue influence of either of the two other branches of the legiſlature, is " ever ready to betray the moſt ſacred rights of the people; and we find " that parliaments choſen as they now are, and continuing for eight years as " they now do, will ever be compoſed for the moſt part of perſons under the " guidance of particular noblemen and others, ſolely aiming at and perpetu- " ally contending for the power and emoluments of office.

" Enjoying the advantages lately held out to us by our ſiſter kingdom, " who with equal juſtice and magnanimity, unequivocally acknowledged and " reſtored to us our right of excluſive legiſlative, and to maintain a ſtrict amity " with whom, is not leſs our inclination than our intereſt, we have to regret, " that internal ſituation of our own country, that corruption and venality, " which pervade our ſenate, and thoſe defects already pointed out in our le- " giſlature, which prevent our purſuing means, that under the free enjoyment " of our conſtitution, and with the prudent direction of virtuous rulers, might " render us a proſperous, happy, and united kingdom.

" Failing in every other mode of redreſs, we have been now induced to " approach the throne, by an humble petition, praying the diſſolution of the " preſent parliament, and ſeeking that relief from our moſt gracious ſove- " reign, which has been indignantly and intemperately refuſed by thoſe, who " aſſume to be the delegated ſervants of the people. Nor do we doubt of " ſucceſs, if, meeting with the approbation of our fellow ſubjects (which can " alone render effectual this ſalutary and neceſſary meaſure), we ſhall be ſup- " ported by their warm and zealous co-operation in bringing thoſe national " grievances to the ear of majeſty.

" Convinced of the neceſſity, we cannot however preſume to point out " any ſpecific mode for a parliamentary reform in the repreſentation of the " people: that, in which all are equally concerned, muſt receive from all their " approbation and ſupport. We call upon you therefore, and thus conjure " you, that in this important work you join with us as fellow ſubjects, coun- " trymen, and friends, as men embarked in the general cauſe, to remove a " general calamity; and for this we propoſe, that five perſons be elected " from each county, city, and great town in this kingdom, to meet in national " congreſs at ſome convenient place in this city, on Monday, the 25th day

" of

" of October next, there to deliberate, digeſt and determine on ſuch meaſures, " as may ſeem to them moſt conducive to re-eſtabliſh the conſtitution on a " pure and permanent baſis, and ſecure to the inhabitants of this kingdom, " peace, liberty, and ſafety.

" And whilſt we thus contend, as far as in us lies, for our conſtitutional " rights and privileges, we recommend to your conſideration the ſtate of our " ſuffering fellow ſubjects, the Roman Catholicks of this kingdom, whoſe " emancipation from the reſtraints, under which they ſtill labour, we conſider " not only as equitable, but eſſentially conducive to the general union and " proſperity of the kingdom.

" Truſting with the moſt perfect confidence in your concurrence and ſup- " port, we entertain the ſtrongeſt hopes of freeing our country from that " yoke of bondage, which domeſtic enemies have thus impoſed on it. The " majeſty of the people will then reaſſume its proper influence in the guidance " of the ſtate, and divine providence, knowing the juſtice of our cauſe, will " graciouſly aſſiſt us in obtaining thoſe rights, to which we are entitled by the " laws of God and nature.

" ALEX. KIRK PATRICK, jun. }
" BENJAMIN SMITH, } Sheriffs."

And the following is a copy of the petition or remonſtrance to his majeſty, which was alſo agreed to by the aggregate meeting:

" To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

" The humble Petition of the Freemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of " the City of Dublin.

" MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

" PERMIT us, your loyal and dutiful ſubjects, with " every ſentiment of duty and attachment to your majeſty's perſon, family, " and government, to approach the throne with the greateſt reſpect and " humility, to lay a national grievance of the higheſt importance to your " crown and dignity, and to the liberties and properties of your people of " Ireland, at your majeſty's feet.

" The grievance your diſtreſſed ſubjects thus humbly preſume to lay be- " fore your majeſty, is the preſent illegal and inadequate repreſentation of the " people of this kingdom in parliament; illegal, becauſe the returns of mem- " bers for boroughs are not agreeable to the charters granted for that purpoſe " by the crown; and inadequate, becauſe there are as many members re- " turned

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" turned for each of thoſe boroughs, by a few voters, as are returned for any " county or city in this kingdom.

" Born in a country where your petitioners, from their earlieſt infancy, " were taught to believe the laws for their government paſſed through a " Houſe of Commons elected by the people, they conceived their liberties " founded on the moſt firm baſis; but finding laws paſſed, inimical as well " to your majeſty's crown as their rights (which are inſeparable), they were " led into a minute enquiry of the cauſe, and diſcovering the ſame to pro- " ceed from the preſent inſufficient mode of repreſentation, and the long du- " ration of parliament, which render even the few members, who are conſtitu- " tionally elected, nearly independent of their conſtituents, they now moſt " humbly beg leave to inform your majeſty, that men thus elected ceaſe " to have any weight with your people.

" It is to the grand cauſe of ariſtocratic influence (jealous, as all inordinate " power muſt be, of whatever may tend to ſhake its eſtabliſhment), and to " the miſrepreſentations which have been tranſmitted to your majeſty of " your faithful ſubjects of Ireland, that we attribute many arbitrary and " alarming proceedings in the laſt ſeſſion of our parliament.

" A bill for the more equal repreſentation of the people (the deſire of " millions of your faithful ſubjects), has been refuſed even a diſcuſſion in " our parliament.

" Protection has been denied to our infant trade and manufactures, which " England thinks neceſſary to the maturity and vigor of hers.

" A violent attack has been made on the liberty of the preſs; that ſupple- " ment to the laws, and palladium of liberty, a terror only to tyrants, and " apoſtates.

" Alarming reſtrictions on the commercial and friendly communications of " your majeſty's ſubjects, have been impoſed by the Poſt Office Act.

" A general ſyſtem of prodigality ſeems to have been adopted for the pur- " poſe of burdening our trade, and damping all ſpirit of induſtry: and emi- " grations conſequently encouraged, are now encreaſing to an alarming " degree.

" A manifeſt infringement has been made on the ancient and ſacred char- " ter of the capital of this realm; and inſtead of the conſtitutional trial by " jury, a novel tribunal inſtituted, from whoſe ſentence there lies no appeal.

" It is with infinite concern we are obliged to add, that your majeſty's

" miniſters

" miniſters in this kingdom have aſſiſted in all the meaſures, of which we thus " humbly complain; a circumſtance the more extraordinary, as your ma- " jeſty has lately thought it neceſſary to appeal to the Britiſh electors at " large, againſt the power of an ariſtocracy, and as your majeſty's firſt mi- " niſter in England has virtuouſly declared himſelf friendly to the principal " meaſure, which has been here rejected (we mean a more equal repreſenta- " tion of the people) convinced, that an overbearing ariſtocracy is not leſs " hoſtile to the liberties of the ſubject, than to the prerogative of the crown.

" We farther intreat your majeſty's permiſſion to condemn that remnant " of the penal code of laws, which ſtill oppreſſes our Roman Catholic fellow " ſubjects; laws which tend to prohibit education and liberality, reſtrain " certain privileges, and to proſcribe induſtry, love of liberty, and patriotiſm.

" Deeply affected by theſe national calamities, we, your majeſty's faithful " and loyal ſubjects, the citizens of Dublin, do therefore moſt humbly beg " leave to ſupplicate your majeſty, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed to ex- " erciſe your royal inclination to adopt with deciſion and effect, whatever " your majeſty ſhall collect to be the ſenſe of the people.

" That your majeſty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious " reign over loyal and happy ſubjects, and that your deſcendants may in- " herit your ſeveral dominions till time ſhall be no more, is, and always will " be our ſincere and fervent prayer.

" Signed by order,

" ALEX. KIRK PATRICK,

" BENJAMIN SMITH."

This petition was preſented to the lord lieutenant by the high ſheriffs, with an addreſs to his excellency requeſting it might be tranſmitted; to which they received the following anſwer:

" GENTLEMEN,

" AT the ſame time that I comply with your requeſt, in " tranſmitting to his majeſty a paper ſigned by you, entitled A Petition of " the Freemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the City of Dublin, I ſhall " not fail to convey my entire diſapprobation of it, as caſting unjuſt reflec- " tions upon the laws and parliament of Ireland, and tending to weaken the " authority of both."

Theſe proceedings of the city of Dublin were ſeconded by other parts of the kingdom; but the whole was fruſtrated by the interpoſition of govern-

ment.

ment, and profecutions by information, &c. were commenced againſt different perſons, by whom ſuch aggregate meetings had been aſſembled. The high ſheriff of the county of Dublin (then Henry Stevens Reilly, Eſq.) was ſentenced to fine and impriſonment by the Court of King's Bench; however, after a few days' confinement, he was liberated, and the fine reduced on acknowledging his error, and making a public apology in that court.

It may be ſeen, that the repeated defeats of the advocates for reform in parliament had not abated their ardor in the purſuit of their favorite object. In deſpair of any deliberate co-operation from parliament, they had confidently turned their applications to the quarter, from whence experience had taught them to look for effectual redreſs. As government had not hitherto ventured to queſtion the legality of the volunteer aſſociations, the more thinking part of them were aſtoniſhed and diſcontented at the ſtrong diſapprobation of their conduct conveyed in the lord lieutenant's anſwer. Although the reſolutions and addreſſes of the aggregate meeting were ſtrongly, and by ſome thought intemperately expreſſed, they were notwithſtanding the reſult of much conſideration and temperate deliberation.* Such however was the credulous enthuſiaſm of the majority of them in the cauſe of reform, that even after the diſpiriting and angry anſwer of the lord lieutenant, they could not be perſuaded, that either his grace or his former zealous colleague, Mr. Pitt, had receded from, dropped or renounced the reforming principle they had lately avowed with ſo much ardor. Accordingly, on the 8th of July, a petition to the king was conveyed to Mr. Pitt, by the inhabitants of Belfaſt, nearly of the ſame tenor with that of the citizens of Dublin. In the month of September, Mr. Pitt informed them, in his anſwer, "That he had undoubtedly been, and ſtill continued, a zealous friend to a reform in par-

* Whilſt the buſineſs of equal repreſentation was in agitation at a meeting of the convention in Dublin, a pretended letter was produced from Lord Kenmare, purporting to convey the general ſentiments of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, in which they were made to expreſs their perfect ſatisfaction with what had been already done for them, and that they deſired no more than peaceably to enjoy the privileges they had obtained. But though this letter were publickly diſavowed, both by the reſpectable perſon, from whom it was ſaid to have come, and by a general aſſembly of the committee of the Iriſh Catholics, who acknowledged themſelves to have too great a reſemblance to the reſt of their ſpecies to be deſirous of oppoſing any thing that tended to their relief, and that they ſhould receive with gratitude any indulgence the legiſlature ſhould be willing to grant them, yet, in the plan of reform digeſted at that meeting, they were left preciſely in the ſame ſituation as before.

liament,

" liament, but that he muſt beg leave to ſay, that he had been ſo on grounds " very different from thoſe adopted in their petition. That what was there " propoſed, he conſidered as tending to produce ſtill greater evils than any " of thoſe, which the friends of reform were deſirous to remedy."

The cauſe of reform received about this time a more fatal blow from the diſunion, which broke out amongſt the volunteers themſelves, on the ſubject of admitting the Roman Catholics to the rights of election. In an addreſs preſented by the Ulſter corps to their general, the Earl of Charlemont, after ſome ſtrong expreſſions of their deteſtation of ariſtocratic tyranny, they hinted at the neceſſity of calling in the aid of the Catholics, as the moſt juſt as well as effectual means of oppoſing it with ſucceſs. In anſwer to this addreſs, the Earl of Charlemont, lamented that, for the firſt time, he felt himſelf obliged to differ from them in ſentiment. He was free from every illiberal prejudice againſt the Catholics, and full of goodwill towards that very reſpectable body, but he could not refrain from the moſt ardent entreaties, that they would deſiſt from a purſuit, that would fatally clog and impede the proſecution of their favourite purpoſe.

As this nobleman was highly and deſervedly reſpected, his opinion was eagerly embraced, both by the timid, whoſe apprehenſions were alarmed at the bold extent of the project, and by a great number whoſe prejudices againſt the Catholics appear to have been ſuſpended from conveniency or faſhion though never conquered by principle. In the month of October, the thanks of the corporation of the city of Dublin were voted him for his conduct on that occaſion.

The meeting of a national congreſs was a meaſure of too alarming a nature, not to attract the moſt ſerious attention of government; and it appears to have been their reſolution to take the moſt vigorous ſteps for preventing it if poſſible. A few days previous to that which was fixed for the election of delegates for the city of Dublin, the attorney general addreſſed a letter to the ſheriffs, expreſſing his very great ſurpriſe at having read a ſummons ſigned by them calling a meeting for the purpoſe in queſtion. He obſerved, that by this proceeding, they had been guilty of a moſt outrageous breach of their duty; and that if they proceeded, they would be reſponſible to the laws of their country, and he ſhould hold himſelf bounden to proſecute them in the Court of King's Bench, for a conduct, which he conſidered ſo highly criminal, that he could not overlook it. Theſe threats ſucceeded ſo far as to

intimidate the ſheriffs from attending the meeting in their official capacity; but the meeting was nevertheleſs holden, delegates were choſen; and in revenge for the attorney's letter, ſeveral ſtrong reſolutions were agreed to, relative to the right of aſſembling themſelves for the redreſs of grievances. Government having once ſet their faces againſt the election and aſſembling of delegates, from denouncing threats, they proceeded to puniſhments.

Mr. Riley, high ſheriff for the county of Dublin, in conſequence of his having called together, and preſided at an aſſembly of freeholders, who met on the 19th of Auguſt, 1784, for the purpoſe of chooſing and inſtructing their delegates, was the firſt object of miniſterial proſecution. The attorney-general proceeded againſt him by attachment from the court of King's Bench. The aſſembly, and the reſolutions they came to on that occaſion, ſigned by Mr. Riley, in his character of ſheriff for the county, were both declared to be illegal, and Mr. Riley was ſentenced by the court to pay a fine of five marks, (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) and to be impriſoned one week.

This mode of legal proceſs, except for the purpoſe of bringing perſons before the court, to receive the ſentence of ſuch court for contempt of, and diſobedience to its orders and directions, has ſo ſeldom been reſorted to, that even the legality of the proceſs itſelf, on any other ground, had remained a matter of general doubt and uncertainty.

In the preſent caſe it met with much leſs oppoſition than might have been expected. Clamours without doors, and debates within, on the ſubject, there certainly were, but both too feeble and ill-concerted to promiſe any ſucceſs. The new diviſion of the volunteers into parties, took off the general attention to this attack upon the uſe of juries, which, in any other moment, would not have been ſo tamely tolerated. Of ſuch import is it, when overſtrong meaſures are to be attempted, to prepare the public for the reception of them by internal diſunion or alarm. Government did not confine their proſecutions to Mr. Riley. Having once adopted a mode of proceeding, which ſo effectually anſwered the end, for which they deſigned it, informations were moved for, and attachments granted againſt the different magiſtrates, who called the meetings, and ſigned the reſpective reſolutions of the freeholders in the counties of Roſcommon and Leitrim. At the ſame time, the preſs too came under the laſh of the attorney-general; and the printers and publiſhers of ſuch newſpapers, as had inſerted the obnoxious reſolutions, ſuffered with the magiſtrates, who had ſigned them.

Not-

Notwithſtanding theſe violent meaſures which adminiſtration were purſuing, the national congreſs met, purſuant to its appointment, on the 25th day of October. But as it was far from being complete in point of number, and ſeveral of its moſt reſpectable members choſe to abſent themſelves, they adjourned, after having paſſed a number of reſolutions to the ſame purport with thoſe, that had been agreed to at the previous meeting; and exhorted in the moſt earneſt manner the communities, which had not ſent repreſentatives, if they reſpected their own conſiſtency, if they wiſhed for the ſucceſs of a parliamentary reform, and as they tendered the perpetual liberty and proſperity of their country, not to let paſs that opportunity of effecting the great and neceſſary confirmation of the conſtitution."

The link of unanimity having been once ſevered, the fall of the armed aſſociations into difference and contention was much more rapid, than had been their progreſs to union. The diviſions of the volunteers were encouraged by government; and for that purpoſe diſcord and turbulence were rather countenanced than checked in many counties, particularly upon the delicate and important expedient of admitting the Catholics to the elective franchiſe, a queſtion, which it was artfully attempted to connect with the now declining cauſe of parliamentary reform. Through a long ſeries of years government had never wanted force to quell internal commotions; and it ſeemed to be now dreaded leſt an union of Iriſhmen ſhould extinguiſh the old means of creating diſſention. The deſire of diſuniting the volunteers begat inattention to the grievances of the diſcontented and diſtreſſed peaſantry of the ſouth: that wretched and lawleſs rabble once more aſſumed the ſtile of *White Boys*: and for ſome time committed their depredations with impunity, particularly againſt Kilkenny; until a ſtop was put to them by the loyal and vigorous efforts of the Rev. Dr. Troy,* then the Roman Catholic biſhop of Oſſory, and the clergy of his dioceſe;

* His Paſtoral Letter, or Circular Exhortation, may be ſeen in the Appendix, No. LXXIV. on which occaſion the following letter was written to him by command of his excelleney.

"*Dublin Caſtle, 20th Nov.* 1784.

"SIR,

"I read with pleaſure your forcible and well-timed Exhortation to the Ro-
"man Catholics of the dioceſe of Oſſory, upon the re-appearance in the county of Kilkenny of
"thoſe execrable rioters formerly called White Boys. I thought it a juſtice due to you to lay it
"before the lord-lieutenant; and I have his commands to aſſure you of the great ſatisfaction he

ceſe; for which ſucceſsful exertions he received the moſt ſatisfactory acknowledgments from government.

As the unanimity of the volunteers diminiſhed, their ſpirit and exertions abated: ſomething, however, was to be attempted before the meeting of the parliament. On the 2d of January, 1785, the ſecond meeting of the delegates was had at Dublin, at which were preſent the repreſentatives of twenty-ſeven counties, and of moſt of the cities and conſiderable towns of the kingdom, amounting in the whole to more than 200 perſons. Their proceedings appear to have been of the ſame nature as thoſe before adopted, with this only difference, that in the propoſed application to the Houſe of Commons, it was agreed to confine themſelves to the moſt general terms, and to leave the mode of redreſs as free and open as poſſible to the conſideration of parliament.

The Britiſh parliament ſat to the 25th of Auguſt, 1784, and met again on the 25th of January, 1785: and from his majeſty's ſpeech it appears, that "their firſt concern was the ſettlement of all differences with Ireland. "Amongſt the objects which now require conſideration, I muſt particularly "recommend to your earneſt attention the adjuſtments of ſuch points in the "commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland as are not yet "finally arranged: the ſyſtem, which will unite both kingdoms the moſt "cloſely on principles of reciprocal advantage, will, I am perſuaded, beſt "enſure the general proſperity of my dominion."

The parliament of Ireland met on the 20th of January, 1785, when the lord-lieutenant thus addreſſed them:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I HAVE his majeſty's commands to meet you in par-"liament, and to deſire your advice and co-operation upon thoſe affairs of "importance, which in the preſent circumſtances of the kingdom require "your moſt ſerious attention.

"Whilſt I lamented the lawleſs outrages and unconſtitutional proceedings

"feels in the part you have taken for the preſervation of peace, and preventing the unhappy conſe-"quences, which muſt follow from thoſe wicked and deluded people perſiſting in ſuch outrageous "violation of the law. I truſt your endeavours will have that ſucceſs which they merit, and which "claim the eſteem of all good men.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

"Thomas Orde."

"which

" which had taken place ſince your laſt prorogation, I had the ſatisfaction to " perceive that theſe exceſſes were confined to a few places, and even there " condemned. And I have now the pleaſure to obſerve, that by the ſalutary " interpoſition of the laws, the general tranquillity is re-eſtabliſhed.

" I am to recommend in the king's name to your earneſt inveſtigation thoſe " objects of trade and commerce between this kingdom and Great Britain, " which have not yet received their complete adjuſtment. In framing a " plan with a view to a final ſettlement, you will be ſenſible that the intereſt " of Great Britain and Ireland ought to be for ever united and inſeparable. " And his majeſty relies on your liberality and wiſdom for adopting ſuch an " equitable ſyſtem for the joint benefit of both countries, and the ſupport of " the common intereſt, as will ſecure mutual ſatisfaction and permanency."

After the addreſs had been moved and ſeconded, Lord Edward Fitzgerald ſaid, he would not have had any objection to the addreſs, if it had proceeded in the uſual mode, as mere complimentary matter of form; but when it declared an approbation of the firm and moderate meaſures of his Grace's government, meaſures in which he could not coincide, he felt himſelf under the neceſſity of oppoſing that part of the addreſs. He therefore moved, that the words " experienced virtue and firmneſs" ſhould be expunged, and the words, " and whoſe private virtues entitle him to the eſteem and regard of " this houſe," ſhould be inſerted in their room.

Sir Edward Crofton ſeconded the amendment.

The great objection which the friends of reform had to the words *firmneſs and moderation*, aroſe out of the alleged illegality of the attachments iſſued in the courſe of the receſs out of the King's Bench. It was aſſerted on one ſide, though denied on the other, that the mode of attachment had been adopted becauſe a jury could not be truſted on the occaſion. The late proſecutions and attachments were traced up to the miniſtry, and vehemently inveighed againſt by the oppoſition; they were ſtrenuouſly defended as legal, moderate, and efficient, by the treaſury bench.

On the enſuing day a very warm debate aroſe out of an amendment propoſed by Mr. Flood to the addreſs to his majeſty: but he was not ſupported even by ſeveral of the ſtaunchеſt advocates for reform. Much was ſaid both on the illegality of attachments and parliamentary reform, though neither ſubject were before the houſe. The attorney-general, (Mr. Fitzgibbon) boldly defended the legality and the neceſſity of attachments. Mr. Grattan

moſt

moſt ſeverely reprobated the convention of delegates, and lamented the change attempted to be introduced into the volunteer corps. The old original volunteers had become reſpectable, becauſe they repreſented the property of the nation; but lately attempts had been made to arm the poverty of the country. He condemned the meeting of the delegates, and all other exceſſes, becauſe they prejudiced the reform in parliament, and at the ſame time they inſulted its authority.*

His majeſty's anſwer to the addreſſes, which was communicated to the commons on the 4th of February, 1785, ſpoke a very determined language againſt the attempts of the delegates† to dictate to, and overawe the parliament.

The ſeſſion of 1785, in both kingdoms, was unuſual for its duration and the cloſe attention, which the arduous ſubjects of deliberation forced the members to give to their legiſlative duties. The commercial arrangements between Great Britain and Ireland, exerciſed the attention of both parliaments upwards of ſeven months. In the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, the advocates for reform were not diſpirited by the late anſwer of his majeſty, nor by the many vigorous meaſures adopted by government, from purſuing their favourite

* Parl. Debates, p. 42.

† This is the anſwer of his majeſty.

" GEORGE R.

" His majeſty has received with great ſatisfaction, the dutiful and loyal " addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, and the ſentiments therein expreſſed, of their zealous and " affectionate attachment to his perſon and government, as well as their juſt ſenſe of the experi- " enced moderation and firmneſs of their preſent chief governor.

" His majeſty has the fulleſt reliance, that his faithful commons will make proviſions for ſuch " ſupplies as may be ſuitable to the exigencies of the ſtate, the intereſts of his people, and the ho- " norable ſupport of his government.

" His majeſty has obſerved with great concern the popular diſturbances, that have lately prevailed, " from the intemperance and indiſcretion of miſguided men; and confides in the conſtant and " ſtrenuous endeavours of his faithful commons of Ireland to prevent their pernicious effects; and " their reſolution, to reject and ſuppreſs every aſſumed authority, which may attempt to dictate to " the legiſlature, affords his majeſty the higheſt ſatisfaction. His majeſty is fully perſuaded, that a " proper degree of attention will be ſhewn in the conſideration of ſuch internal regulations as may " be neceſſary for ſecuring the peace and happineſs of his ſubjects in Ireland, as well as for the ſet- " tlement of all commercial objects between his kingdoms, upon equitable and laſting principles, " for the mutual advantage of the different parts of the empire: and they may depend upon his " moſt ready concurrence in the ſupport of ſuch meaſures as, upon a mature conſideration may " appear to draw cloſer thoſe ties of intereſt and affection between the two countries, which are " ſo eſſential to their general happineſs and proſperity. *G. R.*"

object.

object. Upon this ground, Sir Edward Crofton, on the 4th of February,* preſented a bill to preſerve the freedom of parliament, by aſcertaining the qualifications of members to ſerve in the Houſe of Commons. The tenor of the bill was to make 500*l.* per annum fee ſimple eſtate the qualification for a knight of the ſhire; and 300*l.* per annum of like eſtate that for a citizen or burgeſs. This would have eſtabliſhed too much independence in the houſe not to be oppoſed by the Caſtle intereſt. The ardent declarations of Mr. Pitt in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, upon parliamentary reform, on which, he ſaid, he laboured inceſſantly, and was the object neareſt to his heart, buoyed up their confidence, that in Ireland his friend and colleague in that cauſe, and now the organ of the Britiſh miniſter in Ireland, would not oppoſe its progreſs in that kingdom, where it was more wanted, more generally and urgently called for by the people, and could be more eaſily effected than in Great Britain, whoſe prime miniſter had ſo confidently boaſted of his wiſhes to bring it to bear.† At a time in which moſt important

* 4 Parl. Debates, p. 79.

† Lord Surrey (now Duke of Norfolk) in obſerving upon the king's ſpeech, mentioned the attachments, that had lately been iſſued againſt ſheriffs in Ireland, for having convened what he could not but conſider as a meeting perfectly legal, and perfectly conſtitutional; he truſted therefore ſomething was intended to be done on the ſubject. To aſſemble, for the purpoſe of conſidering of a parliamentary reform, appeared to him to be the laſt matter that ſhould be proceeded againſt; more eſpecially in ſuch an extraordinary way as by attachment. To this, Mr. Pitt ſaid, (17 Engliſh Parl. Debates, p. 8) he was not ſorry for what the noble lord had ſaid upon that ſubject; on the contrary, he was extremely glad that a parliamentary reform had been mentioned. Perhaps he did not differ from the noble lord, in thinking that the moſt practicable mode of accompliſhing the object of amending the repreſentation of the people, would have been to bring it explicitly forward in his majeſty's ſpeech. Great and wiſe men had entertained various conceptions of that important matter. He was willing to give it all the fair play, to which the ardent deſire of the people, its own momentous conſequence, and his ſincere inclination entitled it. On this buſineſs he laboured inceſſantly. It was that which, of all others, was the neareſt his heart: and at that very early period of the ſeſſion, to have ſtated it ſpecifically, was impoſſible. Much was ſtill to do. His ideas were not matured. It comprehended a great variety of conſiderations: it related to the eſſentials or vitals of the conſtitution; it therefore required the moſt delicate and unremitted attention: it was a path which he was determined to tread; but he knew with what tenderneſs and circumſpection it became him to proceed. He hoped, however, in a few days, to be able to name a day, on which he ſhould have the honour of ſubmitting his propoſition to the houſe. It was his aim to propoſe a ſpecific plan of reform, which, in his judgment, for of that only he ſpoke, and for that only he pledged himſelf, as every man would undoubtedly judge in ſo great and critical a caſe, according to the beſt of his own judgment, which he preſumed would be an improvement of the conſtitution, as

if

tant and final arrangements had been pending for the commercial intercourſe between the ſiſter kingdoms, and when it was notorious that a ſpecial treaty of commerce had been long in agitation between Great Britain and France; and the treaty for regulating the commerce between her and the United States of both America and Holland, were ſtill in an incomplete ſtate, it appeared neceſſary, that Ireland ſhould, particularly as ſhe was now an independent kingdom, know how far her commercial intereſts were affected by thoſe pending treaties with foreign nations: accordingly, Mr. Corry, on the 8th of February, moved the houſe, that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to the lord-lieutenant, that he would be pleaſed to lay before his majeſty the humble addreſs of that houſe, that his majeſty would graciouſly condeſcend to order to be laid before that houſe copies of the preliminary and proviſional articles of peace and commerce, and alſo the definitive treaties of peace and commerce with foreign ſtates, at, and ſince the concluſion of the laſt war. This reaſonable motion having been inſtantly oppoſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Foſter) and the ſecretary of ſtate (Mr. Orde), the houſe from that time became diffident in the ſincerity of government to adapt the pending arrangements to the rights, intereſts, and dignity of that kingdom.*

Previous to the meeting of parliament on the 20th of January, the Britiſh cabinet, in concert with commiſſioners, appointed on the part of Ireland, had formed a plan for regulating and finally adjuſting the commercial intercourſe between the two countries: and on the 7th of February Mr. Orde laid it before the Houſe of Commons, in the form of ten ſeparate reſolutions or propoſitions, which he obſerved were founded on the words of the unanimous

it would confer permanency and effect on thoſe principles which conſtituted its diſtinguiſhing excellence. To this meaſure he pledged himſelf, but did not feel any obligation to define it at preſent; nor was he willing to bring it forward too early, leſt he might not leave himſelf ſufficient time for digeſting what he ſhould think it incumbent on him to lay before the houſe. But he was anxious to improve his plan with whatever was requiſite to render it effectual, and to bring it on with every ſolemnity which could contribute to its influence and reſpectability. He ſhould, therefore, chooſe, that a motion for a call of the houſe ſhould precede it, in order that the friends and oppoſers of the motion might have a fair invitation either to ſupport or conteſt it.

* Although the great object of the remaining part of the ſeſſion were the arrangement of the commercial intercourſe between the two countries, yet ſome other meaſures occaſionally occurred in parliament. The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſtated the national debt then to amount to 2,150,301*l.* 11*s.* 5¼*d.* The uſual number of 15,000 military was voted, though ſtrongly oppoſed: and Mr. Gardiner's motion for 20,000*l.* for arraying the militia, paſſed by a majority of 139 againſt 63; though it were ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the remaining friends of the volunteers.

addreſs

addreſs of that houſe at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, recommending a plan for a liberal arrangement of commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, formed upon the broad baſis of reciprocal advantage, as the moſt effectual means of ſtrengthening the empire at large, and cheriſhing the common intereſt and brotherly affection of both kingdoms. The conſideration of them was recommended to the houſe in the king's name, and Mr. Secretary went through them ſeparately with ſome comment on each: little oppoſition or even obſervation was made by the houſe upon them in this ſtage: Mr. Forbes required time to conſider and digeſt them, and warned the houſe againſt precipitancy in adopting them. Mr. Brownlow flew out indignantly at the idea of their becoming a tributary nation: he rejected the gift, and hurled it back with ſcorn; he never would conſent to be a ſlave, or pay tribute. Such propoſitions had been formerly made to America, and they had ſeen the effects. Mr. Flood cautioned the members againſt going into a debate upon the propoſitions, as there was then no queſtion before the houſe. On the 11th and 12th of February the houſe was in committee upon the reſolutions.* They were ſtrongly oppoſed by ſome, but not by all of the oppoſition.

* 4 Journ. Lords, p. 550. The following was the form of the original propoſitions.

" 1ſt. *Reſolved*, That it is highly important to the general intereſt of the Britiſh empire, that the " trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as poſſible; and " for that purpoſe, that the intercourſe and commerce be finally ſettled and regulated on permanent " and equitable principles for the mutual benefit of both countries.

" 2d. *Reſolved*, That towards carrying into full effect ſo deſirable a ſettlement, it is fit and " proper, that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, ſhould be " imported into each kingdom from the other, reciprocally, under the ſame regulation, and at the " ſaid duties, if ſubject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place " of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation into " either country reſpectively, ſhall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

" 3d. *Reſolved*, That for the ſame purpoſe, it is proper, that no prohibition ſhould exiſt in " either country, againſt the importation, uſe, or ſale of any article, the growth, product, or ma- " nufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every ſuch article, if ſubject to " duty, in either country, ſhould be preciſely the ſame in the one country as in the other, except " where an addition may be neceſſary in either country, in conſequence of an internal duty on any " ſuch article of its own conſumption.

" 4th. *Reſolved*, That in all caſes where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or ma- " nufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it would be expe- " dient, that they ſhould be reduced in the kingdom where they are the higheſt, to the amount

 " payable

tion. Of all the gentlemen, who ultimately oppoſed them, Mr. Grattan appears to have entertained the moſt favourable opinion of them in the firſt inſtance.

" payable in the other, and that all ſuch articles ſhould be exportable from the kingdom, into which " they ſhall be imported, as free from duty as the ſimilar commodities or home manufactures of " the ſame kingdom.

5th. *Reſolved*, That for the ſame purpoſe, it is alſo proper, that in all caſes where either king- " dom ſhall charge articles of its own conſumption, with an internal duty on the manufacture, or " a duty on the material, the ſame manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged " with a further duty on importation, to the ſame amount as the internal duty on the manufacture, " or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material, and ſhall be entitled to ſuch " drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the ſame ſubject to no heavier burden, than " the home made manufacture; ſuch farther duty to continue ſo long only as the internal con- " ſumption ſhall be charged with the duty or duties, to balance which it ſhall be impoſed, or until " the manufacture, coming from the other kingdom, ſhall be ſubjected there to an equal burden, " not drawn back or compenſated on exportation.

" 6th. *Reſolved*, That in order to give permanency to the ſettlement now intended to be eſta- " bliſhed, it is neceſſary, that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, ſhould be hereafter im- " poſed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufac- " ture of the other, except ſuch additional duties as may be requiſite to balance duties on internal " conſumption, purſuant to the foregoing reſolution.

" 7th. *Reſolved*, That for the ſame purpoſe, it is neceſſary farther, that no prohibition, or " new or additional duties, ſhould be hereafter impoſed in either kingdom, on the exportation of " any article of native growth, product, or manufacture from thence to the other, except ſuch as " either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſ- " cuits; and alſo except where there now exiſts any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty " which is not equal in both kingdoms, in every which caſe the prohibition may be made reciprocal, " or the duties raiſed ſo as to make them equal.

" 8th. *Reſolved*, That for the ſame purpoſe, it is neceſſary, that no bounties whatſoever ſhould " be paid, or payable, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except " ſuch as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits, and ſuch as are in the nature of drawbacks " or compenſations for duties paid, and that no duty ſhould be granted in this kingdom on the ex- " portation of any article imported from the Britiſh plantations, or any manufacture made of ſuch " article, unleſs in caſes where a ſimilar bounty is payable in Britain, on exportation from thence, " or where ſuch bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compenſation of, or for duties " paid over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain.

" 9th. *Reſolved*, That it is expedient, for the general benefit of the Britiſh empire, that the im- " portation of articles from foreign ſtates ſhould be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, " on ſuch terms, as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of ſimilar articles of the " growth, product, or manufacture of the other.

" 10th. *Reſolved*, That it is eſſential to the commercial intereſts of this country to prevent, as much

ſtance. "I am anxious," ſaid he, "to ſay a few words, both on the new reſolu-
"tions and the plan. The reſolutions I think abſolutely indiſpenſable. They
"have a threefold principle. The firſt is, after the expences of the nation are
"paid, to contribute to the general expence of the empire. The ſecond is, that
"by making the ſurplus not applicable to the general expence till all ex-
"pences are paid, it intereſts both the Britiſh and the Iriſh miniſters in Iriſh
"œconomy. The third is, to ſubject that ſurplus to the control of the Iriſh
"parliament. If the other reſolutions had not paſſed, theſe ought ſtill to be
"ſupported. They put an end to debt; they decide the great queſtion of
"1753; they eſtabliſh Iriſh œconomy; they make the Britiſh miniſtry a
"guarantee to the integrity of this houſe, and the œconomy of Iriſh admi-
"niſtration. The plan is open, fair, and juſt, and ſuch as the Britiſh miniſter
"can juſtify to both nations. He gave to England what ſhe had a right to
"expect, and perhaps they could not give her more."

When all the reſolutions had been agreed to, the chancellor of the Exchequer moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, expreſſive of their gratitude to his majeſty for the gracious recommendation of the plan to the conſideration of the houſe, and of their ſanguine hopes of the happy effects thereof. On the ſame day (12 Feb. 1785) the reſolutions and the addreſs were ſent to the lords, and unanimouſly agreed to. On the 22d of the month, the eleven reſolutions agreed to by the Houſes of Lords and Commons of Ireland were read in a committee of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, when Mr. Pitt opened the buſineſs by calling upon the committee to debaraſs their minds of all bias and prepoſſeſſion, which ſo much pains had been taken to create and diffuſe throughout every part of the kingdom. In treating that important queſtion, he would beg leave to recal their attention to what had been, and what was the relative ſituation of the two countries. They would recollect that, from the Revolution to a period within the memory of every man, who heard him,

"much as poſſible, an accumulation of national debt, and therefore it is highly expedient, that the
"annual revenues of this kingdom ſhould be made equal to its annual expences.

"11th. *Reſolved*, That for the better protection of trade, whatever ſum the groſs hereditary re-
"venue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties, granted in the
"nature of drawbacks,) ſhall produce, over and above the ſum of 656,000*l.* in each year of peace,
"wherein the annual revenues ſhall be equal to the annual expences, and in each year of war,
"without regard to ſuch equality, ſhould be appropriated towards the ſupport of the naval force of
"the empire, in ſuch manner as the parliament of this kingdom ſhall direct."

indeed until theſe very few years, the ſyſtem had been that of debarring Ireland from the enjoyment and uſe of her own reſources; to make the kingdom completely ſubſervient to the intereſts and opulence of this country, without ſuffering her to ſhare in the bounties of nature, in the induſtry of her citizens, or making them contribute to the general intereſts and ſtrength of the empire. This ſyſtem of cruel and abominable reſtraint had however been exploded. It was at once harſh and unjuſt, and it was as impolitic as it was oppreſſive; for however neceſſary it might be to the partial benefit of diſtricts in Britain, it promoted not the real proſperity and ſtrength of the empire. That which had been the ſyſtem, counteracted the kindneſs of Providence, and ſuſpended the induſtry and enterprize of man. Ireland was put under ſuch reſtraint, that ſhe was ſhut out from every ſpecies of commerce. She was reſtrained from ſending the produce of her own ſoil to foreign markets, and all correſpondence with the colonies of Britain was prohibited to her, ſo that ſhe could not derive their commodities but through the medium of Britain. This was the ſyſtem, which had prevailed, and this was the ſtate of thraldom, in which that country had been kept ever ſince the Revolution. Some relaxation of the ſyſtem, indeed, took place at an early period of the preſent century. Somewhat more of the reſtrictive laws were abated in the reign of George II. but it was not until a time nearer to our own day, and indeed within the laſt ſeven years, that the ſyſtem had been completely reverſed.*

It was not to be expected but that when Ireland, by the more enlarged ſentiments of the preſent age, had acquired an independent legiſlature, ſhe would inſtantly export her produce and manufactures to all the markets of the world. She did ſo, and this was not all. England, without any compact or bargain, generouſly admitted her to a ſhare in her colonies. She gave her liberty to import directly, and to re-export to all the world, except to Britain, the produce of her colonies. Thus much was done ſome years ago; but to this moment no change had taken place in the intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland themſelves. Some trivial points indeed had been changed; but no conſiderable change had taken place in our manufactures exported to Ireland, or in theirs imported to England. That, therefore, which had

* Theſe melancholy truths, ſo ſtrongly ſtated by Mr. Pitt, of the degraded and diſtreſſed ſituation of Ireland, under the ancient ſyſtem of its government, are ſo many conſolatory reaſons for the Iriſh finding in an incorporate union the impoſſibility of their repetition.

been

been done, was ſtill viewed by the people of Ireland as inſufficient; and clamours were excited, and ſuggeſtions publiſhed in Dublin and elſewhere, of putting duties on our produce and manufactures, under the name of protecting duties.

Having thus far relaxed from the ſyſtem, which had been maintained ſince the revolution; having abandoned the commercial ſubſerviency, in which we had ſo long perſevered, and having ſo wiſely and juſtly put them into a ſtate, in which they might cultivate and profit from the gifts of nature; having ſecured to them the advantages of their arts and induſtry, it was to be obſerved, that we had aboliſhed one ſyſtem, and had eſtabliſhed another; but we had left the intercourſe between the two countries exactly where it was. There were, he ſaid, but two poſſible ſyſtems for countries ſituated in relation to one another like Britain and Ireland. The one, of having the ſmaller completely ſubſervient, and ſubordinate to the greater, to make the one, as it were, an inſtrument of advantage, and to make all her efforts operate in favor, and conduce merely to the intereſt of the other. This ſyſtem we had tried in reſpect to Ireland. The other was, a participation and community of benefits, and a ſyſtem of equality and fairneſs, which, without tending to aggrandize the one or depreſs the other, ſhould ſeek the aggregate intereſts of the empire. Such a ſituation of commercial equality, in which there was to be a community of benefits, demanded alſo a community of burdens; and it was this ſituation, in which he was anxious to place the two countries. It was on that general baſis, that he was ſolicitous of moving the propoſition, which he held in his hand, to complete a ſyſtem, which had been left unfiniſhed and defective.

Mr. Pitt, after having fully paſſed in review the different benefits lately granted to Ireland by the Britiſh parliament, obſerved, that the conceſſions now propoſed to be made to that kingdom, in order to put the two countries on a fair and equal footing, he ſhould reduce to two heads:

Firſt, The importation of the produce of our colonies in the Weſt Indies and America through Ireland into Great Britain.

Second, A mutual exchange between the two countries of their reſpective productions and manufactures, upon equal terms.

With regard to the firſt, he allowed it had the appearance of militating againſt the navigation laws, for which England had ever had the greateſt partiality. But as ſhe had already allowed Ireland to trade immediately and directly

directly with the colonies, he could not ſee how the importing of the produce of thoſe colonies circuitouſly through Ireland into Great Britain could injure the colonial trade of this country, which was a direct one, and therefore to be made at a leſs expence and riſk, than that which was circuitous.

In return for theſe conceſſions on the part of Great Britain, he propoſed, that Ireland ſhould agree to the payment of a certain ſtipulated ſum yearly out of the ſurplus of her hereditary revenue, towards defraying the general expences of the empire. He then concluded a very elaborate ſpeech with moving the following general reſolution: "That it was highly important "to the general intereſts of the empire, that the commercial intercourſe be- "tween Great Britain and Ireland ſhould be finally adjuſted, and that Ireland "ſhould be admitted to a permanent and irrevocable participation of the "commercial advantages of this country, when her parliament ſhould perma- "nently and irrevocably ſecure an aid out of the ſurplus of the hereditary "revenue of that kingdom, towards defraying the expence of protecting the "general commerce of the empire in time of peace."

Although the committee were not called upon that night to give any opinion upon the reſolution, Lord North, Mr. Fox and ſeveral of their friends ſpoke upon the ſubject, leſt their ſilence might be interpreted into conſent or approbation. Whereas they much doubted, whether any ſyſtem of intercourſe were at that time neceſſary to be arranged between Great Britain and Ireland: and if ſo, whether the ſyſtem, of which the right honourable gentleman had given the outline, were ſuch as policy, expediency, and good ſenſe required to be adopted.

Mr. Fox entered more into the detail of the neceſſary effects of the reſolutions, and concluded therefrom, that the whole tendency of the propoſitions appeared to him to go the length of appointing Ireland the ſole guardian of the laws of navigation, and grand arbitreſs of all the commercial intereſts of the empire; a truſt he felt no ſort of inclination to part from out of our own hands, not even to delegate to Ireland, of whoſe generoſity, loyalty, and gratitude, no man entertained a higher opinion.

A fortnight elapſed before the ſubject again made its appearance; during which time a report, prepared by a committee of the board of trade and plantations, was laid by the miniſter upon the table of the Houſe of Commons, to aſſiſt its deliberations. This report was ſtated to be founded upon the declarations

clarations and opinions of ſome of the principal manufacturers and merchants in the kingdom, who had been examined by the above-mentioned committee, and its particular object was to prove the expediency of that part of the ſyſtem, which related to the reduction of the duties payable upon the importation of Iriſh produce and manufactures into Great Britain, to what the ſame ſort of articles were charged with in this country.

In the mean time the merchants and manufacturers, who had been examined before the committee, joined by great numbers of others from every part of the nation, met together for the purpoſe of taking the Iriſh propoſitions into their conſideration. During the courſe of their proceedings it appeared, that the opinions of the former were in direct contradiction to the inferences, which had been drawn from their examination in the report laid before parliament. Whether this were occaſioned by any change, which upon a fuller conſideration had taken place in the minds of the merchants and manufacturers themſelves, or whether the committee of the board of trade and plantations had ſtrained and perverted their declarations, it is not eaſy to determine. However, the conſequence was, that it threw a conſiderable degree of diſcredit upon the report itſelf, and ſeemed to point out the neceſſity there was for the Houſe of Commons to examine the different commercial and manufacturing bodies concerned, at their own bar. This mode of proceeding gave the firſt check to the ſyſtem in its progreſs through the houſe, whilſt without doors it became more unpopular, in proportion as it became more thoroughly inveſtigated; yet it muſt be allowed, that its unpopularity generally aroſe from different grounds.

During the months of March and April, and even until the middle of the month of May, the houſe was occupied in receiving petitions, and hearing evidence of manufacturers and merchants of every deſcription. The firſt of theſe petitions was from Liverpool: it was preſented on the 3d of March by Mr. Gaſcoigne, and drew a conſiderable long ſpeech from Mr. Pitt, to refute the concluſions drawn by the petitioners from their own premiſes. On the 16th of March Mr. Stanley preſented a petition from Lancaſhire, ſigned by eighty thouſand perſons: ſixty-four petitions in the whole* were pre-

* Mr. Jenkinſon in argument in favour of the meaſure obſerved, that the number of petitions was no matter of triumph, for that in Lord North's adminiſtration fifty-one petitions had been preſented in favour of Ireland.

ſented

ſented againſt the propoſitions, from which the oppoſition ſtrongly urged, that the ſenſe of the country was againſt them. On no ſubject had Mr. Pitt ever ſpoken with more warmth and zeal. On the 12th of May, 1785, Mr. Pitt brought forward, in conſequence or under pretext of the new lights thrown upon the ſubject from the examinations, petitions, and reports, a new ſeries of propoſitions or reſolutions,* twenty in number, ſome of the additional being

* The following was the form of the new reſolutions or propoſitions, viz.

I. That it is highly important to the intereſts of both countries, that the commerce between Great Britain and Ireland ſhould be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

II. That a full participation of commercial advantages ſhould be permanently ſecured to Ireland, whenever a proviſion, equally permanent and ſecure, ſhall be made by the parliament of that kingdom towards defraying, in proportion to its growing proſperity, the neceſſary expences in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general intereſts of the empire.

III. That towards carrying into full effect ſo deſirable a ſettlement, it is fit and proper, that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, "except thoſe of the growth, "produce, or manufacture, of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the "Streights of Magellan," ſhould be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the ſame regulations, and at the ſame duties, (if ſubject to duties) to which they "would be" liable when imported directly from the country or place from whence the ſame may "have been "imported into Great Britain or Ireland reſpectively, as the caſe may be;" and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country reſpectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all other ſorts of ſtrong waters not imported from the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies, ſhall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other. "But, nevertheleſs, that the duties "ſhall continue to be protected and guarded, as at preſent, by with-holding the drawback, until a "certificate from the proper officers of the revenue in the kingdom, to which the export may be "made, ſhall be returned and compared with the entry outwards."

IV. That it is highly important to the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation ſhould be the ſame in Great Britain and Ireland; and, therefore, that it is eſſential towards carrying into effect the preſent ſettlement, that all laws which have been made, or ſhall be made in Great Britain, for ſecuring excluſive privileges to the ſhips and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh colonies and plantations, and for regulating and reſtraining the trade of the Britiſh colonies and plantations, ſuch laws impoſing the ſame reſtraints, and "conferring the ſame benefits on the ſubjects of both kingdoms, ſhould" be in force in Ireland, "by laws to be paſſed by the parliament of that kingdom for the ſame time, and" in the ſame manner as in Great Britain.

V. That it is farther eſſential to this ſettlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of Britiſh or foreign colonies in America, or the Weſt Indies, and the Britiſh or foreign ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, imported into Ireland, ſhould on importation, be

being ſupplemental, others explanatory, and ſeveral entirely new. The chief objects of additional propoſitions were to provide, 1ſt. That whatever navigation

be ſubject to the ſame duties " and regulations" as the like goods are, or from time to time ſhall be ſubject to, upon importation into Great Britain; " or if prohibited from being imported into Great " Britain, ſhall in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland."

VI. That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient, that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which ſhall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, ſhould be put, by laws to be paſſed in the parliament of the two kingdoms, under the ſame regulations with reſpect to bonds, cockets, and other inſtruments, to which the like goods are now ſubject in paſſing from one port of Great Britain to another.

VII. That for the like purpoſe, it is alſo expedient, that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands, " or any other of the Britiſh colonies or plantations," ſhall be ſhipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they ſhould be accompanied with ſuch original certificates of the revenue offices of the ſaid colonies as ſhall be required by the law on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quality included in one certificate ſhall not be ſhipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorſed as to quantity, ſhould be ſent with the firſt parcel; to identify the remainder, if ſhipped at any future period, new certificates ſhould be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a regiſter of the original documents, ſpecifying the quantities before ſhipped from thence, by what veſſels, and to what ports.

VIII. That it is eſſential for carrying into effect the preſent ſettlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies, or in America, " or to the Britiſh ſettle- " ments on the coaſt of Africa," ſhould from time to time be made liable to ſuch duties and drawbacks, and put under ſuch regulations as may be neceſſary, in order that the ſame may not be exported with leſs incumbrance of duties or impoſitions than the like goods ſhall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain.

IX. That it is eſſential to the general commercial intereſts of the empire, " that ſo long as the " parliament of this kingdom ſhall think it adviſeable that the commerce to the countries beyond " the Cape of Good Hope ſhall be carried on ſolely by an excluſive company, having liberty to im- " port into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any " countries beyond the Cape of Hope ſhould be importable into Ireland from any foreign country, " or from any ſettlement in the Eaſt Indies belonging to any ſuch foreign country; and that no " goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the ſaid countries ſhould be allowed to be im- " ported into Ireland but through Great Britain; and it ſhall be lawful to export ſuch goods of the " growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the " Streights of Magellan from Great Britain to Ireland, with the ſame duties retained thereon as " are now retained on their being exported to that kingdom; but that an account ſhall be kept of " the duties retained, and the net drawback on the ſaid goods imported to Ireland; and that the

vigation laws the Britiſh parliament ſhould thereafter find it neceſſary to enact for the preſervation of her marine, the ſame ſhould be paſſed by the legiſlature

" amount thereof ſhall be remitted by the receiver general of his majeſty's cuſtoms in Great Bri-
" tain to the proper officer of the revenue in Ireland, to be placed to the account of his majeſty's
" revenue there, ſubject to the diſpoſal of the parliament of that kingdom; and that whenever the
" commerce to the ſaid countries ſhall ceaſe to be carried on by an excluſive company in the goods
" of the produce of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, the
" goods ſhould be importable into Ireland from countries from which they may be importable to
" Great Britain, and no other; and that no veſſel ſhould be cleared out from Ireland for any part
" of the countries from the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, but ſuch as ſhall be
" freighted in Ireland by the ſaid excluſive company, and ſhall have ſailed from the port of London;
" and that the ſhips going from Great Britain to any of the ſaid countries beyond the Cape of Good
" Hope ſhould not be reſtrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board
" there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain."

X. That no prohibition ſhould exiſt in either country, againſt the importation, uſe, or ſale of any article, the growth, or manufacture of the other; except ſuch as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits; " and except ſuch qualified
" prohibitions, at preſent contained in any act of the Britiſh or Iriſh parliament as do not abſo-
" lutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or materials of manufactures, but only
" regulate the weight, the ſize, the packages, or other particular circumſtances, or preſcribe the
" built or country, and dimenſions of the ſhips importing the ſame; and alſo, except on ammuni-
" tion, arms, gunpowder, and other utenſils of war, importable only by virtue of his majeſty's li-
" cenſe;" and that the duty on the importation of every ſuch article (if ſubject to duty in either country) ſhould be preciſely the ſame in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be neceſſary in either country, in conſequence of an internal duty on any ſuch article of its own conſumption, " or in conſequence of internal bounties in the country where ſuch article is
" grown, produced, or manufactured, and except ſuch duties as either kingdom may judge expe-
" dient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits."

XI. That in all caſes where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they ſhould be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the higheſt, to an " amount not exceeding" the amount
" payable in the other;" ſo that the ſame ſhall not be leſs than ten and a half per cent, upon " any
" article which was charged with a duty, on importation into Ireland, of ten and a half per cent. or
" upwards, previous to the 17th day of May, 1782;" and that all ſuch articles ſhould be exportable from this kingdom, into which they ſhall be imported, as free from duty as the ſimilar commodities or home manufactures of the ſame kingdom.

XII. That it is alſo proper, that in all caſes where the articles of the conſumption of either kingdom ſhall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the ſaid manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture " as far as relates to the duties now charged thereon;" ſuch farther

giſlature of Ireland. 2dly. Againſt the importing into Ireland, and from thence into Great Britain, of any other Weſt India merchandizes than ſuch as

farther duty to continue ſo long only as the internal conſumption ſhall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it ſhall be impoſed; and that where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture in one kingdom, greater than the like duty on raw materials in the other, ſuch manufacture may, on its importation " into the other kingdom," be charged with ſuch a countervailing duty as may be ſufficient to ſubject the ſame, ſo imported, to " burdens " adequate to thoſe which" the manufacture compoſed of the like raw material is ſubject to, in conſequence of duties on the importation of ſuch material in the kingdom into which ſuch manufacture is ſo imported; and the ſaid manufacture, ſo imported, ſhall be entitled to ſuch drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the ſame ſubject to no heavier burden than the home made manufacture.

XIII. That, in order to give permanency to the ſettlement now intended to be eſtabliſhed, it is neceſſary, that no new or additional duties ſhould be hereafter impoſed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except ſuch additional duties as may be requiſite to balance the duties on internal conſumption, purſuant to the foregoing reſolution, or in conſequence of bounties remaining on ſuch articles when exported to the other kingdom.

XIV. That for the ſame purpoſe, it is neceſſary, farther, that no prohibition, or new additional duties, ſhall be hereafter impoſed in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, produce, or manufacture " from the one kingdom" to the other, except ſuch as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits.

XV. That for the ſame purpoſe, it is neceſſary, that no bounties whatſoever ſhould be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except ſuch as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits, " and except alſo the bounties at preſent given by Great Bri- " tain," on beer, and ſpirits diſtilled from corn; and ſuch as are in the nature of drawbacks or compenſation for duties paid, and that no bounty ſhould be " payable" on the exportation of any article to any Britiſh colonies or plantations, " or to the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa," or on the exportation of any article imported from the Britiſh plantations, " or from the Britiſh ſet- " tlements on the coaſt of Africa, or Britiſh ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies;" or any manufacture made of ſuch article, unleſs in caſes where a ſimilar bounty is payable in Great Britain, on exportation from thence, or where ſuch bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compenſation of or for duties paid, over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain; and where " any internal " bounty ſhall be given in either kingdom, on any goods manufactured therein, and ſhall remain " on ſuch goods when exported, a countervailing duty adequate thereto may be laid upon the im- " portation of the ſaid goods into the other kingdom."

XVI. That it is expedient for the general benefit of the Britiſh empire, that the importation of articles from foreign " countries" ſhould be regulated from time to time in each kingdom on ſuch terms as may " effectually favor" the importation of ſimilar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, " except in the caſe of materials of manufactures, which are, or here-

as were the produce of our own colonies; and 3dly. That Ireland ſhould debar itſelf from any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, ſo long as it ſhould be thought neceſſary to continue the charter of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company.

In the courſe of the debates upon the propoſitions as they ſtood with theſe amendments and additions, that which met with the moſt vigorous oppoſition (independent of ſuch general reaſoning as went againſt the ſyſtem altogether) was the fourth, in which Great Britain, it was contended, aſſumed both a preſent and a future power to bind Ireland by ſuch acts, as ſhe ſhould paſs relative to the trade and commerce of both kingdoms. This was ſtated to be a reſumption of the right of legiſlating for Ireland, which this country had renounced.

" after may be allowed to be imported from foreign countries, duty free; and that in all caſes where " any articles are or may be ſubject to higher duties on importation into this kingdom, from the " countries belonging to any of the States of North America, than the like goods are or may be " ſubject to when imported, as the growth, produce, or manufacture of the Britiſh colonies and " plantations, or as the produce of the fiſheries carried on by Britiſh ſubjects, ſuch articles ſhall " be ſubject to the ſame duties on importation into Ireland, from the countries belonging to any of " the States of North America, as the ſame are or may be ſubject to on importation from the ſaid " countries into this kingdom."

" That it is expedient, that meaſures ſhould be taken to prevent diſputes touching the exerciſe " of the right of the inhabitants of each kingdom to fiſh on the coaſt of any part of the Britiſh " dominions."

XVIII. That it is expedient, that " ſuch privileges of printing and vending books as are or may " be legally poſſeſſed within Great Britain under the grant of the crown or otherwiſe, and" the copy-rights of the authors and bookſellers of Great Britain, ſhould continue to be protected in the manner they are at preſent, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is juſt that meaſures ſhould be taken by the parliament of Ireland for giving the like protection to the copy-rights of the authors and bookſellers of that kingdom.

" XIX. That it is expedient, that regulations ſhould be adopted with reſpect to patents to be " hereafter granted for the encouragement of new inventions, ſo that the rights, privileges, and re- " ſtrictions thereon granted and contained, ſhall be of equal duration and force throughout Great " Britain and Ireland."

XX. That the appropriation of whatever ſum the groſs hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being ſecured by permanent proviſions) ſhall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand pounds in each year, towards the ſupport of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in ſuch manner as the parliament of Ireland ſhall direct, by an act to be paſſed for that purpoſe, will be a ſatisfactory proviſion, proportioned to the growing proſperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace, the neceſſary expences of protecting the trade and general intereſts of the empire.

On

On one hand it was argued, againſt the propoſitions, that the houſe ought to congratulate with itſelf upon its happy eſcape from the ſyſtem propoſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer but two months ſince; all oppoſition to which was then treated as the effect of faction and diſappointment. If the original reſolutions had paſſed, they would have loſt for ever the monopoly of the Eaſt India trade; they muſt have hazarded all the revenue ariſing from ſpirituous liquors; they would have ſacrificed the whole of the navigation laws of this country. Had theſe reſolutions paſſed into a law, they would have riſked the loſs of the colonial market for the manufactures of Great Britain, and incurred the moſt extenſive danger to the colonies themſelves; they would have left it in the power of Ireland to have drawn a revenue from our conſumption. The juſt alarm of the miniſter on the ſubject of the navigation laws, ſufficiently appeared from the extraordinary nature of the remedy he had thought it expedient to adopt, which was no other than to aſſert that, notwithſtanding the independence of Ireland, ſhe muſt ſtill in commercial laws and external legiſlation be governed by Britain. That the wild ſcheme of extravagant ſpeculation comprized in the reſolutions, did not originate with the Iriſh nation. That a ſtranger had been ſent thither to offer a noſtrum of his own invention for the relief of a diſordered ſtate. For the irritation and ill humour exiſting in that country, miniſters were reſponſible. The violences which they committed in Ireland merited the moſt deciſive and general reprobation. Their attacks on the liberty of the preſs; their endeavours to prevent legal meetings, for the purpoſe of deliberating on the beſt means of reforming the national repreſentation; their proceedings againſt men by ſummary attachment, were meaſures which might well be ſuppoſed to inflame the minds of the people of Ireland. That now imprudent inſult was to be compenſated by imprudent conceſſion. But let the houſe beware of a deſign ſo inſidious and ſo ruinous as that of a commutation of Engliſh commerce for Iriſh ſlavery. The propoſitions, as they were even now modified, were far too complicated and extenſive to be voted by the majority of the members of that houſe, on any other ground than that of confidence in the miniſter: and ſurely the right honourable gentleman had ſufficiently demonſtrated, that implicit confidence in him was as dangerous as it was abſurd; that infallibility was no more his prerogative, than that of others.

On the other hand it was argued in favor of the ſyſtem, that it was a meaſure

ſure of abſolute neceſſity, in order to put an end to the diſcontents, which prevailed to ſo alarming a degree in the ſiſter kingdom. That if the preſent propoſitions were not paſſed into a law, all that had already been done in favor of Ireland would prove nugatory, as it was clearly inadequate to the expectations of that country.

That with reſpect to the fourth propoſition, it was a condition, which the ſafety of our own navigation laws made it neceſſary to annex to the boon granted to Ireland. That it was unfair to infer from thence, that the Britiſh legiſlature had any views of trenching on the independence of Ireland, ſince it left to that kingdom the option of taking, or refuſing the advantages holden out to her, ſubject to ſuch a condition. That the condition itſelf was ſuch as had frequently been adopted in the negotiations of independent ſtates; as in the late treaty betwixt this kingdom and France, when the latter bound herſelf to publiſh certain edicts, as ſoon as other acts ſtipulated on our part, were made known to that country.

With reſpect to the diſadvantages, which it had been ſuppoſed our manufacturers would have to encounter from the comparative ſmall price of labour in Ireland, it was ſaid, ſuch a ſuppoſition aroſe from a miſconception of facts. That the wages of artizans and manufacturers, although not of common labourers, were higher there than in this country, and therefore there was little likelihood of their being able to underſell us on that ground. Nor could our commerce be in any danger from the reaſons, which had been alledged, ſince the proviſions and reſtrictions contained in the propoſitions, were ſufficient as well to prevent any clandeſtine importation of foreign goods into Ireland, as to inſure the duties payable on all ſuch as might be legally imported.

The great conteſt upon theſe propoſitions, was on the 12th of May, when the houſe, at eight o'clock in the morning, divided, 125 for the queſtion of adjournment, and 249 againſt it.* Notwithſtanding this triumph of the miniſter,

* It is impoſſible, and perhaps unneceſſary, for any hiſtorical purpoſe, to follow the different ſpeakers through the long, animated, and often inſtructive debates and converſations upon theſe propoſitions. In one of them (on the 19th of May, 18 Parl. Debates, p. 333) Mr. Burke, after a moſt grateful apoſtrophe to this country for the ſignal favors and honors heaped upon him, gave this juſt and beautiful picture of the relative ſuperiority of this over his own country.—"To conſult the intereſts of England and Ireland, to unite and conſolidate them into one, was a taſk he would undertake, as that by which he could beſt diſcharge the duties he owed to both. To Ireland, independence

niſter, Mr. Pelham again divided the houſe, but with the like effect, on an amendment, ſeconded by Lord Surrey, for inſerting after the words *commercial advan-*

" pendence of legiſlature had been given; ſhe was now a co-ordinate, though leſs powerful ſtate; " but pre-eminence and dignity were due to England; it was ſhe alone that muſt bear the weight " and burden of the empire; ſhe alone muſt pour out the ocean of wealth neceſſary for the defence " of it: Ireland, and other parts, might empty their little urns to ſwell the tide; they might wield " their little puny tridents; but the great trident that was to move the world, muſt be graſped by " England alone, and dearly it coſt her to hold it. Independence of legiſlature had been granted " to Ireland; but no other independence could Great Britain give her, without reverſing the order " and decree of nature: Ireland could not be ſeparated from England; ſhe could not exiſt without " her; ſhe muſt ever remain under the protection of England, her guardian angel."

On the ſame occaſion Mr. Fox gave the following hiſtorical account of theſe propoſitions, (18 Parl. Debates, p. 296)—" In the adminiſtration of which I made a part, their legiſlature was de- " clared to be independent; and in addreſſes from both houſes of parliament, they profeſſed them- " ſelves ſo entirely content, as not to conſider it poſſible that any ſubſequent queſtion of political " diviſion could ariſe between the two kingdoms. Yet, in the very next ſeſſion, they gave indica- " tions of new diſſatisfaction, and farther conceſſions were made. How are we then to argue from " theſe facts? One would imagine, that the moſt effectual and ſatisfactory method of quieting the " apprehenſions, or relieving the exigencies of a diſtreſſed country, would be that of appealing to " their own teſtimony for a knowledge of their circumſtances; to collect information from them- " ſelves; to deſire them to ſtate, in their own perſons, the meaſure of their calamities, and the " beſt expedients for the relief of them. This was preciſely the way purſued heretofore. The con- " ceſſions were granted on the declarations of the beſt informed men in the land; men, the beſt " qualified to know the ſtate, the wants, and the expectations of the kingdom; Mr. Huſſey Burgh " and Mr. Grattan; names which no man could mention but with the ſincereſt and moſt cordial " reſpect, were the authorities on which England proceeded, and on which ſhe relied. But this, " it ſeems, however ſpecious and natural, was not the proper method of aſcertaining the wants, " or wiſhes of another kingdom. The true and only means of finally concluding all diſputes with " Ireland, is to ſend a ſtranger there, and order him to addreſs himſelf to their ſenate in ſuch " language as this:—' Hear me, ye men of ignorance and credulity! you know nothing of what ' you want, what you wiſh, or what would be good for you: truſt yourſelves to me, I am perfect ' maſter of all your infirmities; here is the ſpecific that will cure you, the infallible noſtrum for all ' ailments.' It ſeems that this is the only conciliatory expedient for adminiſtering to the relief of a " diſordered ſtate, not to ſuffer the inhabitants to ſpeak, but to ſend a man amongſt them ignorant " at once of their exigencies, their grievances, and their policy, to propoſe wild ſchemes of " extravagant ſpeculation, and preſcribe for the diſorder without the painful tedioufneſs of " trying to underſtand it. In compliance with this new idea, Mr. Orde, an Engliſh gentleman, " the ſecretary to an Engliſh nobleman, the lord-lieutenant for the time, riſes up and propoſes a " ſet of reſolutions, which he pledges himſelf to carry into complete execution. Theſe reſolutions " are brought to England, and after two months diſcuſſion, are completely and fundamentally al- " tered. Upon theſe reſolutions the right honorable gentleman thinks himſelf warranted to ſay that

" the

*advantages* in the ſecond reſolution, the words, " *as far as may be conſiſtent* " *with the eſſential intereſt of the manufacturers, revenue, commerce, and na-* " *vigation of Great Britain.*"

The propoſitions, after having been agitated upwards of three months, with unuſual warmth on both ſides, and after having received a variety of amendments and alterations, finally paſſed the Houſe of Commons by a large majority, on the 30th of May, on which day they were carried up to the lords. Here again they became the ſubject of much laborious inveſtigation, and were ſtrongly conteſted, and received ſome amendments, though none of a material nature. Lord Stormont, (afterwards Earl of Mansfield), and Lord Loughborough, (now Earl of Roſelyn), were the moſt forward on the part of oppoſition. Lord Camden ſpoke very ſtrongly in favour of the meaſure, as appearing to him, after the moſt comprehenſive view of the matter, ſalutary and political, and which would be productive of many valuable benefits to the empire at large. His lordſhip ſpoke ſtrongly in ſupport of the protecting ſuperiority of Great Britain, which muſt ever neceſſarily attend her ſituation in relation to Ireland. In the courſe of the buſineſs, Lord Shelburne, who had been recently created Marquis of Lanſdown, though ultimately for the propoſitions, ſaid, he would not permit any party bias or political connexion to miſlead his judgment: he entered into a maſterly view of the whole ſubject, in his uſual manner of treating every great political queſtion. He differed from thoſe, who had preceded him in their oppoſition to the meaſure; for if one-tenth of their allegations were founded in truth, Great Britain ſhould not only ſhrink from the arrangement, but Ireland ſhould tremble at the acceptance. It had been brought to a mathematical certainty, that whatever benefits Ireland received from this country, ſo deeply was ſhe drawn into the vortex of our good or evil, the ſhare ſhe took in our ſubſequent misfortunes, was more than ſufficient to counterbalance the precedent advantages: and he witneſſed the miſeries ſhe was ſtill ſuffering from the calamities of the American war.

With reſpect to the arrangement before the houſe, he ſaid he ſhould not enter into any diſcuſſion of the intereſts of Ireland, as that care more properly

" the ſyſtem will be final. The right honorable gentleman ſaid, he muſt have a fund of credulity " who believed all the evidence which the manufacturers had given at the bar. In like manner, I " ſay, that he muſt have a fund of credulity indeed, who can believe on ſuch premiſes, that the " Iriſh will be content with this ſyſtem, or that the general intereſts of both countries can be pro- " moted by its eſtabliſhment."

belonged

belonged to her own parliament. He would give every indulgence to miniſters, who, if they were not infatuated, would give that attention to it, which a buſineſs of ſo much importance demanded. No man reſpected the manufacturers more than he did; they were ſenſible, enlightened, clear headed, and provident. No men were better informed on all the ſubjects, with which their trade was connected, than that body; and miniſters muſt always find it their intereſt to conſult with them, and to take their advice. But the manufacturers were men with prejudices, ſubject to err, particularly where they were blinded by perſonal intereſt.

The Chamber of Manufacturers he conſidered as an inſtitution, which might be productive of much good, and give a partial aſſiſtance to miniſters: though he confeſſed he was an enemy to people aſſembling, and giving to themſelves what names they pleaſed; publiſhing manifeſtoes, edicts, and he knew not what to call their papers. Some noble lords ſeemed to apprehend, that Ireland having an unlimited trade, would ſoon be able to beat England out of the foreign markets; but a country without a capital could not be a rival, and capital was required to carry on both the carrying trade and the depôt trade. It had been ſaid, a ſtipulation to receive Iriſh linens duty-free for ever, and continue the duties on foreign linens, might be attended with bad conſequences in a future negotiation with ſome foreign powers; but he would never believe, that any foreign power would act ſo improperly, or ſo indecently, as to take offence at privileges beſtowed on fellow-ſubjects of one common ſovereign. He laughed to ſcorn all ſuch impotent menaces or apprehenſions: there was not a power in Europe whom a look from this country would not deter, or ſuddenly bring back from any reſolution that they might haſtily give into from pique. The material diſtinction between this country and the powers on the continent, was: they all muſt ſacrifice their commercial to their political intereſts; whereas, ſuch were the peculiar circumſtances, and ſuch the good fortune of England, that ſhe could at all times make her political yield to her commercial intereſts. The objection that was made to the ſyſtem on account of its finality, was with him its praiſe: the fundamental principles he hoped would be eſtabliſhed on the moſt permanent footing: but theſe did not comprehend the detail of the ſyſtem. Let the two nations underſtand one another in the firſt place; let them fairly meet on fundamental principles; and having acquired mutual confidence in each other by the faithful ſettlement of the foundation, all the ſubſequent conſiderations might

be eaſily and gradually diſcuſſed and determined: then theſe countervailing duties, which all ſides acknowledged to be of difficult adjuſtment, but which nobody would aſſert to be impracticable, might be regularly ſettled at the diſcretion of the two parliaments; and they might always be adjuſted to the circumſtances of the times, and be changed as occaſions and neceſſities might require.

When noble lords objected to the ſyſtem's being final, becauſe it might prevent an union between the two kingdoms, did they for a moment conſider the practicability of an union? There were ſeveral circumſtances, that diſtinguiſhed the caſes of union with Ireland from that of Scotland. He mentioned ſome few, but there were many obſtacles, which lay in the way of an union. Before an union was talked of, miniſters ſhould know the temper of the people of Ireland. High minded and jealous of their liberties, miniſters muſt firſt learn whether the Iriſh nation would conſent to give up their diſtinct empire, their parliament, and all the honours, which belonged to their own royalty and ſtate. Apprehenſions had been conceived, that the three thouſand men, that Ireland lent annually to England, and paid out of her own exchequer, might be recalled and diſbanded; it ſhould rather be reflected with ſatisfaction, that inſtead of three thouſand, Ireland might now, whenever the exigencies of England ſhould require it, ſend out her whole military eſtabliſhment, being herſelf ſecure from hoſtile invaſion, through the numbers, diſcipline, and ſpirit of her volunteer army: Ireland was in little danger of becoming an object of a deſcent in any future war; for ſhe had convinced all Europe, that ſhe was able, with her volunteer forces only, to repel the attack of the moſt powerful nation in Europe. No people in the world had a more animated generoſity, or effuſion of heart, than Ireland; this had ever been their national character and their pride; nothing would be loſt by truſting to it; and if Ireland had ever done wrong, it had been for the want of a good leading, or by the miſleading of England. Here alone had been the grievance, and not with the generous Iriſh.

To let things remain as they were, would, of all expedients, be the moſt dangerous. We had raiſed the hopes of the Iriſh nation; they were on the rack of expectation; and they had minds too ſanguine to remain long on the ſtretch, and relax ungratified into patience and ſubmiſſion. Something muſt be done reſpecting the general queſtion of an adjuſtment, and the corner ſtone of connexion be laid in that moment. That in the interval of a ſummer vacation,

tion, many events and ſtorms might happen to waſh it away, if it were not ſolidly and deeply laid; and that if there were not now a beginning, it might be doubtful, when we might ever again have a chance to ſee the beginning take place. While peace laſted, we ſhould avail ourſelves of the opportunity, and form a plan while in a ſtate of quiet, which might grow habitual before we came again into a ſtate of trouble and diſtreſs.

On the 18th of July, Earl Fitzwilliam obſerved, that he had heard it argued, that the adjuſtment then going forward, was neceſſary, on the authority of a reſolution, that had paſſed that houſe in the year 1782, which laid it down, that a permanent ground of connexion ought to be eſtabliſhed between Great Britain and Ireland: that reſolution, he contended, did not extend to, or comprehend any idea whatſoever of a commercial nature, but was ſolely confined to political objects, and that opinion he would by no means relinquiſh, unleſs the miniſter, who had brought it forward, were ready to ſtand up and declare, that his object in propoſing it, was one that related to commerce. That neceſſity had alſo been attempted to be proved, from the riots and diſcontents among the manufacturers of Dublin; but that he by no means admitted as a ſufficient reaſon for the conceſſions granted by the preſent arrangement, looking upon it as he did, to proceed from that licentiouſneſs, with which Captain Brooke had deſcribed thoſe perſons to be infected. The demands, which that mob had made, were for protecting duties, which their parliament had very wiſely, and he was ſorry to ſay, with more fortitude than had been ſhewn by the miniſter of England, refuſed to gratify them with, knowing that ſuch a meaſure was by no means neceſſary. Since then theſe clamours of a mob had been received as dictates by a Britiſh miniſter; why did he exceed them in his acquieſcence? and why did he, in compliance with a demand of protecting duties, introduce a ſyſtem, that overturned the whole policy of the navigation and trade of Great Britain? for he would again repeat what he had ſaid before, that the univerſality of the plan then propoſed, was a proof of the indiſcriminating weakneſs of thoſe, from whom it originated; who, in deſpair of diſcovering the proper objects, which the arrangement ought to embrace, had widely and wantonly extended it to all. But other reaſons beſides the want of protecting duties, might be aſſigned for the prevalent diſcontents in Ireland, (reaſons by no means connected with commerce, but wholly relating to conſtitutional conſiderations,) which were the violent and oppreſſive meaſures purſued in that country by attachment, to reſtrain public

meetings of the people for the purpoſe of deliberating on great national queſtions, a thing which they were indiſputably entitled to do, eſpecially at the very time that a circular letter was ſent about this kingdom under the ſanction of the miniſter, and ſigned by a gentleman of ſome conſideration, (the Rev. Mr. Wyvill) inviting the people to conventions and aſſociations of a ſimilar nature, and for the ſame purpoſes as thoſe, which were the objects of ſuch intemperate perſecution in Ireland.

Lord Townſend, whoſe government of Ireland for nearly five years, ſupereminently qualified him to ſpeak favorably of that country, on this occaſion ſupported ultimately the propoſitions, though he interlarded his ſpeech with ſome home truths, eminently illuſtrative of the critical ſituation of that country, under the then exiſting circumſtances. When he returned from his majeſty's government in that kingdom in 1772, he had the honour to tell their lordſhips in that houſe, that if they did not bring that unfortunate conteſt with America to a ſhort iſſue, there was another part of the empire, which had long laboured under our burdens and wars, which would expect from our juſtice at leaſt, as much indulgence as others might acquire by their revolt. He remembered he was deemed what was called a croaker, nay worſe, a croaker of treaſon; but the views, intereſts and paſſions of mankind, were generally the ſame; and when neither ſenators nor miniſters would make them a part of their calculations, but endeavour to quadrate what they wanted by what they wiſhed, they would ever find themſelves the dupes of their own calculation. He wiſhed that many of their lordſhips had deigned to have viſited the remote provinces of our ſiſter kingdom; there they would have ſeen a hardy, innocent, oppreſſed race of men, in a rich ſoil, ſurrounded by numberleſs flocks and herds, yet unclothed, unfed, and moſtly unhouſed, owing to our reſtrictions upon their imports and exports, yet contributing their perſons and their labours to the ſupport of the empire: would their lordſhips wiſh to continue ſo large a part of their fellow-ſubjects in that ſtate of ſubordination and miſery? The fact was, that our manufacturers had informed Ireland of more than ſhe knew before; that if we did not grant them a fair participation of our commerce, they would have it without it. If any one were wild enough to think we could coerce them, he neither knew the geographical ſituation of Ireland, nor the character of its inhabitants. His lordſhip wiſhed to ſay no more on this ſubject, than that an opulent and luxurious country, like an individual of the ſame character, might loſe much by ſuch a conflict,

conflict; a poor country, like a poor individual, especially if robust and desperate, would suffer less, perhaps could scarcely be worse than they were. It had been urged by many, what necessity was there for such a measure at that time? The parliament of Ireland said, they had expressed twice the warmest satisfaction and perfect contentment at his majesty's gracious indulgences to that kingdom; that the volunteers were dwindling, and that the force of government was never stronger there, or had ever been more exerted to the suppression of rebellion and tumults than at that period. He must, he declared, ever honour the national spirit of the volunteers of that kingdom, in spite of all the discountenance, discouragements, and expedients, with which government attempted to depress them. They had given an illustrious example of what a brave and animated people could effect in their own defence. Yet he did not carry his admiration so far as to approve their assembling under the nose of parliament, to prescribe, reform, and dictate to their representatives; there was much palliation to be pleaded in behalf of our impassioned neighbours, especially when they recollected, what a quantity of political combustibles had been exported into that kingdom from this, and even the most chimerical propositions recommended, however unfitting her peculiar situation; on the contrary, had the same constitutional regulations been imparted to her at that period, which we had adopted and enjoyed in this kingdom, those formidable volunteers had perhaps never existed; but it seemed we were as jealous of our constitutional superiority as our commercial, and consequently had surrendered with reluctance what we should have granted with cordiality. The alterations, which had been made in the first propositions to Ireland, were certainly very considerable, and plainly proved the defects of the original plan; imperfect and perilous it certainly was, and had it passed, might have produced greater evils than, he was persuaded, it was calculated to prevent. Much reproach had been laid at the minister's door for the alterations he had made or admitted; in this his lordship rather thought him commendable in reforming his own errors, or of those who might have misled him, and for adopting better materials from his adversaries. What would not have been urged, and with justice, had he acted otherwise? Had he persisted in errors, and persevered in measures repugnant to his professed views and the interest of both countries, because they were his own—Had he maintained his own infallibility in spite of his conviction, and sacrificed the peace and welfare of both kingdoms to his own personal importance. He said, he scarcely knew how

how to avoid mentioning, nor how to deſcribe to its full extent, her ſituation for trade, the advantages of her ſouthern ports, her command of St. George's Channel, the ſupplies of her ſailors, and proviſions in time of war, her conſumption of our manufactures and imports in time of peace, the manhood, intrepidity, and perſeverance of her inhabitants, aids which a voluptuous empire always required, and could not exiſt without. There were thoſe he knew, who counted much upon her proximity and her diviſions. She was too near, not to be moſt dear to us, and their lordſhips might believe, not ſo mutable upon national points as ourſelves. He ſpoke not to intimidate, but to inform. All he hoped moſt ardently was, that we might give enough to engage the affections and cordiality of our ſiſter kingdom; not to attempt a bargain parſimonious and equivocal. He knew the generous and manly ſentiments of that country were ſuch, as would engage them to make a common cauſe, and admit of no future diſtinctions. If he had expreſſed any degree of preference for Ireland, he begged their lordſhips would impute it to the veneration he bore it, and the obligation he owed for their partiality to his failings; he was naturally, he hoped, the advocate of the oppreſſed and meritorious; he knew the Iriſh to be generous and untemporiſing friends, and who diſdained to be behind hand in reciprocity. On the 19th of July 1785, after a long debate a diviſion took* place in the Houſe of Lords, when there were 84 for the reſolutions, and 30 againſt them.

On the ſame day the reſolutions were ſent from the Lords to the Commons, where, after a very warm debate, the amendments made by the Lords were agreed to: afterwards Mr. Pitt brought in a bill† to the Houſe of Commons founded upon them, which was read a firſt time on the 2d of Auguſt: and was followed up by an addreſs to his majeſty, voted by both houſes of parliament, wherein they acquainted him with what they had done, and that it remained for the parliament of Ireland to judge and decide thereupon. On

* The following proteſt was entered on the Journals "Diſſentient, becauſe we conceive the plan contained in the report, as well from the manner, in which it has been introduced and conducted, as from the matter which it contains, to be likely to create and promote jealouſy and diſſatisfaction throughout the kingdom.

DERBY PLYMOUTH SCARBOROUGH
WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM NORTHINGTON KEPPEL.

† In order to give the reader full information upon this important part of the modern hiſtory of Ireland, the debate on Mr. Pitt's bill is given in the Appendix No. LXXV. together with the addreſs to the king, and his majeſty's anſwer.

the

the 12th of Auguſt Mr. Secretary Orde moved the houſe for leave to bring in a bill, which was a mere tranſcript of that moved by the Engliſh miniſter. The debates on this occaſion, and more eſpecially on the ſide of oppoſition, were long and animated. Whatever had the leaſt appearance of infringing on the legiſlative independency of Ireland, was marked and ſtigmatized in terms of the utmoſt indignation and contempt. The perpetual diſpoſition of her hereditary revenue by the laſt propoſition, the ſurrender of her commercial legiſlation by the fourth, the reſtraint impoſed on her from trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and the Streights of Magellan by the ninth, were put in every point of view, in which reaſon and eloquence could render them impreſſive and convincing. On this ſide of the queſtion, Mr. Grattan* and Mr. Flood were not only ſupported by the regular body of oppoſition, which amounted to more than threeſcore, but were alſo joined by all from the treaſury bench, who ſet up any pretenſion to independence.

In favor of the bill it was urged by Mr. Fitzgibbon, Mr. Hutchinſon and Mr. Foſter, that the fourth propoſition, which had excited ſo much jealouſy and alarm, could not on any fair conſtruction be ſaid to take from Ireland her right of commercial legiſlation, any more than the acts paſſed in 1779 and 1782 had done before; in thoſe Ireland had ſtipulated to trade with the Britiſh Colonies and ſettlements in ſuch manner as Great Britain herſelf traded, to impoſe the like duties, and to adopt the ſame reſtrictions and regulations. That in the bill before them, it was propoſed to trade with Great Britain on the ſame principle; the liberty of either complying with the conditions, or renouncing the agreement *in toto*, whenever the conditions ſhould become obnoxious and unſatisfactory, would be left by the preſent bill full as much in the power of the Iriſh parliament, as it was by either of the foregoing acts. The difference only was, that by the former acts Ireland had ſubſcribed to the commercial laws, which had been adopted by Great Britain for 290 years back; by the preſent, to ſuch as that country ſhould bind itſelf to in future; but that it would be ſtill in the power of the Iriſh parliament to renounce theſe laws, and the whole agreement together, whenever ſhe thought proper. On the other hand, the commercial advantages offered to Ireland by the bill were ſtated to be very important; the linen trade was thereby ſecured to her for ever, the colony trade through Ireland to Great

† The ſpeech of Mr. Grattan is given in the Appendix No. LXXVI. not only as comprehending all that could be ſaid upon this ſubject, but as a ſpecimen of the ſublimeſt oratory.

Britain

Britain was given her, the Britiſh markets were thrown open to Iriſh manufactures, and again, as theſe manufactures were allowed to be re-exported from Great Britain, with a drawback of all duties, the Iriſh would, in effect, export on the foundation of Britiſh capital, at the ſame time, that they were left to employ their own capital in the extenſion of their home manufactures.

After a vehement debate, which laſted 18 hours, the houſe divided at nine in the morning upon the motion of Mr. Orde for leave to bring in the bill, ayes 127, Noes 108. Such a diviſion in the firſt ſtage of the buſineſs was equivalent to a defeat: and on the Monday following (15th of Auguſt) Mr. Orde moved the firſt reading of the bill, and the printing it; declaring that he did not intend to make any further progreſs in the buſineſs during the preſent ſeſſion. He had completed his duty reſpecting it. If it were revived, it muſt be by a motion from the public, who at the commencement of the enſuing ſeſſion might take ſuch further ſteps as they ſhould think proper.

In order to preclude a motion of cenſure framed by Mr. Flood, the ſecretary then moved an adjournment; and Mr. Flood conſenting, not without difficulty, to wave his motion, the adjournment was carried without a diviſion. Public illuminations teſtified the joy excited by the ſudden termination of this extraordinary buſineſs, which thus ended to the great diſappointment of the miniſtry in both kingdoms.

On the 15th of Auguſt, when the bill was preſented and ordered to be printed, Mr. Flood propoſed the following reſolution to the houſe:— "*Reſolved,** That we hold ourſelves bound not to enter into engagement to "give

* In the early part of this debate Mr. Curran gave the following pictureſque view of the laſt important debate.(5 Par. Deb. p. 453) He expreſſed the effuſions of his joy upon the victory his country had obtained. He ſaid he would ſupport the reſolution propoſed by the honourable member, becauſe he thought it neceſſary to declare to the people, that their rights had not been ſolely ſupported by 110 independent gentlemen, but that if eight or ten of them had been abſent, then thoſe who had countenanced the meaſure, would have abandoned every idea of proſecuting it further. He rejoiced that the cloud, which had loured over them, had paſſed away, and he declared he had no intention to wound the feelings of the miniſter by triumphing in his defeat; on the contrary, he might be ſaid to riſe with ſome degree of ſelf-denial, when he gave to others an opportunity of exulting in the victory. The oppoſition in England had thrown many impediments in the way, but he would remember with gratitude, that the oppoſition there had ſupported the liberties of Ireland. When he ſaw them reprobating the attacks made upon the trial by jury; when he ſaw them ſupporting

" give up the ſole and excluſive right of the parliament of Ireland in all caſes " whatever, as well externally as commercially and internally." The ſecretary evaded it by a motion for adjournment to the 5th of September, in order to give time to print, read and digeſt the bill: Which was carried by a very great majority. Although Mr. Flood had conſented to withdraw his reſolution, the debate was kept up in a very turbulent manner for three or four hours longer. Mr. Flood ſaid, he had never heard more miſchievous and inflammatory language, or more folly than on that evening. He was called to order by Mr. Foſter and Mr. Fitzgibbon, who were prominently conſpicuous in favor of the propoſitions: between whom and the patriotic orator many ſevere perſonalities paſſed. When the houſe met, purſuant to the late adjournment on the 5th of February, Mr. Pery gave in his reſignation of the chair, which he had filled for fourteen years. Mr. Foſter was unanimouſly elected ſpeaker in his lieu, and was on the ſame day preſented at the bar of the Lords, and approved of by the lord lieutenant. After the return of the ſpeaker and the Commons, to their own Houſe, Mr. Daly obſerved, that the conduct of the late ſpeaker had been highly honorable to himſelf, and advantageous to the nation, conferring dignity upon the houſe, and drawing reverence to its proceedings; it was, therefore, incumbent on the Houſe to

ſupporting the legiſlative rights of Ireland, he could not refrain from giving them his applauſe. They well knew that an invaſion of the liberty of Ireland would tend to an attack upon their own. The principle of liberty, thank heaven, ſtill continued in thoſe countries, that principle, which had ſtained the fields of Marathon, ſtood in the paſs to Themnopylæ, and gave to America independence. Happy it was for Ireland, that ſhe had recovered her rights by victory, not ſtained with blood, not a victory bathed in the tears of a mother, a ſiſter or a wife, not a victory hanging over the grave of a Warren or a Montgomery, and uncertain whether to triumph in what ſhe had gained, or to mourn over what ſhe had loſt. The bill was at an end, the cloud that had been collecting ſo long, and threatning to break in tempeſt and ruin on their heads, had paſſed harmleſs away. The ſiege that was drawn round the conſtitution was raiſed, and the enemy was gone *Juvat ire et Dorica caſtra*, and they might now go abroad without fear, and trace the dangers they had eſcaped; here was drawn the line of circumvallation, that cut them off for ever from the eaſtern world; and there the correſponding one, that incloſed them from the weſt. Nor, let us, ſaid he, forget in our exultation to whom we are indebted for the deliverance. Here ſtood the truſty mariner (Mr. Conolly) on his old ſtation the maſt head, and gave the ſignal. Here (Mr. Flood) all the wiſdom of the ſtate was collected, exploring your weakneſs and your ſtrength, detecting every ambuſcade, and pointing to the hidden battery, that was brought to bear on the ſhrine of freedom. And there (Mr. Grattan) was exerting an eloquence more than human, inſpiring, forming, directing, animating to the great purpoſes of your ſalvation.

attend his retreat with every mark of reſpect, to demonſtrate in what high eſtimation they held integrity, wiſdom and moderation, and to prove that turbulence or meanneſs were not the only roads to preferment: he therefore moved, "That the thanks of this Houſe ſhould be given to the Right "Honorable Edmond Sexton Pery, for his conſtant and unwearied attend-"ance in the chair during the courſe of above fourteen years in three ſuc-"ceſſive parliaments; for the unſhaken integrity and ſteady impartiality of "his conduct there, and for the indefatigable pains and uncommon abilities, "with which he has conſtantly exerted himſelf to promote the real intereſt "of his country, and to maintain the honor and dignity of parliament, "and to preſerve inviolable the rights and privileges of the Commons of "Ireland."

Which being paſſed unanimouſly in the affirmative, he moved,

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, moſt humbly to "beſeech his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to confer ſome "ſignal mark of favor upon the Right Honorable Edmond Sexton Pery, "late ſpeaker of this Houſe, for his great and eminent ſervices performed to "that country, and the diſtinguiſhed ability and integrity with which he had "preſided in the chair of that Houſe; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that what-"ever expence his Majeſty ſhould think proper to be incurred upon that ac-"count, that Houſe would make good the ſame to his Majeſty."

Which likewiſe paſſed unanimouſly in the affirmative; and then Lord Headford moved that a committee ſhould be appointed to draw up an addreſs to his grace the lord lieutenant for his wiſe and prudent adminiſtration. On the next day Lord Headford reported from the committee appointed to draw up an addreſs of thanks to his grace the lord lieutenant for his wiſe and prudent adminiſtration, that they had drawn up the following addreſs.

"To his Grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant General and "General Governor of Ireland, the humble addreſs of the Kights, "Citizens and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"WE his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Com-"mons of Ireland, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave humbly to expreſs to "your grace, with unaffected warmth, the ſatisfaction which we feel in every "opportunity of teſtifying our reſpect for your perſon, and our attachment "to your government. We cannot reflect upon your grace's conſtant atten-

"tion

" tion to the happineſs and welfare of this kingdom, without grateful ac-
" knowledgements to his majeſty, that his majeſty has been pleaſed to give
" us ſo acceptable a proof of his royal favor, as the continuing your
" grace in the government of Ireland. The generous humanity of diſpoſi-
" tion, and high ſenſe of honor, which diſtinguiſh your grace's private cha-
" racter, have in conjunction with your hereditary ſpirit and firmneſs, en-
" deared you to the nation, by their happy influence on your public
" conduct.

" We humbly deſire your grace to accept our ſincere thanks for thoſe ex-
" ertions, which in conſequence of our unanimous addreſs, and in obedience
" to his majeſty's commands, your grace employed, during the laſt interval
" between our ſeſſions, in preparing a plan of commercial intercourſe with
" Great Britain. We are aware that the utmoſt delicacy and caution are
" neceſſary for the conduct of meaſures, in which the rights and intereſt of
" both kingdoms are equally concerned, and muſt be equally regarded; and
" we entertain a juſt ſenſe of the attention your grace has manifeſted to this
" principle, that their completion ſhould depend upon the public ſatisfaction.
" We truſt therefore, that the further conſideration of this ſubject will be
" purſued with that temper, that ſpirit of conciliation, and that impartial at-
" tention to the general welfare of the whole empire, which alone can en-
" ſure permanency to any ſyſtem, or enable the wiſdom of parliament to per-
" fect ſuch an equal, reciprocal, and juſt arrangement as may unite both
" kingdoms for ever in intereſt, and preſerve in each a firm confidence of
" mutual affection.

" It is our zealous and ardent wiſh, that your grace may long continue
" the government of this kingdom, and contemplate, with growing pride
" and ſatisfaction, the ſucceſsful effect of your government, in the increaſing
" affection of a generous people, and in the progreſſive harmony and ſtrength
" of the empire."

The addreſs having been firſt read at large, and afterwards paragraph by paragraph, as the Speaker was proceeding to put the queſtion, Mr. Grattan, who juſt entered the houſe, ſaid, " I wiſh to give my aſſent to the addreſs;
" every perſonal compliment to his grace the lord lieutenant, I am deſirous
" to pay; the motion of yeſterday, therefore, to thank him for his prudent,
" wiſe, and juſt adminiſtration, paſſed unanimouſly; but the addreſs combin-
" ing the perſonal merit of his grace with the political demerit of the late

" offenſive arrangement, embarraſſes thoſe who would make a perſonal com-
" pliment, without making a public ſurrender of commerce and conſtitu-
" tution; I ſay, if the addreſs only propoſed to let down adminiſtration eaſy,
" to cover their moſt happy defeat, and to conſole them a little for the moſt
" fortunate overthrow of a moſt unjuſtifiable ſyſtem, I ſhould have been
" ſilent; but here is my objection: I fear I ſee in ſome part of that addreſs,
" a train laid for the revival of the twenty propoſitions, and of that bill by
" which the right honorable gentleman propoſed to carry the ſubſtance of
" thoſe propoſitions into execution. Where the addreſs would thank the
" miniſter for the attention paid to the ſatisfaction of the public, I have no
" objection to it, other than a want of foundation in fact. The ſecretary did
" not, in the conduct of this commercial buſineſs, pay the leaſt attention to
" public ſatisfaction; on the contrary, after almoſt every county and city in
" the moſt pointed manner, had expreſſed their diſſatisfaction at his adjuſt-
" ment, he introduced his bill in their defiance; nay, after an hundred and
" ten of the firſt men in the kingdom had oppoſed the leave for bringing in
" the bill, he entertained an intention of forcing on the meaſure, until he
" was taught to underſtand, that the ſervants of the crown would oppoſe it
" in its progreſs. The houſe was canvaſſed, and finding, that he would be in
" the minority, the right honorable gentleman declined a meaſure, which he
" found he could not carry; and yielded, not in compliment to public ſatis-
" faction, but in certainty and ſhame of a public parliamentary overthrow."

However, after a long converſation, the queſtion for the addreſs was carried by 130 againſt 13. The houſe then attended the lord lieutenant, who, after ſignifying the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private bills, thus addreſſed the two houſes of parliament.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" ALTHOUGH the very advanced ſeaſon of the year
" renders it expedient to conclude the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, I flatter
" myſelf, that the great object of adjuſting a commercial intercourſe with
" Great Britain has not in vain engaged your attention, and protracted your
" deliberations. You have repeatedly expreſſed your wiſhes for the attainment
" of an equitable ſettlement, and I have the ſatisfaction to obſerve, that you
" continue to be impreſſed with a true ſenſe of its neceſſity and importance.
" You will have now the fulleſt leiſure to purſue your conſideration of the

" ſubject

" ſubject in private, with that diſpaſſionate aſſiduity which it ſo eminently " deſerves."

" GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

" I am to thank you, in his majeſty's name, for the liberal proviſion " you have made for the public ſervice, and the honorable ſupport of his " majeſty's government. In your generous contribution of ſupplies, you " have not leſs conſulted the dignity of his crown than the real intereſts of " his people. The neceſſity of preventing the accumulation of debt cannot " be too ſtrongly enforced, and it ſhall be my earneſt and conſtant endeavour " to render your wiſe exertions for this ſalutary purpoſe effectual and per- " manent.

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" I feel the trueſt ſatisfaction in obſerving the various beneficial laws, " which have paſſed during this ſeſſion, and the wholeſome effects of your " wiſdom in the returning tranquillity and induſtry, and in the riſing proſpe- " rity of the kingdom. The conduct of parliament has had its juſt influence, " their deliberate ſpirit and approved attention at all times to the public wel- " fare, has inſpired the people with full confidence in the legiſlature, and will " teach them to conſider their true intereſts with calmneſs and diſcretion.

" The nobleſt object to which I can direct my attention, and which will " ever conſtitute the happineſs and pride of my life, is the eſtabliſhment of " the proſperity of Ireland, by extending and ſecuring her commerce, and " by cementing and perpetuating her connexion with Great Britain. And " I truſt you will continually cheriſh this ſentiment in the national mind, that " the ſtability and ſtrength of the empire can alone be ultimately inſured by " uniting the intereſts and objects of both kingdoms in a general and equi- " table ſyſtem of reciprocal and common advantage."

It is not to be ſuppoſed, that an object of ſo much importance, which fully occupied the attention of both legiſlatures for ſeven months, ſhould fall under the conſideration of the Iriſh people out of parliament, without producing a conſiderable ſenſation upon the public mind. We have occaſionally adverted to the agitation of political queſtions by the armed bodies of aſſociated volunteers. We have noticed the diviſion of theſe aſſociations upon certain points, and we have reflected upon the conſequent decline of their influence and power upon the nation. The differences, which actually procreated the diſſent of Lord Charlemont from the general diſpoſition of the original

original volunteers to embrace their Catholic brethren in the ſyſtem of parliamentary reform, were by the artful manœuvres of government rendered ancillary to the debilitation of that armed union of ſentiment, which bad defiance to their moſt rigorous exertions of power. But theſe diſſentions hitherto were confined to Catholic indulgence and parliamentary reform. The projected propoſitions touched neither of theſe queſtions: and as far as they could be or were underſtood by the different corps, which undertook to conſider them, there appears to have been but one opinion for their rejection. The people was diſpoſed or taught to believe, that the propoſitions were detrimental to the intereſts of Ireland, and that government wiſhed and intended to force them upon Ireland by the influence of the Britiſh cabinet. No wonder then, that the popularity of the Duke of Rutland fell in the proportionate degree, as theſe convictions gained ground, and every exertion of rigor, whether by attachment or undoubted legal proceſs, infuſed into the popular mind a degree of venom and aſperity againſt their governor, whom they really conſidered counteracting the intereſts of their country. The city of Dublin, the grand centre of public and private negociation, continued during the whole courſe of the ſummer of 1785, to be a ſcene of tumult and diſorder. No ſooner had parliament riſen, than the expedient of non-importation agreements was again reſorted to with greater zeal than ever. Theſe engagements ſpread themſelves into every quarter of the kingdom: they received the ſanction of ſeveral grand juries, and the merchants of the trading ports found themſelves compelled to ſubſcribe to them. The enforcing of theſe prohibitory compacts naturally devolved upon the loweſt claſs of the people, and they proceeded in the execution of that function according to the uſual modes of popular diſcipline: to keep theſe exceſſes within ſome bounds, the military were poſted in ſuch parts of the city, as were the moſt ſubject to tumult; centinels were placed to prevent or give notice of the firſt appearance of riot, and the garriſon was kept in conſtant readineſs for action.

This untemporizing diſpoſition in government, drew on the lord lieutenant, whoſe manners were in other reſpects peculiarly adapted to command the favor of the Iriſh, an unuſual ſhare of popular odium. His excellency once was received at the theatre by the performance of a piece of muſic, called the volunteer's march. A general uproar enſued; the entertainments of the evening were ſtopped; and it was ſaid he narrowly eſcaped the perſonal outrage of the mob.

When

When the Duke of Rutland met the parliament, according to adjournment, on the 19th of January, 1786, it appears from the ſpeech from the throne, that it was his wiſh, that the conſideration of the commercial intercourſe ſhould be revived: he conſidered, that the national ſolicitude of the Iriſh parliament for the welfare of that kingdom would point out to them the line of conduct, which would be moſt conducive to the public advantage, and to that laſt connexion between the ſiſter kingdom, ſo eſſential to the proſperity of both. In addreſſing himſelf to the commons, he particularly adverted to the principle, which they had ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed, of preventing the accumulation of the national debt, which he hoped had already appeared to them to have proved ſucceſsful; and he doubted not but they would perſevere in the wiſdom of thoſe meaſures, which in their operation promoted ſuch beneficial effects. And, in order to ſmooth the way for a favorite object of government, he recommended a ſyſtematic improvement of the police, and took that occaſion to call the attention of both houſes to the frequent outrages, that had been committed in ſome parts of the kingdom. Addreſſes both to his majeſty and the lord lieutenant were, as uſual, voted and paſſed unanimouſly, though not without ſome ſevere queſtions and animadverſions upon them by Mr. Flood and ſome other gentlemen of the oppoſition.*

As the two grand objects, which government appeared the moſt anxious to

* In the courſe of theſe debates Mr. Forbes alluded to the induſtry of government ſince the receſs in their endeavours to reconcile the people to the commercial propoſitions, by pamphlets and other publications in favor of the meaſure. With reference to Mr. Orde's own pamphlet, he in reply gave the following account of it. He ſaid, he hoped it would never be deemed derogatory to any man to account for his parliamentary conduct to his conſtituents: for himſelf, he had great pleaſure in reflecting, that for twenty-five years he had maintained the moſt friendly correſpondence with the city he had the honor to repreſent; and though when he had formed an opinion upon the full conviction of his own mind, he never would relinquiſh it for any man, yet he held it but right for a repreſentative to aſſign his reaſon to his conſtituents, when he had the misfortune of differing from them, and if he could not perſuade them to become of his opinion, at leaſt to ſhew them, that he acted upon principle, and in a full belief, that he was doing right. Conſonant to this rule, after the addreſs of the Cork grand jury had been preſented to him, he expreſſed his difference of opinion explicitly and decidedly. Complaints were made, that he had treated his conſtituents with diſreſpect, by not explaining his reaſons; he felt the force of the obſervation, and thought himſelf called upon to aſſign his reaſons. He did ſo in a letter to one of the magiſtrates, which the honorable gentleman had been pleaſed to dignify with the title of a pamphlet. 6 Parl. Deb. p. 12.

carry

carry in this ſeſſion were the revival or ſome modification of the commercial propoſitions, and the paſſing of a police bill, ſo was his majeſty's anſwer to the *addreſs of the commons immediately calculated to give countenance and ſupport to both thoſe meaſures. Pains had alſo been taken to exaggerate ſome rumours of diſturbance and abuſes in the country parts, which had worked ſo ſtrongly upon the nerves of Mr. Ogle, that he declared in the Houſe of Commons on the 6th of February, 1786, that he ſaw the utter ruin of the Proteſtant aſcendancy in the affair of Mr. O'Connor and ten thouſand other inſtances. This Mr. O'Connor was generally conſidered a madman. He pretended to be a deſcendant from the ancient kings of Connaught; he had lately taken it into his head to poſſeſs himſelf of the eſtates and demeſnes, which his anceſtors had enjoyed. For this purpoſe he had aſſembled a number of armed men, and he himſelf reſided in a place ſituate amongſt bogs and faſtneſſes, where he had a cannon placed at his door, by the firing of which he aſſembled the mob of the country for many miles around. He had attempted to diſpoſſeſs ſeveral perſons of their lands, particularly a Mr. Bourke, of Ballydogan. In the laſt month he went to the lands of that gentleman, and made a formal entry, at the ſame time telling the hind, who had the care of the cattle, that if his maſter did not, before the 16th of February, ſend him a certain ſum of money, he would carry his cattle away, where they ſhould never be found.

The ſolicitor general, on Mr. Ogle's ſtatement to the committee, informed them how far government had interfered in that buſineſs of Mr. O'Connor:

* 12 Com. Journ. p. 35.

" GEORGE R.

" His majeſty thanks his faithful commons for their loyal and dutiful addreſs, " and receives with pleaſure their profeſſions of attachment to his perſon, family, and government.

" The Houſe of Commons may depend upon his majeſty's warmeſt concurrence and ſupport in " all the great and important objects of their deliberations, and that he will be always ready to co- " operate with them in any meaſures tending to ſtrengthen that laſting connexion between the two " kingdoms, ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the proſperity and happineſs of all his majeſty's ſubjects.

" His majeſty obſerves, with much ſatisfaction, their deſign of attending to regulations for the " improvement of the credit, agriculture, and manufactures of the kingdom, as well as to the " ſecurity of public and private property, and the protection of ſociety; and agrees with them, " that the encouragement of induſtry, and the improvement of the education and morals of his " people, are among the firſt objects worthy of the care and attention of the Houſe of Commons " of Ireland. G. R."

they

they had not been inattentive to the information received of that gentleman's proceedings, but had applied to him and his colleague (the attorney general), in order to know how far they were warranted in employing an armed force to ſuppreſs him. They had returned their anſwer, that conſiſtent with law and conſtitution, government was not warranted, until after due proceſs the magiſtrates of the county ſhould have reported, that the power of the county was inſufficient. The magiſtrates, he ſaid, were in a ſtate of torpor; nothing more had been done by them, than receiving information, which information went to ſhew, that Mr. O'Connor had diſpoſſeſſed ſeveral perſons of their lands; however, the law officers could not adviſe the taking repoſſeſſion with a military force, until after due courſe of law. He concluded with thanking his right honorable friend, whoſe honeſt zeal for the Proteſtant intereſt of Ireland had given government an opportunity of explaining their conduct in that buſineſs.

Mr. Conolly and ſome other gentlemen of great landed property in the country, who had been much in the habit of ſupporting government, now appeared to have taken a decided part in the oppoſition to the Duke of Rutland's adminiſtration. On this ſame day the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir John Parnell) moved, that the debt of the nation was 3,044,167*l.*; on which Mr. Conolly obſerved, that the expences of government every year increaſed: that the miniſter came regularly to that houſe to complain of the deficiency in the revenue, and demanded a loan, which was granted on his promiſe of future œconomy: at laſt the revenue was raiſed by new taxes to equal the expence, and ſtill the expence had increaſed: he (as alſo Mr. Grattan) inſiſted upon the neceſſity of making a ſtand againſt the growth of expence, or elſe their conſtitution and commerce were at an end. Accordingly, on the 9th of February, Mr. Conolly moved the following reſolutions: 1°. That the houſe did in the laſt ſeſſion grant certain new taxes, eſtimated at 140,000*l.* per ann. for the purpoſe of putting an end to the accumulation of debt. 2°. That ſhould the ſaid taxes be continued, it was abſolutely neceſſary, that the expences of the nation ſhould be confined to her annual income. After a very warm and long debate, there appeared upon a diviſion 73 for Mr. Conolly's reſolutions, and 149 againſt them.

In the courſe of this debate the gentlemen of the oppoſition were frequently and loudly called upon for their confidence in the government, which

they indignantly diſclaimed.* The grand attack which the patriots made on the treaſury bench this ſeſſion, was upon the penſion liſt.

Mr. Forbes led the van on the attack, and on the 6th of March moved the houſe, after a very animated ſpeech, that the preſent application and amount of penſions on the civil eſtabliſhment, were a grievance to the nation, and demanded redreſs. The motion produced a very intereſting debate; but it ſhared the ſame fate as the bill he afterwards introduced to limit the amount of penſions, which was loſt by a majority of 134 againſt 78. This bill was moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Sir Hercules Langriſhe, Mr. Maſon, Mr. George Ponſonby, the attorney-general, and the moſt leading men on the treaſury bench, as a direct and indecent invaſion of the royal prerogative. The attorney-general aſſerted, that the principle of the bill went to the moſt dangerous extent of any bill that had ever come before parliament; it went to rob the crown of its reſponſibility in the diſpoſal of the public money, and to convey it to that houſe, and even to the Houſe of Peers. He then begged leave to remind the members of what happened after the paſſing of their fa-

* Upon this ſubject Mr. Grattan exclaimed (6 Parl. Debates, p. 119) "Who would have imagined to have ſeen in the courſe of this debate, that faded cockade of the Caſtle, confidence, advanced on the ſide of the court, confidence in the Iriſh miniſter in the uncontrolled expenditure of Iriſh money. What, after all your experience, to prefer confidence to this reſolution, requires, in my opinion, a moſt robuſt conſcience, and a moſt infirm underſtanding. Deſirous as we all are to pay every reſpect, and with every predilection in favor of our preſent viceroy, a young man of a very noble unſuſpicious nature, expoſed perhaps too much to importunity, yet who can anſwer for his continuance? This confidence then muſt extend to all his ſucceſſors, whoever they may be, of whatever caſt, party, principle, or capacity. But even that won't do. This confidence muſt extend to all the ſecretaries of all the future lords lieutenants. In the laſt ſeven years we had ſeven lord-lieutenants and eight ſecretaries. The confidence muſt then be extended to the lords and commons of Great Britain, or rather to the king's commiſſion, on a pure and perfect perſuaſion that whom the king ſhall appoint, the Lord illuminates; and where the purſe is beſtowed, there is the virtue and there is the œconomy. This will not do; it is not ſufficient that viceroys ſhould be gods—Iriſhmen muſt be angels, and importunity and ſolicitation ceaſe; and in that event I ſubmit to the force of the argument of confidence, as ſomething not according to reaſon, but above it."

In the flight of that great orator's imagination, he has left us the following picture of the nation's expence. (6 Parl. Debates, p. 153) "See the chart of your credit, an evaneſcent ſpeck juſt riſing above the plane of the horizon, and then it drops; while your debt aſcends like a pyramid, with an audacious defalcation, and almoſt culminates in your meridian. Midway of this mountain of debt, you will diſcern a line marking your effort to put an end to the practice of running in debt."

vorite

vorite vote of 1757. The members of that houſe caballed together, forming themſelves into little parties, and voting to each other hundreds of thouſands. And as no government could go on without the aid of their leaders, it coſt that nation more to break through that *puiſné* ariſtocracy, which had made a property of parliament, than what it would by the penſion liſt for many years.* On the ſide of the patriots, all the old arguments were urged with redoubled force againſt the penſion liſt. Mr. Grattan gave great offence by the ſtrong and harſh aſſertion, with which he cloſed his ſpeech on Mr. Forbes's motion, viz. *If he ſhould vote that penſions were not a grievance, he ſhould vote an impudent, an inſolent, and a public lie.*†

* 6 Parl. Debates, p. 290. This is a ſort of official evidence, if any were wanting, to proye the exiſtence of the ſyſtem of individual venality, which has been ſtated to have been eſtabliſhed under the adminiſtration of Lord Townſend. Sir Hercules Langriſh exerted his powers on this occaſion in an extraordinary manner, inſomuch, that Mr. George Ponſonby ſaid of him, that he had never heard a ſeries of better arguments, interſperſed and enlivened with more brilliant ſtrokes of wit, than the ſpeech of the honorable baronet againſt that bill. Mr. George Ponſonby was ſo attached to the government of the Duke of Rutland, that one of his principal arguments againſt the penſion bill, was, that it would convey cenſure upon his Grace's adminiſtration, which he did not deſerve.

† Amongſt the patriots, Mr. Curran ſhone conſpicuous in ſupport of the penſion bill. (6 Parl. Debates, p. 282) This polyglot of wealth, ſaid he, this muſeum of curioſities, the penſion liſt, embraces every link in the human chain; every deſcription of men, women, and children, from the exalted excellence of a Hawke or Rodney, to the debaſed ſituation of the lady who humbleth herſelf that ſhe may be exalted. But the leſſons it inculcates form its greateſt perfection; it teaches that ſloth and vice may eat that bread, which virtue and honeſty may ſtarve for after they had earned it. It teaches the idle and diſſolute to look up for that ſupport, which they are too proud to ſtoop to earn. It directs the minds of men to an entire reliance on the ruling power of the ſtate, who feeds the ravens of the royal aviary, that cry continually for food. It teaches them to imitate thoſe ſaints on the penſion liſt, that are like the lillies of the field, they toil not, neither do they ſpin, and yet are arrayed like Solomon in all his glory. In fine, it teaches a leſſon, which indeed they might have learned from Epictetus, that it is ſometimes good not to be over-virtuous: it ſhews, that in proportion as our diſtreſſes increaſe, the munificence of the crown increaſes alſo; in proportion as our clothes are rent, the royal mantle is extended over us.

On the ſame day Mr. Grattan exclaimed, when gentlemen ſay that the new charge for penſions is ſmall, let me aſſure them they need not be alarmed; the charge will be much greater; for unleſs your interpoſition ſhould deter, what elſe is there to check it? Will public poverty? no: new taxes? no: gratitude for thoſe taxes? no: principle? no: profeſſion? no: the love of fame, or ſenſe of infamy? no. Confined to no one deſcription of merit, or want of character, under the authority of that liſt, every man, woman, and child in Ireland, have pretenſions to become a public incumbrance; ſo that ſince government went ſo far, I marvel that they have ſtopped, unleſs the pen fell out of their hand from fatigue, for it could not be from principle.

The remaining ſubject of difference between the miniſtry and the patriots in that ſeſſion, was upon the police bill, which had been for a conſiderable time a favorite object with government to carry, in order to ſtrengthen their intereſt in the city of Dublin, which, from the days of Dr. Lucas, they had felt declining, in the independence, which he had laboured ſo ſtrenuouſly and ſucceſsfully to eſtabliſh. It was conceived by the oppoſition, that if the bill were carried for the city of Dublin, it would in the next ſeſſion be extended to every part of the kingdom: and it was alſo generally conſidered, that the report of popular riſings and popiſh conſpiracies againſt the Proteſtant aſcendancy, had been induſtriouſly exaggerated for the purpoſe of intimidating the parliament into the adoption of that ſtrong meaſure* of government.

Mr.

No, ſir, this liſt will go on; it will go on till the merchant ſhall feel it, until the manufacturer ſhall feel it, until the penſion liſt ſhall take into its own hand the keys of taxation; and inſtead of taxing licence to ſell, ſhall tax the article and manufacture itſelf; until we ſhall loſe our great commercial reſource, a comparative exemption from taxes, the gift of our poverty, and get an accumulation of taxes, to be the companion of our poverty; until public indignation ſhall cry ſhame upon us, and the morality of a ſerious and offended community ſhall call out for the interpoſition of law.

* Sir Edward Crofton, in oppoſing this bill, ſaid, "I have ſpoken of Mr. O'Connor in a former "debate; and I am firmly perſuaded that, as to that gentleman, matters have been extremely exag- "gerated and miſrepreſented. I know it has been mentioned as an affair, that required the interfer- "ence of government; and that camps, cannon, and fortifications, were erected. It was alſo "rumoured, that the Roman Catholics were in open rebelllon; this was an inſidious, infamous, "and falſe report, calculated to caſt an undeſerved reflection on a body of men remarkable for their "loyalty to their ſovereign, and their known attachment to the conſtitution; it was an illiberal "and an infamous attack on a people diſtinguiſhed for their peaceable demeanor, and was intended "but to ſerve the purpoſes of this ſtill more infamous bill.

"However great my knowledge may have been of the loyalty of the Roman Catholics of this "country, yet I muſt confeſs, on this occaſion, I was made a dupe to report; for, from the gentle- "man, who had declared the county of Roſcommon to be in a ſtate of rebellion, I could ſcarcely "believe but government had authority for ſaying ſo; I confeſs, therefore, I felt for my property; "and it was natural I ſhould make every poſſible enquiry; I did ſo, and found there was no rebel- "lion in the country; and alſo found the trifling diſturbances, which have been ſo exaggerated, "were only the effects of ſome whiſkey, to which the country people had been treated, and which "every gentleman knows operates on the lower order of people, as oil of rodium does on rats; and "what was very extraordinary, there was not a broken head on the occaſion.

"I wrote to a gentleman of veracity, and a magiſtrate, (a Mr. Caulfield) who aſſured me, the "peace of the county was not for a moment diſturbed: I offered to re-inſtate thoſe gentlemen who "were ſaid to be diſpoſſeſſed of their lands, with the aſſiſtance of a troop of dragoons; the power

"was

Mr. Conolly took a leading part in oppoſing the police bill, which he obſerved, under the ſpecious pretence of giving police, went to take away conſtitution. He was ſtill poſitive, that he was well-founded in his opinion; that the conduct of the adminiſtration was inimical to the conſtitution. The temperance of the volunteers ſince the noble duke's adminiſtration, deſerved their grateful approbation. When they were miſguided, and adopted meaſures, which he conceived improper, he was not backward in avowing himſelf againſt their proceedings; but when he reflected, that the moment the volunteers were told their conduct was diſagreeable to parliament, they retired to the country without a murmur, ſuch conduct ſecured his admiration, and made him tenacious of their liberties; nor could their arms be placed in better hands than where they were.

There were ſeveral heated debates upon this bill: it was treated by oppoſition as a moſt unconſtitutional job, a mere bill of patronage for miniſterial purpoſes: although it muſt be allowed, that the ſecretary offered to alter whatever ſhould be found objectionable in the committee, and ſome of the noxious clauſes were withdrawn. Several petitions were preſented againſt the bill, but received with ill grace. Amongſt other petitions, one was preſented by the freeholders of the county of Dublin, by Sir Edward Newnham, which the attorney-general moved to have rejected,* as an inſult to the houſe; and it

" was denied me; I therefore was well-founded in an opinion, that when this bill was mentioned, " the affair of Roſcommon would be made a handle of, and that it would be ſaid, the rebellion, as " it was ludicrouſly termed, of O'Connor, made it abſolutely neceſſary. I am alſo convinced, that " the affairs in the ſouth are likewiſe exaggerated, and by no means fairly ſtated, ſo as to give riſe " to this meaſure." 6 Parl. Debates, p. 338.

* The temper of the houſe will be better ſeen by conſidering the petition which met with this ſevere fate. (6 Parl. Debates, p. 388).

A petition of the freeholders of the county of Dublin, ſigned by the ſheriff of the ſaid county, was preſented to the houſe and read, ſetting forth that the petitioners, deeply intereſted in the welfare of this country, the metropolis thereof, and the kingdom of Ireland at large, and anxiouſly ſolicitous for the honor and dignity of parliament, have, with the moſt ſincere concern, obſerved a bill, intituled, " a bill for the better execution of the law within the city of Dublin, and certain " parts adjacent thereto, and for quieting and protecting poſſeſſions within this kingdom, for the " more expeditious tranſportation of felons; for the reviving, continuing, and amending certain " ſtatutes therein mentioned, and for repealing an act paſſed in the 17th and 18th years of the po- " lice of the city of Dublin," involving the chartered rights of the ancient and reſpectable corporation of the city of Dublin, the liberties, properties, and domeſtic enjoyments of the inhabitants of

it was rejected by 118 againſt Sir Edward Newnham and Colonel Sharman. The attorney-general boaſted of his indulgence in not moving a cenſure againſt the petitioners: but ſhould not again be ſo gentle, if the offence were repeated. This was the moſt important bill paſſed during the ſeſſion. Several gentlemen on the treaſury bench wiſhed to bring in a bill for ſecuring the perſons, houſes and properties of vicars, rectors, and curates, actually reſident within their reſpective pariſhes; the introduction of which bill gave to ſeveral members an opportunity of giving vent to the feelings either of zeal for the hierarchy, or indignation againſt thoſe, who were not of the eſtabliſhment. But as the attorney-general conſidered them as effectually ſecured by the law, as other ſubjects, the bill was reluctantly dropped. On the 8th of May, 1786, the parliament was prorogued; when his grace the lord-lieutenant, in his ſpeech, aſſured them, that the determined ſpirit, with which they had marked their abhorrence of all lawleſs diſorders and tumults, had already made an uſeful impreſſion; and the ſalutary laws enacted in that ſeſſion, and particularly the introduction of a ſyſtem of police, were honorable proofs of their wiſdom, moderation, and prudence. He moreover aſſured them, that his ma-

of the capital and its environs, precipitating through the Houſe of Commons, at a time when a conſiderable number of members were unavoidably engaged in the buſineſs of the aſſizes, and therefore could not have had an opportunity of being conſulted upon a ſubject of ſuch magnitude; that the petitioners conceive that a certain claſs of men, who, from their character and conduct have never been conſidered as objects of reſponſibility, under the abſolute control of certain commiſſioners nominated by the miniſter, with powers arbitrary and deſpotic, may, to gratify their own licentious diſpoſitions, force themſelves into the peaceful retreats of our families, and, under the pretence of protecting us from the depredations of others, commit the moſt indecent and cruel irregularities, that the debtor, to whom the law has afforded in his houſe a ſanctuary, cannot be ſecure; and the infirm and invalid, let their ſituation be ever ſo deplorable, cannot be at reſt; our wives, children, and friends, will find their domeſtic enjoyment ceaſe, the ultimate wiſh of life, retirement, done away; that the petitioners are of opinion, that the powers granted by the bill to the commiſſioners, of raiſing bodies of armed men, although limited in number, together with that of levying money to ſupport the ſame, are dangerous expedients, and directly militate againſt the principles of the conſtitution; that the petitioners perceive with ſorrow a certain and numerous body of their fellow-ſubjects obliged to ſubmit to an ignominious diſtinction, and marked ſuſpicion, by a partial regiſtry of their names, occupations, and abodes, which regulation from any matter that has been ſet forth in the bill, or we can deviſe, we cannot but conſider as oppreſſive and unneceſſary: that the petitioners conſider the clauſe, which includes that part of the county of Dublin within the circular road in the diſtrict of the metropolis, as highly oppreſſive upon the inhabitants of the county of Dublin reſiding therein, as it ſubjects them to a two-fold taxation; and therefore praying to be heard by themſelves, or their counſel, at the bar of the houſe againſt the ſaid bill.

jeſty

jeſty beheld with the higheſt ſatisfaction the zeal and loyalty of the people of Ireland: and that he had his majeſty's expreſs commands, to aſſure them of the moſt cordial returns of his royal favor and parental affection.

When the parliament met according to the laſt adjournment, on the 18th of January, 1787, the lord lieutenant particularly applied to them for their aſſiſtance, in the effectual vindication of the laws and the protection of ſociety: and reminded them, that their uniform regard for the rights of their fellow ſubjects, and their zealous attachment to the religious and civil conſtitution of their country, would ſtimulate their attention to their inſeparable intereſts, and would enſure their ſpecial ſupport of the eſtabliſhed church and the reſpectable ſituation of its miniſters. He alſo informed them, that he had ordered a copy of the treaty of commerce with the French king to be laid before them, and he hoped, that the adoption of it in Ireland, by ſuch laws as would be requiſite to give it effect, would be attended with the moſt beneficial conſequences to the country. Theſe objects of recommendation formed the bulk of the buſineſs of the ſeſſion.

Mr. Conolly made ſome obſervations upon that part of the addreſs, which alluded to the diſturbances in the ſouth: he could by no means admit, that they were as extenſive as repreſented by government. He wiſhed not to make any reflection upon the worthy chief governor, whom, he ſaid, he knew to be an honeſt man and the friend of both countries: he did not ſuſpect him, but the adminiſtration: and againſt them he made the moſt ſerious, and at the ſame time the moſt important charge, that could be laid at the door of the moſt wicked adminiſtration. It is the more neceſſary to advert to the nature of this charge, as it has been almoſt uniformly objected from this time forwards to the meaſures of every adminiſtration, down to the cloſe of the union, but with what juſtice, ſubſequent events will diſcloſe. A charge of ſuch intenſe malevolence, and of ſuch incalculable miſchief, ought not to be even imagined without the ſtrongeſt preſumptions and grounds.*

Mr.

* 7 Par. Deb. p. 21. Suppoſing, ſaid Mr. Conolly, that theſe diſturbances are as extenſive as have been repreſented, but I hope in God they are not—ſuppoſing they are as formidable as government have repreſented them in their proclamations, are not the laws at preſent in being ſufficient to reſtore order? They are abundantly ſo, if properly enforced. And hence, Sir, my ſuſpicion is excited, when I behold adminiſtration attempting by inſinuation, to eſtabliſh the neceſſity of new laws for unneceſſary purpoſes, or for ſomething worſe. I am convinced that had adminiſtration been active,

Mr. Conolly adverted to the proclamations that had been iſſued, ſtating, that the greateſt meetings ever known had been convened in the ſouth; and that they were all in arms. Why then did not government ſuppreſs them in their infancy? Why not puniſh the ſupineneſs of the magiſtrates, which was complained of and admitted on all hands? But he conſidered it as a meaſure to intimidate the Proteſtants of that kingdom, and to furniſh an immediate pretext for an unconſtitutional police bill. If thoſe turbulences were not exaggerated, government was highly cenſurable for not having prevented them in time: if they were ſo, they were more criminal for having created ill-founded alarms. Mr. Longfield, who lived near Cloyne in the county of Cork, wholly diſclaimed the exiſtence of ſuch turbulence as had been repreſented under the deſperate auſpices of a Captain *Right*, whence his followers were called *Right Boys*. He informed the houſe, that his demeſnes bordered the town of Cloyne: that although he had heard much of theſe diſturbances laſt ſeſſion, he had obſerved nothing of them in the courſe of the ſummer: the biſhop of that dioceſe had not applied for any military aſſiſtance, but lived quietly ſecure at home, in the protection of the neighbouring gentlemen. The firſt thing that could be called a diſturbance, induced him to think government had a hand in it. Some very reſpectable people of Cloyne came to him, and told him that a bailiff belonging to the high ſheriff had been ſent amongſt them, with notices to provide a quantity of arms and ammunition, and a number of horſes, by the following Sunday, for the uſe of Captain *Right*. It appeared odd, that a ſheriff's bailiff ſhould be employed on ſuch a buſineſs, and, as a magiſtrate, he ſent for him. He confeſſed the fact of having ſerved the notices, and ſaid he was employed by Captain *Right*. He was deſired to give information againſt Captain *Right*, which he refuſed; upon which the honorable member committed him to goal, returned the bills againſt him, and brought perſons of

tive, they might have checked theſe diſturbances in embryo. I will aſk can any man entertain a doubt of it? and when they did not, what can we infer from it, but that there was ſome dark deſign in ſuffering them to come to maturity?'

And why do I ſuſpect adminiſtration? Becauſe of their conduct on the propoſitions; when they wiſhed to prove, and to have us believe, that the returned propoſitions were identically the ſame as the original ten, and were ready to paſs them with the ſame alacrity and vigour, although every man in the nation was convinced, that they coerced the commerce, and invaded the conſtitution of this kingdom.

credit,

credit, who had ſworn examinations, and were ready to proſecute; but to his aſtoniſhment, the grand jury threw out the bills. Mr. Kemmis, the crown ſolicitor ſaid, he could do nothing without an order from government, and as he was not in the habit of aſking favors from government, there the matter dropped.

This was the firſt diſturbance he had heard of; the next was that Captain Right ſwore ſome of the people in his neighbourhood to obſerve his regulations; yet another gentleman and he, attended by a ſingle ſervant, had made this formidable Captain Right a priſoner, and ſafely lodged him in gaol. Such being the caſe, there ought not to be a general charge of delinquency againſt the county of Cork, becauſe ſome of its magiſtrates were ſupine. After what he mentioned, government ſent forces down to that part of the country; two of their officers were Engliſhmen, one a Scotchman; the people could not be ſuppoſed to have any very great partiality for them, or they for the people, yet they lived unmoleſted in good quarters, and never had occaſion to be called out to quell any diſturbance.

A nobleman of great talents, knowledge, experience and ſagacity, had the chief command of the troops ſent into the province of Munſter. If they had his report, were there any way of coming at it, it would ſhew that none but the loweſt wretches, who groaned under the moſt intolerable oppreſſions, were engaged in any diſturbance. If that noble lord were preſent, he would make them ſhudder at the account of the miſeries of that wretched people.

Sir James Cotter ſaid, he came very lately from that county, and to his knowledge, great diſturbances did exiſt, and his report was confirmed by Mr. Warren. He had often been an eye witneſs to the violences of the deluded people. The honorable gentleman (Mr. Longfield) who had a great eſtate, and lived in the midſt of his tenants, with a number of ſervants and dependants about him, might feel no apprehenſion; but he, who had but a ſmall fortune and few ſervants, had not, he ſaid, for nine months laſt paſt gone to bed a ſingle night that he was ſure of riſing in the morning with his life. He then related to the houſe an account of his having once been fired at by the inſurgents, and of his being ſtopped by a number of armed men, who, as a very great favor, ſuffered him to depart unhurt.

Mr. Curran obſerved, that had this addreſs been, as all addreſſes that he had ever read or heard of were, compoſed of unmeaning ſtuff, he ſhould not

now riſe to ſpeak to it. But it was an addreſs, that tended to inſpire the mind of the chief governor with indignation for the wretched people of that country; an addreſs tending to impreſs the father of his people with the idea of their being in open revolt, to divert the royal mind from liſtening to the complaints of afflicted ſubjects, or alleviating their miſeries; it was a groſs invective. To ſay it was neceſſary, was adding irony to invective.

The people were oppreſſed, and before they poured the laſt drop into the veſſel, and cauſed the waters of bitterneſs to overflow on them, they ſhould well conſider if the repreſentatives of the nation had been remiſs, if the magiſtrates throughout the kingdom had criminally been ſupine; let them lay the blame at the right door; ceaſe to utter idle complaints of inevitable effects, when they themſelves have been the cauſes. The man who would ſay, that the conſtitution in church and ſtate was in danger, from the ſimple inſurrection of a parcel of peaſants, without order, without a head, without a leader, undiſciplined, unarmed, or only partially ſo, he would not take to be a very wiſe man; and the man who would ſay ſo from any thing, ſave an error in judgment, he would not take to be either a wiſe or an honeſt man.

Is it any wonder, ſaid he, that the wretches whom woeful and long experience has taught to doubt, and with juſtice to doubt, the attention and relief of the legiſlature, wretches, that have the utmoſt difficulty to keep life and ſoul together, and who muſt inevitably periſh, if the hand of aſſiſtance were not ſtretched out to them, ſhould appear in tumult? No, Sir, it is not. Unbound to the ſovereign by any proof of his affection, unbound to government by any inſtance of its protection, unbound to the country, or to the ſoil, by being deſtitute of any property in it, 'tis no wonder that the peaſantry ſhould be ripe for rebellion and revolt: ſo far from matter of ſurprize, it muſt naturally have been expected.

The ſupineneſs of the magiſtrates, and the low ſtate of the commiſſions of the peace throughout the kingdom, but particularly in the county of Cork, ſhould be rectified. A ſyſtem of vile jobbing was one of the misfortunes of that country: it extended even to commiſſions of the peace: how elſe could the report of the four and twenty commiſſions of the peace, ſent down to the county of Clare in one poſt be accounted for? Even the appointment of ſheriffs was notoriouſly in the hands of government; and through jobbing, ſheriffs themſelves could not be truſted: two ſheriffs ran away laſt year

year with executions in their pockets, and the late high ſheriff of the county of Dublin had abſconded.

*He* concluded by moving the following amendments, viz.

" Though it is a great conſolation to us to think, that theſe outrages have " not originated in any diſaffection in your majeſty's ſubjects of this king- " dom to your majeſty's government, or in any concerted deſign of diſturb- " ing our preſent happy conſtitution either in church or ſtate, but have " been wholly confined to ſome individuals of the loweſt claſs of the peo- " ple, whoſe extreme indigence and diſtreſs, may be the occaſion, though " they cannot be a juſtification of ſuch illegal proceedings; and it is a fur- " ther conſolation to us to know, that the ordinary powers of the law now " in being are fully adequate, if duly exerted, to puniſh and reſtrain ſuch " exceſſes.

" At the ſame time we humbly beg leave to repreſent to your majeſty, " that the public expences of this country have encreaſed to a degree ſo far " beyond the ability of the people to bear, that we feel ourſelves called upon " by our duty to our conſtituents, to reduce thoſe expences by every mode " of retrenchment, conſiſtent with ſuch honorable and neceſſary ſupport to " your majeſty's government, within ſuch limits as may be compatible with " the very exhauſted reſources of a diſtreſſed people; and we do not doubt " of having your majeſty's gracious approbation of a meaſure ſo eſſential to " the commercial hopes of your kingdom of Ireland, as well as conducive to " the permanent peace and proſperity of this kingdom:" but they paſſed in the negative.

On the 31ſt of January, 1787, when the houſe was in a committee upon that part of his excellency's ſpeech, which related to the commotions, which in ſome places diſturbed the public tranquillity; the attorney-general (Fitzgibbon) ſubmitted to the houſe the following narrative of facts, which he ſaid had come to his knowledge reſpecting the proceedings of the inſurgents.* Their commencement was in one or two pariſhes in the county of Kerry, and they proceeded thus: the people aſſembled in a Catholic chapel, and there took an oath to obey the laws of Captain Right, and to ſtarve the clergy. They then proceeded to the next pariſhes on the following Sunday, and there ſwore the people in the ſame manner, with this addition, that they (the people laſt ſworn) ſhould, on the enſuing Sunday, proceed to the

* 7 Par. Deb. p. 57.

chapels of their next neighbouring parifhes, and fwear the inhabitants of thofe parifhes in like manner.

Proceeding in this manner they very foon went through the province of Munfter. The firft object of their reformation was tithes; they fwore not to give more than a certain price per acre; not to take them from the minifter at a great price; not to affift or allow him to be affifted in drawing the tithe, and to permit no proctor. They next took upon them to prevent the collection of parifh ceffes; then to nominate parifh clerks, and in fome cafes curates; to fay what church fhould or fhould not be repaired; and in one cafe to threaten that they would burn a new church, if the old one were not given for a mafs houfe. At laft they proceeded to regulate the price of lands, to raife the price of labour, and to oppofe the collection of the hearth-money and other taxes.

In all their proceedings they fhewed the greateft addrefs, with a degree of caution and circumfpection, which was the more alarming, as it demonftrated fyftem and defign. Bodies of 5000 of them have been feen to march through the country unarmed, and if met by any magiftrate, who had fpirit to queftion them, they had not offered the fmalleft rudenefs or offence; on the contrary they had allowed perfons charged with crimes, to be taken from amongft them by the magiftrate alone, unaided with any force. Whereever they went, they found the people as ready to take an oath to cheat the clergy as they were to propofe it; but if any one did refift, the torments which he was doomed to undergo, were too horrible even for favages to be fuppofed guilty of. In the middle of the night he was dragged from his bed, and buried alive in a grave lined with thorns, or he was fet naked on horfeback, and tied to a faddle covered with thorns: in addition to this, perhaps his ears were fawed off. There was that day an account received of two military men, who had exerted themfelves in the line of their duty, being attacked by a body of Right Boys, and perhaps murdered, for there was but little hope of their recovering of their wounds. The way in which the Right Boys perpetrated that crime, was; the two men were walking together armed, they fet a dog at them, when one of the men fired; he had no fooner thrown away his fire, than a multitude ruflied upon the two from behind the ditches, and wounded them in a moft fhocking manner.

Upon the beft enquiry, there was not the leaft ground to accufe the clergy of extortion. Far from receiving the tenth, he knew of no inftance, in which

which they received the twentieth part. He was well acquainted with the province of Munſter, and that it was impoſſible for human wretchedneſs to exceed that of the miſerable peaſantry in that province. He knew, that the unhappy tenantry were ground to powder by relentleſs landlords. He knew that, far from being able to give the clergy their juſt dues, they had not food or raiment for themſelves; the landlord graſped the whole, and ſorry was he to add, that not ſatisfied with the preſent extortion, ſome landlords had been ſo baſe as to inſtigate the inſurgents to rob the clergy of their tithes, not in order to alleviate the diſtreſſes of the tenantry, but that they might add the clergy's ſhare to the cruel rack-rents already paid. It would require the utmoſt ability of parliament to come to the root of thoſe evils. The poor people of Munſter lived in a more abject ſtate of poverty than human nature could be ſuppoſed able to bear; their miſeries were intolerable, but they did not originate with the clergy; nor could the legiſlature ſtand by and ſee them take the redreſs into their own hands. Nothing could be done for their benefit while the country remained in a ſtate of anarchy.

Upon the beſt conſideration that he had been able to give the ſubject, two circumſtances, which had contributed to ſpread the commotions, required to be immediately corrected.

The firſt was, that under the preſent exiſting law, the kind of combination, which pervaded the province of Munſter, was deemed but a miſdemeanor; a bailable offence, and no magiſtrate could refuſe to take bail for it.

The ſecond was, the inſufficiency and criminal neglect of magiſtrates throughout the great county of Cork; there was ſcarcely a magiſtrate that would act. In the neighbourhood of the city of Cork, indeed, one gentleman, Mr. Mannix, exerted himſelf, much to his own honour and the public benefit. In the weſt of the county, Mr. Cox alſo behaved with great propriety. If other magiſtrates had acted in the ſame manner theſe two gentlemen had, the commotions would not have exiſted for a month. As to the grand jury not having found the bill againſt the ſheriff's bailiff, he ſhewed the impoſſibility of framing an indictment upon the facts, he juſtified the crown ſolicitor, and moved

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that ſome further proviſions "by ſtatute are indiſpenſibly neceſſary to prevent tumultuous riſing and aſ- "ſemblies, and for the more adequate and effectual puniſhment of perſons "guilty

" guilty of outrage, riot and illegal combination, and of adminiſtering and " taking unlawful oaths."

Some further converſation enſued, in which the attorney-general aſſured the houſe, that it was impoſſible for the peaſantry of Munſter any longer to exiſt in the extreme wretchedneſs, under which they laboured. A poor man was to pay 6*l.* for an acre of potatoe ground, which 6*l.* he was obliged to work out with his landlord at 5*d.* a day. The queſtion was then put upon the reſolution, which paſſed unanimouſly, whereupon the committee reported, and leave was given to bring in a bill, conſonant to the tenor of the reſolution. Several gentlemen in the oppoſition were very loud in declaiming againſt the profuſion and extravagance of the government expences: complaints were ſucceſſively made againſt the allowances to the printers of newſ papers for inſerting proclamations and advertiſements, which were detrimental to the public, and diſgraceful to the nation, for the ſum of 1266*l.* for repairing the road through the Phœnix Park, through which carts were not permitted to paſs; for law bills for proſecuting Right Boys, for the expence of witneſſes attending in London to give evidence concerning the Iriſh propoſitions, for building country houſes for the officers of the crown, and other charges which were moſt ſcandalouſly brought againſt the public: they were all defended by the miniſters, and of courſe none of the objectionable articles were diſallowed.

Mr. Conolly, who at this time took a very active part in the intereſt of the poor, and the welfare of his country, on the 9th of February, declared in the houſe, that it had been his intention, in the courſe of that ſeſſion, to move an alteration in the tax of hearth-money, for the relief of the poor diſtreſſed cottagers: as however a large portion of that deſcription of perſons in the ſouth were in a ſtate of reſiſtance to the laws of their country; he declared he would defer his motion till the people ſhould demean themſelves peaceably as good ſubjects. Some obſervations upon the extreme hardſhip of this tax were made by Mr. Stewart, when Mr. Monk Maſon ſaid, he could not bear to hear the hearth-money ſpoken of as an oppreſſive tax: it had been paid for near a century without complaint, and he could ſee no reaſon why it was on a ſudden become the faſhion to exclaim againſt it. Such reſiſtance from the treaſury bench to the repeal of this moſt oppreſſive tax, was little calculated to enſure the affection of the lower orders of ſociety.

Mr.

Mr. Conolly immediately afterwards called the attention of the houſe to a reſolution, which he flattered himſelf would be unexceptionable to every part of it, which every gentleman who ſupported, or who oppoſed government, every honeſt Iriſhman and every honeſt Engliſhman muſt approve of. It was impoſſible, for any man to ſay, that running in debt could either ſerve Ireland or England. If in time of peace they thus continued to run in debt, what were they do in the event of a war?* He then moved, that the houſe determined to put an end to the ruinous practice of running in debt, did the ſeſſion before laſt vote new taxes eſtimated at 140,000*l.* per ann. and having on the ſame principle continued thoſe taxes in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, then provided chearfully to give and grant the ſame taxes in the decided expectation, that by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's frugal and juſt management of the public revenues, thus greatly enlarged, they would be then rendered ſufficient to ſatisfy the public expences, without the further accumulation of debt or increaſe of taxes. It paſſed without a diſſenting voice, when Mr. Conolly immediately moved, that the houſe, with the ſpeaker, ſhould attend the Lord Lieutenant with a copy of the reſolution; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer oppoſed this ſecond motion as an indecent parade, and an intended cenſure on the chief governor; the motion was withdrawn, and Mr. Conolly was complimented thereupon by the ſecretary, who was ſure, that the right honorable member always meant right.

The bill for preventing tumultuous riſings and aſſemblies, and for the more effectual puniſhment of perſons guilty of outrage, riot and illegal combination, and of adminiſtering and taking unlawful oaths, was introduced by the attorney general, and was oppoſed in every ſtage by the patriots, who contended, that the exiſting laws were fully adequate to correct, puniſh and prevent the abuſes, if properly carried into execution: that to puniſh a whole nation by impoſing upon them the moſt ſevere and unconſtitutional laws, on account of the miſconduct of a ſmall part was unjuſt: that this act went infinitely beyond the Engliſh riot act: and would be productive of more diſcontent and confuſion, than then unfortunately exiſted in that country. They

* With circumſtances, political opinions often change. Mr. Conolly, who was one of the ſtaunch-eſt ſupporters of the union, on this occaſion, ſo far avowed anti-unioniſm as the baſis of his political creed, as to have voluntered this ſtrong aſſertion: " *I wiſh to have it in our power to aſſiſt England. No man would do more for England than I would. I would do any thing for her ſhort of an Union.* 7 Par. Deb. 138.

admitted,

admitted, that the South ought to be coerced: they lamented, that the peaſantry in that diſtrict ſhould have invaded perſonal ſecurity and undermined their own liberties: they deplored the ſavage infatuation, which had prompted them to outrage, and bluſhed for the neceſſity of ſtrong meaſures, to curb their lawleſſneſs. The hands of the magiſtrate ought to be ſtrengthened, though not without limitation: the magiſtrate ſhould be enabled to diſperſe meetings, that were notoriouſly convened for illegal purpoſes: nor ought they to be admitted to bail, who ſhould have refuſed to diſperſe: and they fully allowed, that the perſons, who dug graves, provided gibbets, and indulged in ſuch atrocities ſhould be puniſhed capitally. They complained, that the principal deviations * from the Engliſh riot acts, were all founded in more intenſe ſeverity:

* Mr. Grattan in his ſpeech on this occaſion pointed out ſeveral of theſe deviations: 7 Par. Deb. 181. Another difference, from the riot act was, that in England the proclamation is obliged to be read; but by this bill, nothing more was required of the magiſtrate than to command the rioters to diſperſe in the King's name. If they did not diſperſe in one hour death was the conſequence, and this he conſidered as putting an hour-glaſs in the hand of time, to run a race againſt the lives of the people; and this was certainly a great objection. Another objection was, that if a magiſtrate was ſtopped, when repairing to the place of riot, the perſon who ſtopped him, would be guilty of felony; that was, though the magiſtrate was reſorting to an unlawful place, the perſon who obſtructed him, ſhould be deemed to merit death. And if the perſons did not diſperſe, if the magiſtrate was interrupted, the reckoning of time was to commence from the moment of his obſtruction: and ſhould they continue one hour they would be guilty of felony, and incur the puniſhment of death; that is, the interception of a magiſtrate, at a diſtance in this kingdom, was to be tantamount to the reading of a proclamation on the ſpot in England. This he thought one of the ſevereſt clauſes that was ever brought forward, or ever adopted. But even though this had been premiſed of the Engliſh riot act, the meaſure of their ſeverity ſhould not be a meaſure for the legiſlation of the houſes, if it ſhould, it would be bad in principle, and worſe in practice. Another clauſe of the bill made it felony to write, print, publiſh, ſend, or carry any meſſage, letter, or notice, tending to excite inſurrection, that is, that a man who ſhall write or print any letter or notice, ſhall be guilty—of what?—of felony! Like the Draconian laws, this bill had blood! blood! felony! felony! felony! in every period, and in every ſentence. Now had this bill been law for ſome time paſt, what would be the ſituation of every man, who printed a newſpaper for nine months paſt? What would be the ſituation of every man who had written upon the ſubject of tithes! For as the right of the clergy to tithes is acknowledged to be founded in law, and as the papers and writers have argued againſt them, what would be the conſequence? Who could tell how their conduct might be conſtrued in a court of law? or whether they might not be adjudged guilty of felony? But he would not aſk who would be guilty under ſuch a law; but he would aſk, who would not be guilty? A perpetual mutiny bill had been once the law of the land, and yet gentlemen both ſpoke and wrote againſt it as dangerous, unconſtitutional, and beyond the power of parliament to ſanction. Had this bill been then

verity: perpetuity was alſo another objection to the bill: and it was ſtrongly urged, that this extreme rigour was not to be handed down to poſterity as an inheritance: nor were the provinces of Ulſter, Leinſter and Connaught to be puniſhed for their tranquillity in the ſame manner as Munſter was for its turbulence: neither ſhould ſuch overſtretched ſeverity deſcend from the fathers to their children, as a kind of original ſin, and death and felony be ſpread in every quarter through the land: ſhould the bill in its then form paſs, it would become ineffectual from its exceſſive rigor: it would be the triumph of the criminal and the ſtigma of the laws. The attorney general ſupported the deviations from the Engliſh riot act: but abandoned the clauſe directing

then law, they would have all been guilty of felony, and ſuffered death. Who could tell in what manner the words, *tending to excite diſturbance* might be interpreted? The clauſe, reſpecting the taking of arms, and ammunition, or money to purchaſe them, he obſerved, to bear a ſimilarity to the white boy act; but the white boy act was more guarded. He then looked to the clauſe, that reſpected the proſtrating places of public worſhip, and was remarkably pointed and ſevere upon it. He conſidered it as caſting a ſtain of impiety on the whole nation, and enjoining the magiſtrates to commit that very act of violence, which is puniſhed with death in the peaſantry. It was a revival of the penal laws, and that in the moſt dangerous and exceptionable part. He called upon gentlemen to conſider, that they had no charge againſt the Catholics to warrant this meaſure; to conſider, that they had not ſo much as cauſe for ſuſpicion of them; to conſider, if they were a popiſh peaſantry, they were actuated by no popiſh motive; to conſider, that public thanks had been returned to the principal perſon of the catholic religion in that country, for his manly exertions to maintain the public peace and to protect the rights of the eſtabliſhed clergy; and he thought, if there were any thing ſacred or binding in religion, it would operate ſucceſsfully againſt the preſent meaſure; for it would caſt a ſtigma on the proteſtant religion.

He had heard, he ſaid, of tranſgreſſors being dragged from the ſanctuary, but he never heard of the ſanctuary being demoliſhed. It went ſo far as to hold out the laws as a ſanction to ſacrilege. If the Roman Catholics were of a different religion, yet they had one common God and one common Saviour with gentlemen themſelves; and ſurely the God of the Proteſtant temple, was the God of the Catholic temple. What then did the clauſe enact? That the magiſtrate ſhould pull down the temple of his God, and ſhould it be rebuilt, and as often as it was rebuilt for three years, he ſhould again proſtrate it, and ſo proceed, in repetition of his abominations, and thus ſtab the criminal through the ſides of his God: a new idea indeed! But this was not all, the magiſtrate was to ſell by auction the altar of the divinity to pay for the ſacrilege, that had been committed on his houſe. By preventing the chapel from being erected, he contended, that we muſt prohibit the exerciſe of religion for three years; and that to remedy diſturbance we reſorted to irreligion, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh it by act of parliament. A commiſſion of the peace might fall into the hands of a clergyman, and this clauſe firſt occaſion him to preclude the practice of religion for three years, then involve him in vile abominations, and afterwards he muſt preach peace upon earth and good will towards men.

the magiſtrates to demoliſh the Roman Catholic chapels, in which any combinations ſhould have been formed or an unlawful oath adminiſtered. The debate was carried on with great warmth on both ſides to a late hour. Mr. Orde, the ſecretary, particularly remarked, that he never could have concurred in the clauſe for pulling down the chapels, and was therefore happy, that it had been abandoned by his friend. He lamented, that any thing ſhould have appeared in print, purporting, that thoſe inſurrections had ariſen from a popiſh conſpiracy: he declared, he not only did not believe it, but in ſome places he could ſay; he knew it not to be true: and affirmed, that the inſurgents had in ſome places deprived the Roman Catholic clergy of one half of their income. That in reſpect to the book of a Right Rev. Prelate, (the Biſhop of Cloyne) though he differed from him in ſome of his opinions, he thought highly of his ability and upright intentions *.

Mr. Forbes

* Mr. Curran, in his ſpeech, had particularly noticed the attempts to exagerate the diſturbances of Munſter, and to dye them with a religious tint, and he thence took an occaſion to advert, for a moment, to the eccleſiaſtical policy of Ireland for centuries paſt (7 Par. Deb. 193) The Church of Ireland, ſaid he, has been in the hands of ſtrangers, advanced to the mitre, not for their virtues or their knowledge, but quartered upon this country, through their own ſervility or the caprice of their benefactors, inclined naturally to oppreſs us, to hate us, and to defame us; while the real duties of our religion have been performed by our own native clergy, who, with all the finer feelings of gentlemen and ſcholars, have been obliged to do the drudgery of their profeſſion for forty or at moſt fifty pounds a year, without the means of being liberal, from their poverty, and without the hope of advancing themſelves by their learning or their virtues, in a country where preferment was notoriouſly not to be attained by either. On this ground he vindicated the great body of the native acting clergy of Ireland, from any imputation, becauſe of the ſmall progreſs which proteſtantiſm had made among them: The pride of epiſcopacy, and the low ſtate, to which our miniſters of the goſpel were reduced, abundantly accounted for it. Their diſtreſſes and oppreſſion, he ſaid, were the real objects of parliamentary conſideration; and we could not interfere in the manner now propoſed, without expoſing them to the moſt imminent danger.

He then adverted to the nature of the diſturbances in the ſouth. He could not juſtify theſe outrages; they ought to be puniſhed, but we ought not to forget that we had ourſelves expreſsly admitted that they had proceeded from the ſupineneſs of magiſtrates and the oppreſſion of landlords. But now, he ſaid, an act like this would be a proclamation of a religious war in the kingdom. A publication had been induſtriouſly circulated through a number of editions, ſtating that a ſcheme was formed between the Catholics and Preſbyterians, for the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed religion and conſtitution; and the former were gravely informed that their religion abſolved them from all tie of allegiance to the ſtate, or obſervance of their oaths. And this, he ſaid, was not an opinion pronounced upon light authority, it was the deliberate aſſertion of a Reverend Prelate, whoſe judgment on one of the abſtruſeſt points of our common law, had been oppoſed and with ſucceſs to that

of

Mr. Forbes with undaunted perſeverance again brought in his bill for limiting penſions. A penſion bill had at all times been a favourite object of the patriots: but every former effort to procure it had, like the preſent, proved abortive. He contended, that from the mode of reſiſtance offered by the enemies to that meaſure both in that and the preceding ſeſſion, he was warranted in concluding, that the majority of the houſe admitted the principle of the bill: they would not otherwiſe have moved to adjourn it to a diſtant day, but have met it with a direct negative. He urged it upon the double principle of œconomy and conſtitution, and complained of penſions granted during pleaſure to members of parliament even ſince the laſt ſeſſion. Several gentlemen of the oppoſition made very long and animated ſpeeches upon the abuſes of the penſion liſt, not only by rewarding demerit and infamy, and by corrupting the members of that houſe in particular by doubling the penſions of thoſe, who before poſſeſſed them: but by introducing a new ſpecies of proſtitution into that liſt, by the previous grant of honors and titles, for the direct purpoſe of engrafting penſions upon them. The Chancellor of the Exchquer, Mr. Monk Maſon, and Sir Henry Cavendiſh were the only oppoſers of the bill, who ſpoke to the queſtion: the firſt alleged, that as a ſimilar bill had before been rejected by that houſe, and nothing had happened to render that proper then, which had before been improper, he ſhould move to have it

of our venerable chancellor, who was perhaps the ableſt common lawyer in either kingdom, except only thoſe gentlemen who were not of the profeſſion; he then examined the juſtice of the learned author's publication, which he condemned as founded on illiberality and miſrepreſentation, and tending to obſtruct the advancement of our religion, and to annihilate the proviſion of the eſtabliſhed clergy; and tending alſo, manifeſtly to revive the diſſentions, from which we had ſo recently emerged, and to plunge us into the barbariſm, from which we were emerging, or perhaps to imbrue us in the bloodſhed of a religious war.

He ſaid, that however the public may excuſe the effects of miſtaken zeal in the reverend writer, this houſe would be degraded below itſelf, if it ſhould adopt ſo ſilly an intolerance, or ſo abject a panic. He ſaid, that this law would render the eſtabliſhed church odious to the country, and of courſe, prevent the progreſs of the eſtabliſhed religion; that it would expoſe the maintenance of the great body of the clergy, to be ſtripped of the ſcanty pittance, to which the cruelly unequal diſtribution of church revenues had confined them; that it would involve us in all the horrors of religious war; would throw us back into the miſeries of a weak, a licentious and a divided people; it would be a repeal of the acts, which our wiſdom had made in favour of our catholic brethren, in admitting them to the natural rights of fellow ſubjects and fellow chriſtians. He therefore thought himſelf bound as a man anxious for the rights of the country, for its peace, its religion, and its morals, to vote againſt the committing of the bill.

read a ſecond time on the 1ſt of Auguſt: the ſecond alſo inſiſted, that the new bill ought to be founded on ſome actual abuſe, and none had been proved: and the third ſaid, the bill went too far: the beſt way would be to take the penſioners ſingly, every man upon his own merit. The ſportſman who fired at the whole covey, ſeldom hit a feather. In conſonance with this idea, Mr. Jones ſaid, that had he not full confidence, that the houſe would from its moderation adopt the bill, he ſhould have moved, as an amendment: that an enquiry might be made into the character, circumſtances, and ſituation of the perſons, to whom penſions were then paid. The bill was loſt by a diviſion of 129 againſt 65.

On the 13th of March, 1787, Mr. Grattan, who appears to have been equally anxious to check the lawleſſneſs, and relieve the diſtreſſes of the poor, brought forward the ſubject of tithes. In that ſeſſion they had on the ſubject of tumults, made ſome progreſs, though not much. It had been admitted, that ſuch a thing did exiſt, among the lower order of people, as diſtreſs; they had condemned their violence, they had made proviſions for its puniſhment, but they had admitted alſo, that the peaſantry were ground to the earth; they had admitted the fact of diſtreſs; they had acknowledged, that this diſtreſs ſhould make part of the parliamentary enquiry; they had thought proper indeed to poſtpone the day, but were agreed, notwithſtanding, in two things, the exiſtence of preſent diſtreſs, and the neceſſity of future remedy. The ſyſtem of ſupporting the clergy was liable to radical objections; in the ſouth, it went againſt the firſt principle of human exiſtence; in the ſouth they tithed potatoes. The peaſant paid often 7*l.* an acre for land, got 6*d.* a day for his labour, and paid from eight to twelve ſhillings for his tithe. That fact was ſufficient to call for their interference: it attacked cultivation in its cradle, and tithed the loweſt, the moſt general, and the moſt compaſſionate ſubſiſtence of human life. That was the more ſeverely felt, becauſe chiefly confined to the ſouth, one of the great regions of poverty. In Connaught, potatoes paid no tithe, in the north a moderate modus took place; but in the ſouth they paid a great tithe, and in the ſouth they had perpetual diſturbances. The tithe of potatoes was not the only diſtreſs; 6*l.* or 7*l.* an acre for land, and 6*d.* a day for labour, were alſo cauſes of miſery; but the addition of eight, ten, or twelve ſhillings tithe, to the two other cauſes, was a very great aggravation of that miſery; nor was it becauſe they could not well interfere in regulating the rent of land or price of labour, that they therefore

therefore ſhould not interfere where they could regulate and relieve; why they ſhould ſuffer a moſt heavy tithe to be added to the high price of rent and the low price of labour; it was a falſe ſuppoſition, that a diminution of the tithe of potatoes would be only an augmentation of the rent, for rent was not higher in counties where potatoes were not tithed, nor could an exiſting leaſe be cancelled and the rent increaſed by the diminiſhing or taking off the tithe: neither was there any ſimilitude between tithe and rent, which would juſtify the compariſon; rent was payment for land, tithe payment for capital and labour expended on land; the proportion of rent diminiſhed with the proportion of the produce, that is, of the induſtry; the proportion of tithe increaſed with the induſtry, rent therefore, even a high rent, might be a compulſion on labour, and tithe a penalty. The cottier paid tithe, and the grazier did not; the rich grazier, with a very beneficial leaſe, and without any ſyſtem of huſbandry, was exempted, and threw the parſon on labour and poverty. As this was againſt the firſt principle of huſbandry, ſo another regulation was againſt the firſt principle of manufacture; they tithed flax, rape and hemp, the rudiments of manufacture. Hence, in the north, they had no flax farmers, though many cultivated flax. You gave a premium for the growth of flax, a premium for the land carriage and export of corn, and they gave the parſon the tithe of the land, labour, and cultivation occupied therein, contrary to the proſperity of either; as far as they had ſettled they were wrong, and wrong where they had unſettled. What was the tithe was one queſtion, what was titheable another. Claims had been made to the tithe of turf, the tithe of roots, moduſes had been diſputed, litigation had been added to oppreſſion, the buſineſs had been ever ſhamefully neglected by parliament, and had been left to be regulated, more or leſs, by the dexterity of the tithe proctor, and the violence of the pariſh; ſo that diſtreſs had not been confined to the people, it had extended to the parſon; their ſyſtem was not only againſt the firſt principle of human exiſtence, againſt the firſt principle of good huſbandry, againſt the firſt principle of manufacture, againſt the firſt principle of public quiet, it went alſo againſt the ſecurity and dignity of the clergy. Their caſe had been reduced to two propoſitions, that they were not ſupported by the real tithes or the tenths; and that they were ſupported by a degrading annual contract; the real tithe or tenth is therefore unneceſſary for their ſupport, for they had done without it; and the annual contract was improper by their own admiſſion, and the interference of parliament proper therefore.

therefore. Certainly the annual contract was below the dignity of a clergyman; he was to make a bargain with the ſquire, the farmer, and the peaſant, on a ſubject which they did, and he did not underſtand: the more his humanity and his erudition the leſs his income; it was a ſituation where the parſon's property fell with his virtues, and roſe with his bad qualities. Juſt ſo the pariſhioner; he loſt by being ingenuous, and he ſaved by diſhoneſty. The paſtor of the people was made a ſpy on the huſbandman: he was reduced to become the annual teazing contractor and litigant with a flock, among whom he was to extend religion by his perſonal popularity; an agent became neceſſary for him, it relieved him in this ſituation, and this agent or proctor involved him in new odium and new diſputes; the ſquire not ſeldom defrauded him, and he was obliged to ſubmit in repoſe and protection, and to repriſe on the cottier, ſo that it often happened, that the clergyman did not receive the thirtieth, and the peaſant paid more than the tenth; the natural reſult of that, was a ſyſtem, which made the parſon dependent on the rich for his repoſe, and on the poor for his ſubſiſtence. The ſpirit of many clergymen, and the juſtice of many country gentlemen, reſiſted ſuch an evil in many caſes, but the evil was laid in the law, which it was their duty and intereſt to regulate. From a ſituation ſo ungracious, from the diſgrace and loſs of making in his own perſon a little bargain with ſquires, farmers, and peaſants, of each and every deſcription, and from non-reſidence, the parſon was obliged to take refuge in the aſſiſtance of a character, by name a tithe farmer, and by profeſſion an extortioner; that extortioner became part of the eſtabliſhment of the church; by intereſt and ſituation, there were two deſcriptions of men he was ſure to defraud; the one was the parſon, and the other the people; he collected ſometimes at fifty per cent. he gave the clergyman leſs than he ought to receive, and took from the peaſants more than they ought to pay; he was not an agent, who was to collect a certain rent, he was an adventurer, who gave a certain rate for the privilege of making a bad uſe of an unſettled claim; that claim, over the powers of collection, and what was teazing or provoking in the law, was in his hand an inſtrument not of juſtice but of uſury; he ſometimes ſet the tithes to a ſecond tithe farmer, ſo that the land became a prey to a ſubordination of vultures.

In arbitrary countries the revenue was collected by men, who farmed it, and it was a mode of oppreſſion the moſt ſevere; in the moſt arbitrary country the farming of the revenue was given to the Jews. They introduced that practice

tice into the collection of tithes, and the tithe farmer frequently called in aid of chriſtianity the arts of the ſynagogue; obnoxious on account of all that, the unoffending clergyman thrown off the rich upon the poor, cheated exceedingly by his tithe farmer, and afterwards involved in his odium, became an object of outrage; his property and perſon were both attacked, and in both the religion and laws of the country ſcandalized and diſgraced. The ſame cauſe, which produced a violent attack on the clergyman among the lower order of the community, produced among ſome of the higher orders a languor and neutrality in defending him. Thus outraged and forſaken he came to parliament; they abhorred the barbarity, they puniſhed the tumult, they acknowledged the injury, but they were afraid of adminiſtering any radical or effectual relief; becauſe they were afraid of the claims of the church; they claimed the tenth of whatever by capital, induſtry, or premium, was produced from land. One thouſand men claimed this; and they claimed this without any ſtipulation, for what appears for the ſupport of the poor, the repair of the church, or even the reſidence of the preacher. Alarmed at the extent of ſuch a claim, they conceived, that the difficulty of collection was their ſecurity, and feared to give powers, which might be neceſſary for the collection of cuſtomary tithes, leſt the clergy ſhould uſe thoſe powers for the enforcing of a long catalogue of dangerous pretenſions. They had reaſon for that apprehenſion; and the laſt clauſe in the Riot Act had prompted a clergyman in the ſouth to demand the tithe of agiſtment, and to attempt to renew a confuſion, which their act intended to compoſe. The preſent ſtate of the clergyman was, that he could not collect his cuſtomary tithe without the interference of parliament, and parliament could not interfere without making a general regulation, leſt any aſſiſtance then given ſhould be applied to the enforcement of dormant claims, ambiguous and unlimited.

Thus the ſituation of the clergy, as well as of the people, called on the houſe to take up at large the ſubject of the tithe. They had two grounds for ſuch an inveſtigation, the diſtreſs of the clergy, and the diſtreſs of the people.

He then moved the following reſolution: "That if it appear, at the com-
" mencement of the next ſeſſion of parliament, that public tranquillity has
" been reſtored in thoſe parts of the kingdom that have lately been diſturb-
" ed, and due obedience paid to the laws, this houſe will take into conſidera-
" tion the ſubject of tithes, and endeavour to form ſome plan for the ho-
" norable ſupport of the clergy, and the eaſe of the people."

Mr.

Mr. Secretary Orde differed from Mr. Grattan, and inſiſted, that in the exiſting circumſtances of the country it was impoſſible in any degree to hold out an expectation, that the houſe would even enter upon the ſubject. Sir Henry Harſtonge ſeconded Mr. Grattan's motion, becauſe the people was admitted on all hands to ſuffer great hardſhips and oppreſſion. The debate was continued with much animation to a very late hour: and ſeveral of the gentlemen, who uſually voted with Mr. Grattan, expreſſed their wiſhes, that he would withdraw his motion. This brought him up again at a very late hour; and he obſerved, that the ſubject had been agitated in ſuch a variety of different ways, and oppoſed by ſo many gentlemen, that even at that late hour of the night he felt himſelf under the neceſſity of making ſome obſervations; and at the ſame time he aſſured the houſe, that nothing but a conviction of the propriety of the motion could make him reſiſt the wiſhes of ſo many gentlemen, whom perſonally he loved and reſpected; but he ſhould appear a very light man, were he, by withdrawing the motion, to give any ground to ſuppoſe, that he had taken up the ſubject without the moſt mature conſideration, or that he would hazard ſuch a motion without duly conſidering its conſequences. This was not the caſe; and therefore it was not the ſmallneſs of the minority, in which he might be found, that would induce him to relinquiſh a meaſure ariſing from juſtice, mercy, and true policy. The only effect a defeat on that occaſion could produce would be, to confirm him in a reſolution of doing in the next ſeſſion that, which the ſituation of the church and the people required. He had the utmoſt veneration, love, and reſpect for the church, which he was determined to prove, not by words only, but by acts. He had heard, indeed, very plauſible profeſſions of regard to the church; but while they remained mere words, unaccompanied by deeds, he ſhould pay little regard to them. He was determined to prove his affection to the church by his actions, by ſecuring her miniſters in an honorable affluent independence, and by removing every cauſe of diſpute that could endanger their perſons or properties.

He could have wiſhed, that government had not taken any part in the buſineſs. He could not ſee what an Engliſh cabinet, or an Iriſh ſecretary, had to do with it. The gentlemen of the country knew beſt their own ſituation; it ſhould therefore have been left to them. On the riot bill the houſe had reſolved themſelves into a committee on that part of the lord lieutenant's ſpeech, which reſpected the diſturbances; they did not, however, examine at all,

all, whether there were any diſturbances, but they adopted a meaſure more adapted to an adult ſedition than to the ſuppreſſion of a flying peaſantry. However, as miniſters were reſponſible for the quiet of the country, the meaſure was agreed to; but having done ſo, it certainly was now neceſſary to enquire into the diſtreſſes of the people, to enquire into their grievances after they had become coerced into obedience, after it had been declared by ſome of the firſt officers of the ſtate, and allowed by every one, that they were bowed down with miſery, and ground to powder with oppreſſion; after they had paſſed a law to ſhoot, and to hang, and to whip, and to baniſh, and to impriſon them, could it be thought too ſoon to enquire into their grievances? It might, indeed, be too late, but the dignity of parliament would be injured. And how has the right honorable gentleman maintained that dignity? By ſealing up the lips of the majority, and pronouncing his *veto* againſt compaſſion. I ſhould have wiſhed, continued he, he had not riſen, or that the imperial *veto* had not ſealed up the ſprings of humanity.

It has been ſaid, that the exoneration of potatoes from tithe would be of no advantage to the poor. Where had gentleman learned that doctrine? Certainly not in the report of Lord Carhampton. Or would they ſay, that taking ſixteen ſhillings an acre off potatoes is no benefit to the miſerable man, who depends on them as his only food?

It had been admitted, that ſome tithes are illegal, ſuch as thoſe on turf, and the poor man was adviſed to inſtitute a law-ſuit for relief. Were gentlemen ſerious when they gave that advice? or would they point out, how the man, who earned five pence a day was to cope with the wealthy tithe farmer that oppreſſed him?

It had been ſaid, they ſhould not pay any regard to people in a ſtate of reſiſtance; that it would be derogatory from the dignity of parliament, and that they ſhould apply in proper form. He laughed at ſuch language; there could never be a time when it was improper for the legiſlature to do juſtice. Mr. Grattan's motion was then ſuperſeded without a diviſion.

When the bill for better executing the laws, and for the better preſervation of the peace within the counties at large was read a ſecond time, it was warmly oppoſed by ſeveral of the patriots: Mr. Griffith* was unwilling it ſhould be brought

* This gentleman was very vehement in his expreſſions on this occaſion. 7 Par. Deb. p. 445. He objected againſt going into a bill of that importance, in a houſe conſiſting of not one third of

brought forward before ſo thin a houſe: Sir Edward Crofton oppoſed it on the ſame ground, as well as upon the unconſtitutional tendency of the meaſure. Mr. Conolly entertained the moſt ſerious apprehenſions from putting the country under an armed marechauſſée, by making conſtables dependent upon government for their ſalaries. He had, he ſaid, aſked the attorney general, when the Riot Act was introduced, whether it were intended to be followed up with a general police bill; and the right honorable gentleman had ſaid it was not. The attorney general ſtill perſiſted, that no ſuch thing was intended, and he pledged himſelf to prove in the committee, that the bill then before them had no ſuch tendency. Mr. Conolly profeſſed himſelf anxious to have the laws ſtrictly executed, though in a conſtitutional way. He always approved of a Riot Act, and was confirmed in that opinion by the late

the members, and moſt of thoſe preſent were aids de camp, ſearchers, packers, gaugers, placemen of all deſcriptions, and penſioners. And that it was highly indecent at that time to preſs forward a bill of ſuch conſequence, a bill, which created thirty-two additional judges, which annulled ſix hundred magiſtrates, which raiſed an army of three thouſand ſoldiers, under the name of conſtables, and changed the adminiſtration of the juſtice of the country. Mr. John O'Neile ſaid the bill would raiſe a body of five thouſand ſub conſtables, which was equal to one full third of the ſtanding army, and had but two objects, viz. to increaſe the patronage of the crown, and to overawe the people. Mr. Charles O'Neile was vehement in the ſupport of the bill.

On the further progreſs of this bill, Mr. Fitzgibbon very tauntingly upbraided the gentlemen on the oppoſition bench, for their ſilence, as if proceeding from inability and ignorance, which was highly reſented by Mr. John O'Neile and Mr. Conolly: the former reminded the attorney-general of ſeveral unconſtitutional acts brought in by him, ſome of which ſtill diſgraced the ſtatute books: namely, the bill for ſecuring the liberty of the preſs, which deprived the ſubject of his birth-right; a trial by jury; and veſted in the magiſtrate the executive of judicial powers, making him at once the judge, who was to preſide, the jury to deliberate, and the executioner, who was to puniſh: his proſecutions by attachment, which met with the loud and general condemnation of all ranks of men and of lawyers fully as able as himſelf, which alſo deprived the ſubject of his birth-right, the trial by jury: and laſtly, his bill to prevent tumultuous riſings as it firſt ſtood, enjoining the proſtration of the houſes of religious worſhip, which would have driven two-thirds of the people to deſpair, madneſs, and rebellion. He warned miniſtry to deſiſt from that overbearing exultation, with which they carried queſtions by their majorities, and inſolently attempted to run down country gentlemen from ſtanding up in ſupport of their oppreſſed countrymen. Mr. Conolly obſerved, that a country gentleman might be well excuſed, if, in his zeal to ſerve the country, he fell into ſome error upon the conſtitution: but no apology could be made for the law officer of the crown, at the head of his own profeſſion, who, to ſeduce that houſe, openly aſſerted ſo falſe a fact, as that in giving them that bill, he was *giving them the law of Great Britain*, where conſtables were not made and paid by government. The attorney-general made a full apology to Mr. O'Neile. 7 Parl. Debates, p. 474.

Marquis

Marquis of Rockingham, the known friend to liberty, who declined going over to Ireland, alledging, that he never would go to a country, where a Riot Act never had exiſted. Yet he would not object to the bill, if the conſtables to be appointed under it were to be elective in the counties by the grand juries. The bill was committed by a very large majority.

It was ſingular, that ſo many ſeſſions had paſſed over without any motion or reſolution concerning the body of Roman Catholics: the Proteſtant part of the nation had latterly become much reconciled to them, as appeared by the liberal declarations of the volunteer corps. On the 4th of April, 1787, Mr. Brown, of the college, without any previous notice, or any particular view, brought them under the conſideration of the Houſe of Commons, by a motion, which he carried, even againſt the vote of the ſecretary. The motion was in itſelf of trifling conſequence: though every circumſtance, which aſcertains the diſpoſition for the time being, of the government and parliament towards that numerous part of the Iriſh nation, cannot be indifferent to thoſe, who take an intereſt in the hiſtory of that kingdom. He accordingly moved, " *That the proper officer do lay before this houſe, copies of all the rolls, which " have been tranſmitted to, and depoſited in the Rolls Office of this kingdom, " containing the names, titles, additions, and places of abode of ſuch perſons " as have taken the oath preſcribed by the ſtatute of the 13th and 14th " years of his preſent majeſty, intituled, 'An act to enable his majeſty's ſub-' jects of whatever perſuaſion, to teſtify their allegiance to him;' ſpecifying " the time when, and the court or magiſtrate, before whom they reſpectively " took the ſaid oath. Alſo, that the proper officer do lay before this houſe, " copies of the returns, which have been made to the clerk of the privy coun- " cil, by the regiſters of the ſeveral dioceſes in this kingdom, of the names, " abodes, ages, pariſhes, times and places of receiving popiſh orders of ſuch " popiſh eccleſiaſtics as have been regiſtered in purſuance of an act of the 21ſt " and 22d years of his preſent majeſty, intituled, 'An act for the further re- " lief of his majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom profeſſing the popiſh religion."

The Secretary of State could not conceive for what purpoſe thoſe motions were made; and as the motion affected great bodies of men, he hoped he would oblige the houſe with his motive.

Mr. Browne ſaid, that in the year 1774, an act paſſed, by which any of his

* 12 Journ. Com. p. 258.

majeſty's ſubjects were enabled to teſtify their allegiance. The diſſenters were particularly pleaſed at this, as before they had no ſuch opportunity. In 1778, an act paſſed allowing Roman Catholics great advantages, ſuch as taking long leaſes, with this proviſo only, that they ſhould previouſly have taken the oath of allegiance. Another act afterwards paſſed, taking off many reſtrictions, and giving them every advantage poſſeſſed by Proteſtants, except filling any of the offices of ſtate. He wiſhed to know how generally the oath of allegiance had been taken?

Mr. Charles O'Neill obſerved, that the motion might gratify curioſity, but could not anſwer any uſeful purpoſe; and the ſecretary of ſtate thought the object of thoſe motions was to inſinuate an imputation upon two great bodies of men, to excite a ſuſpicion of their fellow ſubjects. Convinced how groundleſs ſuch a charge would be, and convinced of the extreme danger of making it, he ſhould vote againſt the motion. Pamphlets of a very exceptionable nature had been publiſhed, and the nation might apprehend, that the houſe was proceeding to that inveſtigation in conſequence. Upon that ground he alſo objected to the motion. He wiſhed the buſineſs not to be purſued, as it went to revive matters, which every man ſhould wiſh buried in perpetual oblivion.

Mr. Griffith remarked, that there was not a body of people better affected than the Roman Catholics. A very ill-judged ſuſpicion had already given them the alarm, and that motion would ſtill further increaſe it. He hoped, from what had fallen from the ſecretary of ſtate, the motion would be withdrawn. It was, however, put and carried.

Two other ſubjects occupied the attention of parliament during the ſeſſion of 1787: one of them was, the conſideration of the treaty of navigation and commerce with the French king:* the other was a plan of education, which appeared to have been a favorite ſubject of attention and ſtudy to the ſecretary for two years. Shortly before the cloſe of the ſeſſion, he ſubmitted

* Mr. Maſon reported from the committee of the whole houſe, to whom it was referred to take into conſideration, that part of his grace the lord-lieutenant's ſpeech, which related to the treaty of navigation and commerce, concluded by his majeſty with the Moſt Chriſtian king, the reſolutions, which the committee had directed him to report in the houſe, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table. They were fifteen in number, and are to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. LXXVII.

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the plan of it to the houſe; but it was not reliſhed or ſupported according to his wiſhes or expectations. The parliament was prorogued on the 28th of May: and his excellency's ſpeech compriſed the uſual thanks for the ſupplies, aſſurances of his majeſty's affectionate protection, and promiſes of his own œconomical application of the revenue, and a recommendation to the people of regular and peaceable demeanor.

In the long and intereſting diſcuſſion of the treaty of navigation and commerce with the French king, the parliament of Great Britain was not altogether inattentive to the intereſts of Ireland. When the report of the committee upon that treaty was brought up to the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, notice was taken of what had been ſaid relative to Ireland, and the Iriſh propoſitions, arguing, that great good might reſult to Ireland, if ſhe paſſed laws adapted to the regulations of duties contained in the tariff.

Mr. Flood ſaid, that he could aſſure the right honorable gentleman and the houſe, that he felt no extreme anxiety for the attainment of any benefits for Ireland through the medium of a treaty, to which he had ſo many objections on the ground of its being diſadvantageous to great Britain. He had on a former day ſtated, that if the ſentiments of the manufacturers remained unaltered, they could not but be adverſe to a treaty with France, founded on principles ſo tranſcendently more injurious to their intereſts, than the principles of the former treaty with Ireland. Nothing could be more ſelf-evident, than that if the reaſoning of the manufacturers had been right on that occaſion and their apprehenſions had been juſtifiable, the ſame ſtyle of reaſoning would apply more forcibly on the preſent occaſion, and their apprehenſions would be ſtill more juſtifiable. With regard to the court of France underſtanding, that Ireland was implied and comprehended in the preſent treaty, although it were not ſo declared in expreſs words in any part of the treaty, he aſked what ſecurity had Ireland for her ſhare of the advantages or privileges, which the treaty held out to Great Britain, if either privileges or advantages were likely to ariſe from it, any more than ſhe had for the court of Liſbon's extending to her the advantages of the Methuen treaty, which it was well known ſhe had refuſed to ſuffer Ireland to participate of, in violation of the ſpirit and meaning of that treaty, and which treaty on the part of Portugal, although it had been five years in negotiation, no redreſs had been obtained for Ireland. Mr. Flood ſtated his conviction, that the commercial treaty was neither likely to be a benefit to Great Britain or Ireland, and he thought a ſtronger proof of its objectionable invalidity could not be ſtated to the friends

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of Ireland, (and every honeſt Briton muſt be the friend of Ireland, becauſe her intereſts were ſo deeply involved and interwoven with the intereſts of Great Britain, that they were inſeparable conſiderations,) than the extraordinary poſition, in which the commercial treaty would place the two countries of France and Ireland, by entitling France to commercial privileges and advantages in Great Britain, to which Ireland was not entitled; and by entitling Ireland to greater privileges and advantages in France, than ſhe could obtain in Great Britain.

Mr. Grenville declared, that Great Britain had two years ago made a liberal offer to Ireland, which the parliament of that miſled and infatuated people had been perſuaded to refuſe. He never would admit the doctrine, that therefore Great Britain had no right to treat and conclude a commercial treaty with France, adapted to her own commercial circumſtances, without conſidering herſelf as a dependent on Ireland, and conſulting her previouſly upon the ſubject. Mr. Grenville went into a recapitulation of the parliamentary tranſactions of the year 1785, reſpecting the commercial arrangements then agitated in favour of Ireland, and conſulting her previouſly upon the ſubject. He ſaid, that the offer of Great Britain had been more liberal than it perhaps ever might prove again; and that it ill became thoſe, who had principally ſtood forward in the parliament of Ireland to perſuade that aſſembly to reject the offer, to be afterwards among the foremoſt to endeavour to prevent this country from carrying into execution a treaty with France, which was concluded with a view to the benefit of Great Britain. Ireland had been favored with an early option of ſolid and ſubſtantial advantage: and Ireland had rejected the offer under circumſtances of great deluſion, and under artful miſrepreſentations of the real nature of that offer, he was ready to admit; but having rejected it, till ſhe ſaw her fatal deluſion, and was, from conviction of the value of what ſhe had been ſo unhappily perſuaded to refuſe, induced to aſk Great Britain to give her a ſecond option, ſhe had not the ſmalleſt pretenſions to complain of neglect of her intereſts on the part of Great Britain; and the more eſpecially, as the preſent commercial treaty with France had been concluded with an eye to her intereſts equally with the intereſts of this country, as it lay with the parliament of Ireland to decide for themſelves, and if they thought the treaty advantageous to that country, they had it in their power to make it ſo, by paſſing laws adapted to the ſtipulations in the tariff.

Mr. Flood anſwered, that he could not have conceived it poſſible for three or four natural expreſſions to have drawn down upon him an animadverſion, delivered

delivered in ſo high and imperative a tone. Being a native of Ireland, and having the honor to poſſeſs a ſeat in the parliament of that kingdom, he had thought it his indiſpenſable duty not to ſit ſilent, when ſo much had been ſaid on the ſubject of Ireland, and its commercial intereſts; but he plainly ſaw, that if any man profeſſed himſelf to be the real friend of Ireland, he was to be reprehended and ſtigmatized as the enemy of Great Britain. He had before declared, that he was a friend to both countries, and had ſaid that every honeſt Briton muſt be the ſame. The right honorable gentleman had contended, that Great Britain was not the dependent of Ireland, it was undoubtedly true; but was Great Britain not bounden to take care of the intereſts of every part of the empire? The parliament of Great Britain was the imperial parliament: was it not then the indiſpenſable duty of that parliament, in every great national meaſure, to look to the general intereſts of the empire, and to ſee that no injurious conſequences followed to the peculiar intereſts of any part of it. If this were admitted, would any man ſay, that Ireland was not to be conſidered on the preſent important occaſion? And why, becauſe the parliament of Ireland had rejected, and rejected with diſdain, the commercial treaty of 1785. The right honorable gentleman had told them, that in 1785, Great Britain made a liberal offer to Ireland. This was the firſt time that it had been owned, that the treaty of 1785 was the offer of Great Britain, at the time the right honorable gentleman (he believed) had called the meaſure the Iriſh propoſitions, and ſtated them as coming from Ireland. He had now confeſſed the fact, and acknowledged (more, perhaps, than he meant to admit) that the propoſitions were Engliſh propoſitions, ſent originally from hence to Ireland, then ſent back, and ultimately returned from England in a ſhape widely altered from their original appearance. The right honorable gentleman had talked of deluſion, and hinted, that thoſe who endeavoured to open the eyes of the parliament of Ireland, were aſhamed to avow their conduct. The right honorable gentleman was in error. He gloried in the ſhare, which he had taken in that tranſaction. The offer had been inſidious, and under colour of commercial advantage, the conſtitution of Ireland was endeavoured to be bartered away. Mr. Flood next took notice of what he termed the right honorable gentleman's declaration, that till Ireland aſked to have the propoſitions revived, ſhe was to expect no favour from Great Britain. He ſaid, that it reminded him of the declaration of the right honorable gentleman (a member of that houſe) in an eminent ſituation in Ireland, who had

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obtained an addreſs as a ſanction of the meaſure, and who triumphantly told the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, that in leſs than three months, when the people were undeceived, and the deluſion in which they had been involved, cleared up, they would come in numbers to the houſe, execrate thoſe members who had been moſt active in oppoſing that maſs of propoſitions, ſome parts of which they had been told, were Engliſh, ſome part Iriſh, ſome commercial, and ſome political, and earneſtly implore their revival. To enſure this triumph, ſome thouſand copies, accompanied with the addreſs to the lord-lieutenant, had been printed and diſſeminated throughout the kingdom of Ireland, but to that day, no man had ventured to mention the revival of the propoſitions in parliament, nor was it at all likely that they ſhould. Mr. Flood ſaid, that he hoped it would not be thought that he had obtruded the ſubject of Ireland upon the houſe. It had been agitated for a conſiderable time before he interfered; nor ſhould he have ſaid thus much, had he not thought that his ſilence would have been deemed a dereliction on his part of a cauſe, which it would ever be his pride to aſſiſt in maintaining and ſupporting. There was ſomething ſo high in the tone of the right honorable gentleman, that it ſtruck his ear as extraordinary; he could not imagine that the right honorable gentleman meant any thing perſonal; but he begged leave to ſay, that no man living ſhould brow-beat him, or awe him into an unbecoming ſilence.*

Mr. W. Grenville ſaid, that in the firſt place, he hoped that no man would believe that he meant to brow-beat the right honorable gentleman; and far leſs could he have intended to have ſtood up as profeſſing to entertain any ſentiment inimical to the intereſts of Ireland. To the contrary, he profeſſed and felt a warm affection and ſincere regard, grounded on principles of perſonal gratitude for paſt kindneſſes and attentions to himſelf, and on a variety of

* I have given this ſpeech of Mr. Flood's in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, as largely as I found it reported, not only to prove what were the opinion and feelings of that part of the Iriſh nation and ſenate, which adopted his reaſoning, and moved by his influence (and they were not few), but more particularly to draw the reader's attention to the avowals of Mr. Flood, the moſt violent and impaſſioned aſſerter of Iriſh independence, that there exiſted a political neceſſity for a controling ſuperiority in the Britiſh, which was the imperial parliament, whoſe indiſpenſable duty it was, in every great national meaſure, to look to the general intereſts of the empire, and to ſee that no injurious conſequences followed to the peculiar intereſts of any part of it. Now, as Ireland did not claim any ſuch controlling right over Great Britain, the independence claimed could not be real, for all independence muſt be reciprocal. The admiſſion of theſe principles demonſtrates the political neceſſity of an incorporate union for the advantage of the empire at large.

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lear and intereſting conſiderations. In the progreſs of the Iriſh propoſitions through that houſe, he had been actuated by thoſe principles, and had ſtood up as the friend of Ireland to ſtem the torrent of prejudice, to reſiſt and oppoſe the objections of intereſted individuals, and to reaſon into ſilence and conviction, the groundleſs alarms and apprehenſions of thoſe manufacturers, who, miſled by factious men, were taught to be terrified at imaginary evils, and to expect dangers never likely to happen. Mr. Grenville ſtated the object and end of the Iriſh propoſitions, to have been for Great Britain to grant to Ireland as full a participation of her commercial advantages as could be permitted conſiſtently with her own ſafety, and to ſecure a ſuitable return. The idea of its being intended to aſſume the power of legiſlating for Ireland, he contended, was nothing more than an empty phantom, raiſed by the machinations of ſophiſtry, to frighten the parliament of Ireland from accepting one of the greateſt boons ever offered to one country by the impulſe of the liberal and affectionate feelings of another.

Mr. Fox reprobated the idea, that nothing beneficial to Ireland was to be thought of, becauſe ſhe had refuſed the propoſitions of 1785. He entered into a detail of the nature of thoſe propoſitions; ſtated his own conduct reſpecting them; and concluded with moving, by way of amendment, that the words, "this day ſe'nnight," be inſerted in the motion, inſtead of the word "now."

Mr. Pelham ſeconded the motion, declaring, that he ſhould have moved it, had not his right honorable friend made ſuch amendment.

When the commercial treaty was under debate in the Britiſh Houſe of Lords, the Marquis of Lanſdowne,* ever attentive to the intereſt of Ireland, obſerved, that this matter gave him the higheſt concern as well as aſtoniſhment. When he lately heard in the country, that a body of the Iriſh privy counſellors had been collected in England, to conſult with miniſtry,

* In the beginning of his ſpeech on this occaſion the noble Marquis had, in defending himſelf againſt an imputation from Lord Carliſle, of having ſpoken both for and againſt the treaty, ſaid, that he had approved the principles and tendency of the meaſure, though he objected to ſome of the articles in the detail. The fact was, that he did then ſtand, as through his life he always had ſtood, aloof from parties. He was of no party. It was his pride and principle to be of no faction, but to embrace every meaſure on its own ground, free from all connexion. Such had been his political creed: as ſuch he ſtood before the people, and as ſuch he coveted to be judged by them. 22 Parl. Deb. Lords, p. 98.

he had no conception, that the conference was on the ſubject of a French treaty with Ireland, while England and Ireland ſtill remained in the ſame diſtracted ſtate as before. Nothing could be more extraordinary than this; for the time was favorable; Ireland was a nation of good humour; the Duke of Rutland and Mr. Orde were men, who would make her good humoured, if ſhe were the contrary: the conduct of the Engliſh manufacturers, in the preſent caſe of the French treaty, muſt cruſh all their former objections to the ſyſtem of the Iriſh propoſitions. The preſent then was the moment for miniſters to revive the idea of a beneficial connexion. Why was it not done? He did not mean the vague, ill-natured, and inadequate Iriſh propoſitions, as they were called; but a plain, ſimple, good-intentioned ſcheme of reciprocal intercourſe, taking off the ſhackles that lay on our trading laws, which was all the union he deſired. It was monſtrous to think, that their privy counſellors ſhould be aſſembled, and nothing done; at a time too when the Right Boys exhibited ſuch a ſcene, to whom, for aught he knew, every conſul from the court of France may prove a miniſter.

The Duke of Rutland died in October, 1787. This nobleman was calculated to command the affections of the Iriſh nation: he was open, free, liberal, and convivial: he committed the management of the public buſineſs to thoſe about him: and unfortunately for that nation, the expences of driving the ſtate equipage through the beaten track neceſſarily increaſed in an alarming degree. In this very year the penſion liſt was increaſed by additional grants to the amount of 8730*l.** Sir Henry Hartſonge, Mr. Conolly, and many who had moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his adminiſtration, rendered willing tribute to his amiable qualities, to the uprightneſs of his heart, and the honorable views and intentions with which he acted on all occaſions. The errors of his adminiſtration they attributed to his adviſers, and the majority of that houſe, who had conſtantly ſupported them. To an aggrieved people it is however immaterial, whether the noxious ſyſtem proceed immediately from a depraved or auſtere governor, or immediately through thoſe miniſters, who abuſe the frankneſs and eaſe of a benevolent one. The melancholy neceſſity of a corrupt majority in parliament to ſupport a permanent and commanding influence of the Engliſh executive, or rather of the Engliſh cabinet in the councils of Ireland, has been faithfully delineated by the late Earl of Clare, who for nearly

* 8 Parl. Deb. p. 8.

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the laſt twenty years of his life was one of the moſt powerful directors and ſupporters of that very influence.* "Such a connexion," ſaid he, "is "formed not for mutual ſtrength and ſecurity, but for mutual debility; it "is a connexion of diſtinct minds and diſtinct intereſts, generating national "diſcontent and jealouſy, and perpetuating faction and miſgovernment in "the inferior country. The firſt obvious diſadvantage to Ireland is, that "in every department of the ſtate, every other conſideration muſt yield to "parliamentary power; let the miſconduct of any public officer be what it "may, if he is ſupported by a powerful parliamentary intereſt, he is too "ſtrong for the king's repreſentative. A majority in the parliament of Great "Britain will defeat the miniſter of the day; but a majority of the parlia-"ment of Ireland againſt the king's government, goes directly to ſeparate "this kingdom from the Britiſh crown. If it continues, ſeparation or war "is the inevitable iſſue; and therefore it is, that the general executive of "the empire, as far as is eſſential to retain Ireland as a member of it, is com-"pletely at the mercy of the Iriſh parliament; and it is vain to expect, "ſo long as man continues to be a creature of paſſion and intereſt, that he "will not avail himſelf of the critical and difficult ſituation, in which the "executive government of this kingdom muſt ever remain, under its preſent "conſtitution, to demand the favors of the crown, not as the reward of loy-"alty and ſervice, but as the ſtipulated price, to be paid in advance, for the "diſcharge of a public duty. Every unprincipled and noiſy adventurer, who "can atchieve the means of putting himſelf forward, commences his political "career on an avowed ſpeculation of profit and loſs; and if he fail to nego-"ciate his political job, will endeavour to extort it by faction and ſedition, "and with unbluſhing effrontery to faſten his own corruption on the king's "miniſters. Engliſh influence is the inexhauſtible theme for popular irrita-"tion and diſtruſt of every factious and diſcontented man, who fails in the "ſtruggle to make himſelf the neceſſary inſtrument of it. Am I then juſti-"fied in ſtating, that our preſent connexion with Great Britain, is in its na-"ture formed for mutual debility; that it muſt continue to generate na-"tional diſcontent and jealouſy, and perpetuate faction and miſgovernment "in Ireland."†

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* Speech of the Earl of Clare, p. 45.

† This avowal of the neceſſary continuance of national diſcontent, jealouſy, faction, and miſgovernment in Ireland, from that noble lord, who bore ſo pre-eminent a ſhare in the government of

If credit be given, as it ought, to the truth of what Lord Clare has further aſſerted, of the political ſtate of Ireland at that period, we ſhall find, that the Iriſh nation then was, and that it was impoſſible that it ſhould not be, an aggrieved and diſcontented people. It was, ſaid he, a fact of public notoriety, that on the acknowledgment of Iriſh independence in 1782, the firſt ſtep taken by ſome gentlemen of that country, who had been in the habit of conſidering the Iriſh nation as their political inheritance, was to make it a muniment of their title, by forming a political confederacy, offenſive and defenſive, in both countries. The baſis of that alliance was, mutual engagement to play the independence of Ireland againſt their political antagoniſts

that country, at once ſtamps the quality of thoſe majorities in parliament, which he ſo long triumphantly led, and fatally proves, that a moſt powerful argument for the union was to be drawn from the inveterate corruption of the Iriſh government. This argument in favor of the union might have been urged by any member of the Iriſh parliament more graciouſly, by none more forcibly, than by the Earl of Clare. As that nobleman has now paid the debt of nature, and as he bore the principal part in bringing about the union of his country with Great Britain, it is no ſlight duty of the hiſtorian to lay before the reader his real character: the motives of his conduct may be collected, if at all, from his own avowals. He was one of the moſt eminent and ſucceſsful lawyers, that ever adorned the Iriſh bar: he came early into parliament, and having ſucceeded to a very ample patrimony, the extraordinary perquiſites of his profeſſion rendered him one of the moſt independent members of the Houſe of Commons. From the moment of his appointment to be attorney general in the adminiſtration of the Duke of Portland, 1782, he was to the hour of his death moſt devotedly and uniformly attached to the intereſts and influence of the Britiſh cabinet. He was ſingularly gifted by nature to ſucceed in the elevated ſtations of attorney general and chancellor, in which he ſucceſſively moved. His profeſſional talents and knowledge were inferior to none at the bar; and his perſonal intrepidity, ſpirited exertions, and unwearied zeal in ſupporting the cauſe he had undertaken, were ſuperior to thoſe of any other political character in the nation. He rather ſpurned, than courted popularity. He was the firſt Iriſhman, to whom the Britiſh cabinet had entruſted the great ſeal, and is univerſally allowed to have performed the functions of that important office with infinitely more ability and effect than any of his predeceſſors on that bench. He was an excellent landlord. But as a public political character he was very unpopular. He was the promoter of all the ſtrong meaſures of government, which created ſo much diſcontent at different periods throughout the nation: he never favored, and latterly was the principal agent in ſuppreſſing the volunteers; he determinately oppoſed the enlargement of the indulgencies to the Catholics, and uniformly ſupported every meaſure of the Britiſh cabinet, which either did or was ſuppoſed to encroach upon the liberty and welfare of his country. In parliament he was always aſſiduous and powerful, frequently ſarcaſtic and heated, and ſometimes arrogant and overbearing. In private he was warm in his attachments, and unrelenting in his enmities. In his complacencies he was engaging, often faſtidious in his deportment, and in his domeſtic habits convivial and luxurious.

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whenever they happened to occupy the ſeat of power; and, if he were to judge by the conduct of the parties principally concerned up to that hour, to foment turbulence and faction in Ireland even to open rebellion, if it ſhould be found neceſſary to the removal of an obnoxious Britiſh adminiſtration. In proſecution of that very laudable ſyſtem, it became an eſſential object of the confederacy to guard againſt any ſettlement between Great Britain and Ireland, which might cut off the moſt obvious ſources of mutual jealouſy and diſcontent.

Whilſt there exiſts the ſemblance of a parliament in a country, which is at all, however unequally, divided, the bulk of the people naturally will ſide with one party or the other: and if according to this nobleman, as long as man continues to be a creature of paſſion and intereſt, the majority of parliament be to conſiſt of thoſe, who receive the favor of the crown, not as the reward of loyalty and ſervice, but as the ſtipulated price to be paid in advance for the diſcharge of public duty, it neceſſarily follows, that the bulk of thoſe, whom the rays of royal favor do not reach, muſt be in oppoſition to thoſe ſtipendiary ſervants of the crown, who were neceſſary to keep up that ſyſtem of Engliſh influence upon Iriſh government, to which ſuch terrible effects were neceſſarily annexed. Nothing therefore could be more true, than that the whole Iriſh people (except thoſe who received emolument through the revenue, police, or other departments of government,) were unexceptionably diſcontented at the ſyſtem of government, then carrying forward. Nay, the very part of the new viceroy's conduct, which was moſt laudable, at this time ſwelled the ſtream of diſcontent. His œconomical vigilance upon the application of public revenue, and his determination to reform the abuſes in the ſeveral departments, had raiſed againſt him the whole hoſt of fiſcal dependents throughout the nation. It may indeed eaſily be imagined with what zealous energy they laboured to thwart the views and render the character of the lord lieutenant unpopular. In the metropolis the citizens were meeting by deputies from each pariſh to prepare petitions againſt the police bill; and by way of reviving the ſpirit of liberty, which they conceived the late ſtrong meaſures of government were aimed at extinguiſhing, the corporation of Dublin took an opportunity of preſenting a formal requeſt to the provoſt and fellows of the univerſity, in grateful remembrance of that diſintereſted patriot the late Dr. Lucas, to give a gratuitous education to his

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ſon; to whom the provoſt and fellows moſt liberally granted an apartment and commons in college, without any expence to his family.

On the 17th of January, 1788, the Marquis of Buckingham met the parliament for the firſt time: in his ſpeech from the throne he condoled with them upon the loſs his majeſty's ſervice had ſuſtained by the death of the Duke of Rutland, whoſe public and private virtues had deſervedly conciliated the eſteem of that kingdom; and he called upon them to take part in the ſatisfaction, which his majeſty felt in the ſituation of foreign affairs, particularly in the reſtoration of the conſtitution and tranquillity of the united provinces by the co-operation of his majeſty and the King of Pruſſia, under the conduct of the Duke of Brunſwick. When the addreſs had been moved for and ſeconded, Mr. Parſons objected to it, becauſe in ſpeaking of the Duke of Rutland's adminiſtration, it ſeemed entirely to approve of it, and to bind the houſe to purſue the ſame meaſures, which that adminiſtration had done. He owned he was not at the moment prepared to enter into a ſubject of ſo much importance, but there were ſome points ſo notoriouſly diſagreeable, and ſo highly injurious to the country, that he could not for a moment ſuppoſe the houſe would adopt any meaſure, which would look like an approbation of them, much leſs would it pledge itſelf to retain all the meaſures of the Duke of Rutland's adminiſtration. He truſted the houſe would not now approve the act, by which the preſs in Ireland was laid under a degree of reſtraint unknown in England; he well knew, that under certain circumſtances, very diſſimilar laws might be found neceſſary in the two countries, but the great fundamental principles of law ought to be the ſame in both; and therefore he hoped under the preſent adminiſtration to ſee the preſs liberated from the ſhackles, which the laſt had impoſed: he alſo hoped to ſee the unconſtitutional exerciſe of attachments diſcontinued; the preſent adminiſtration he truſted would feel no neceſſity for ſuch a guard. He alſo hoped a general police and riot act would be no longer deemed neceſſary; and therefore, if gentlemen meant to do away theſe abominations, he could ſee no neceſſity for pledging themſelves to, or for approving of them: they were all acts, which tended to increaſe prerogative, and diminiſh liberty, and the addreſs as it ſtood embraced them all. He obſerved, that throughout the whole ſpeech, and the whole addreſs, the word œconomy was no where to be found; he aſked, therefore, did the preſent miniſtry mean to continue the

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ſame ſyſtem of extravagance, by which the laſt had loaded the country with taxes? or did they mean to retrench? If the latter, why not declare it? The expences of the country were enormous, and exceeded thoſe of Lord Carliſle's adminiſtration, which was deemed ſufficiently profuſe, by a ſum of not leſs than 660,000*l.* per annum; he again deſired to know, was the profuſion to be continued; There was no promiſe to the contrary in the ſpeech; and therefore every man muſt infer it was; though it would be ſomewhat ſtrange, after all the examination which had been made into the public offices, and which the nation ſuppoſed was for the purpoſe of retrenchment.

Several gentlemen of the oppoſition, out of tenderneſs to the character of the late Duke of Rutland, who was perſonally beloved, prevailed on Mr. Parſons to withdraw his motion, conceiving that the addreſs did not commit them to the approbation of the meaſures of his adminiſtration. Mr. Parſons, however, on the next evening, when the addreſs was moved, ſtill perſiſted, that the amendment he had to propoſe, ſo far from caſting blame upon the late Duke of Rutland, was the moſt favorable comment upon his adminiſtration, by laying the defects of it at the door of his miniſters, who really were guilty.

He accordingly moved the following amendment, by expunging the words, *the wiſe and ſteady courſe of his public adminiſtration, had eſtabliſhed the public tranquillity and exalted the credit of the nation*; and inſerting in the room thereof the following: " at the ſame time, our regard to truth, " and to the real intereſts of his majeſty and his loyal people of Ireland, " which will not ſuffer us to convey an imperfect repreſentation of the ſtate " of this kingdom to his royal mind, compel us to declare, that notwith- " ſtanding the good diſpoſition, which we are willing to believe our late la- " mented chief governor had for the proſperity of this iſland, yet, " through the miſguidance of his counſellors, this kingdom during his ad- " miniſtration, has been afflicted with a moſt burthenſome encreaſe of taxa- " tion, and with ſeveral grievous and ſevere acts, repugnant to the principles " of our wiſe conſtitution, and injurious to the liberties of his majeſty's " ſubjects of this realm." This amendment was rejected without oppoſition.*

Early in the ſeſſion, the ſecretary of ſtate called the attention of the houſe to a ſubject of the higheſt importance to the peace and tranquillity of the

* 8 Par. Deb. p. 13.

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kingdom, and which had been ſtrongly recommended from the throne; he meant the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed church. He reminded the houſe, that he had in the laſt ſeſſion introduced a bill to protect the rights of the clergy, that had been wreſted from them by force or fraud. He was ſorry, that the bill, though founded in lenity, had fallen ſhort of its intent. Although the outrages of the ſouth had ſomewhat abated, yet a ſpirit of combination againſt the payment of tithes ſtill exiſted, and notices ſigned by Captain *Right* were in circulation, enjoining all perſons, under the ſevereſt penalties, not to pay tithe for the year 1787. If in 1787, there exiſted a neceſſity for ſuch an act to enforce compenſation to the clergy for tithes withholden up to that time; the neceſſity was now become much ſtronger by the extenſion of the combination againſt the clergy; many of whom in the ſouth were now reduced to beggary. He concluded by obſerving, that the preſent diſpute did not lie between the farmers and the clergy, but between the legiſlature and a lawleſs rabble. He then moved, "that leave be given to bring "in a bill to enable all eccleſiaſtical perſons and bodies, rectors, vicars, and curates, and impropriators, and thoſe deriving by, from, or under them, to recover a juſt compenſation for the tithes withheld from them in the year 1787, in the ſeveral counties and counties of cities therein mentioned, againſt ſuch perſons who were liable to the ſame; and to explain and amend an act made in the twenty-ſeventh year of his majeſty's reign, intitled, "An act to "enable all eccleſiaſtical perſons and bodies, rectors, vicars and curates, and "impropriators, and thoſe deriving by, from, or under them, to recover "a juſt compenſation for the tithes withheld from them in the year 1786, in "the ſeveral counties therein mentioned, againſt ſuch perſons who were "liable to the ſame."

The ſubject of tithes took up the principal attention of the nation, both within and without the parliament, during the firſt months of the year 1787. The ſpeech, which Mr. Grattan delivered upon this delicate and important ſubject, in the Houſe of Commons, on the 14th of February, 1787, made ſuch a ſenſation in the country, that it was publiſhed with a very ſpirited preface, and ran through four editions in leſs than a month: upon a diviſion, however, in the houſe, 49 only voted for Mr. Grattan's motion againſt 121, which was for this reaſonable propoſition, viz. that a committee ſhould be appointed to enquire, whether any juſt cauſe of diſcontent exiſted amongſt the people of the province of Munſter, or of the counties of Kilkenny

kenny or Carlow, on account of tithe, or the collection of tithes; and if any, to report the ſame, together with their opinion thereupon.*

The new viceroy had not been inactive in ſtrengthening the miniſterial party in parliament. In ſeveral inſtances he had been ſucceſsful. What communications he made to his converts is not to be now known: but it was a general complaint, that his excellency would not condeſcend to make known, even to his friends, the plan or even principles of his adminiſtration.† As far indeed, as could be collected from ſome of his meaſures, it was generally concluded, that the whole ſyſtem of the late adminiſtration was intended to be followed up: conſequently the ſame ſyſtem of oppoſition was adhered to. Notwithſtanding, therefore, the new lord lieutenant's œconomical attack upon the ſubaltern officers of the revenue, the gentlemen of the oppoſition did not give his excellency credit for any œconomical reform in the original diſpenſation of the public Money. Mr. Forbes, on the 29th of January 1788 deſired, that a liſt of the penſions granted ſince the laſt ſeſſion of parliament might be read. He then objected to a penſion of 1000*l.* to James Brown, Eſq. the late prime ſerjeant, on the principle only of its being granted to a member of the houſe during pleaſure. He remarked, that by the Engliſh act for further ſecuring the liberties of the ſubject, it was provided, that after the acceſſion of the preſent family to the throne, no penſioner during pleaſure, ſhould ſit or vote in the Houſe of Commons. The people of Ire-

* 8 Par. Deb. p. 192. As no alteration in the ſyſtem of tithes in Ireland has taken place ſince Mr. Grattan delivered his wonderful ſpeech upon that ſubject, it will be found in the Appendix, No. LXXVIII. for the inſtruction of thoſe who intereſt themſelves about it. It is a maſter-piece of eloquence and reaſoning on that intereſting ſubject.

† Amongſt other proſelytes, that went over to the new viceroy was Mr. Longfield, who had conſiderable parliamentary intereſt; he and the friends he introduced had uniformly oppoſed the late adminiſtration: amongſt theſe was Mr. Curran, who having been brought into parliament by Mr. Longfield, could not bend his principles to the pliancy of his friend, or take a ſubordinate part in ſupporting an adminiſtration, whoſe intended meaſures were made a ſecret of: he therefore purchaſed a ſeat in a vacant borough, and offered it to Mr. Longfield for any perſon, whoſe principles were at his command. Thus did Mr. Curran retain his ſeat and parliamentary independence: and Mr. Longfield was enabled to fulfil his engagements with the miniſter, for his own and his dependant's votes in parliament. Two exceptions from the ſyſtem of the late adminiſtration were prominently conſpicuous, in that of the Marquis of Buckingham, neither of which went far in encreaſing his popularity. The firſt was a rigid inſpection into all the ſubaltern offices of the fiſcal departments of government: and the other a rigorous œconomical reform throughout the culinary and other houſehold departments of the caſtle.

land had a right to participate with the inhabitants of Great Britain, in all the benefits and privileges of that act, and the Bill of Rights. He moved, "that this penſion was a miſapplication of the revenue." He alſo on the ſame day moved, that the penſion of 640*l.* to Thomas Higinbotham for life, adding, that he was aſtoniſhed that ſo large a portion of the public money ſhould be diſpoſed of without the knowledge or privity of the chancellor of the exchequer; and that for ſuch a tranſaction all the ſervants of the crown ſhould deny any reſponſibility; he then objected to a penſion of 1200*l.* per annum to Robert Aſhwood, for the life of his ſon, and alſo two other penſions of 300*l.* each, and one of 200*l.* to the ſame perſon, for the lives of his other children. He ſtated, that a penſion of 2000*l.* per annum had been granted in the year 1755, for the life of Frederick Robinſon; that the family of Robinſon had lately ſold that penſion to Mr. Aſhworth, and had influence with government ſufficient to prevail on the miniſter to change the life in the grant, and to inſert the lives of the young children of Mr. Aſhworth, in the place of Mr. Robinſon; that this management was now become a frequent practice, and if not reſtrained, muſt tend to perpetuate the burdens on the eſtabliſhment, and thereby a grant of a penſion for life, would operate as a leaſe for lives, with a covenant for perpetual renewal. He therefore moved, "that the above penſion was an improvident diſpoſition of the revenue." He then expreſſed his concern, that meaſures in their nature ſo highly exceptionable ſhould receive the ſanction of the new adminiſtration. However, all his motions were negatived without a diviſion.

Mr. Forbes made alſo ſeveral unſucceſsful motions for reducing the public expence by diſcontinuing the government allowances of country houſes for ſome of their officers, and town houſes for moſt ſervants of the crown. On this occaſion he obſerved, without being contradicted, that there were few members upon or in the vicinity of the treaſury bench, the rents of whoſe houſes were not charged on the public accounts. This gentleman on making theſe ſeveral motions had very pointedly remarked, that as he had in common with moſt perſons, in and out of parliament, conceived ſtrong expectations of great reform in point of public expence, to be effected by the new adminiſtration, it was the duty of every member of that houſe to lend his aſſiſtance to the miniſter, to enable him to attain that deſirable object. Nothing could check the unabating ardor and perſeverance of Mr. Forbes. He had early in the ſeſſion given the miniſter notice of his intention to bring in a bill to diſ-

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able any perſon from being choſen a member of, or from ſitting or voting in the houſe of commons, who had any penſion during pleaſure, or for any number of years, from, or held any office or place of profit created after a certain time, under the crown, and to limit the amount of penſions: but having received no encouragement from him, he brought in his bill unſupported by the ſecretary, which having been received and read a firſt time, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that it ſhould be read a ſecond time on the 1ſt of Auguſt, alledging, that the ſubject had often been before the houſe and uniformly rejected.

Mr. Conolly ſaid, neither the ſituation of the country, nor that of the penſion liſt, were the ſame they were when this bill had formerly been rejected, ſince that time the penſions had increaſed, were increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed; if government were in earneſt in their profeſſions of œconomy, they would let the bill go fairly forward to diſcuſſion; if they reſiſted the bill, he never would believe their profeſſions ſincere. They had a numerous and riſing royal family; to their ſupport the country would be proud to contribute. England had many worthy old ſervants, both civil and military; to thoſe men they ſhould not grudge a ſubſiſtence, but to have a 100,000*l.* a year ſquandered on the unworthy, or beſtowed as the reward of corruption, was a grievance the country could not bear; and if the miniſter would agree with parliament to ſet limits to that profuſion, he ſhould find himſelf ſit much eaſier in the ſeat of government, than if he ſhould reſiſt it.

Mr. ſecretary Fitzherbert ſaid, he had declined taking a part in ſupport of the bill for many reaſons; one was, that he thought it in much abler hands: another, that the preſent time did not demand it. The houſe had, he obſerved, given credit to the preſent government for their intentions of œconomy, intentions to which they would moſt rigidly adhere. Suppoſe then, ſaid he, the bill ſhould paſs, what conſtruction would ſuch a meaſure bear? Would it not be as if the houſe ſhould ſay, we have great confidence in the preſent government, we are convinced of their integrity, and we believe they will purſue the intereſt of the kingdom; we therefore lay them under reſtrictions, which we never impoſed on any other government. Then ſuppoſing his concurrence in the bill, what conſtruction would his conduct wear? Would it not be ſaying this, you have expreſſed great confidence in government, but I who know them better, deſire you not to truſt them.

Sir, the prerogative of the crown to beſtow marks of approbation upon ſuch

ſubjects as have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their merits, was one of its deareſt rights.*

The queſtion, upon the adjournment, was carried by a majority of 103 againſt 40.

The diſcontent of the people out of doors, was great: yet the miniſtry appeared to ſet it at defiance. Mr. Hartley preſented a petition from the inhabitants of Dublin and the liberties thereof paying taxes, to be heard by council againſt the police bill, which was ſigned by 7000 and upwards. But the attorney general ſaid, he ſhould be extremely ſorry, that there ſhould be 7000 ſeditious perſons exiſting in the kingdom any where, but on paper. It was he ſaid, admitted by all, that the police bill wanted amendment; and a bill was then before parliament to explain and amend that act. Did the petitioners mean to petition againſt the bill for amending that act, of which they ſo much complained.

The moſt violent attack upon the miniſter, during this ſeſſion of parliament, was made on the 29th of February, when Mr. Forbes moved his addreſs to the crown, in order, at leaſt, to leave to poſterity, on the face of their journals the grievances, under which the people laboured in the year 1788. He prefaced his motion by a very intereſting ſpeech founded on facts, to be collected from the journals of the houſe, or from authentic documents then lying on the table. He travelled over much of his former arguments againſt the prodigality of the late adminiſtration, which had encreaſed the penſion liſt by 26,000*l.* He took that opportunity of giving notice, that he meant next ſeſſion to offer a bill to that houſe for the purpoſe of creating a reſponſibility in the miniſters of Ireland, for the application of the revenue of that kingdom: The only authority, under which the vice treaſurer then paid any money, was a king's letter, counterſigned by the commiſſioners of the Engliſh treaſury. He adverted, with marked cenſure, to the addition of 2,000*l.* to the

* In this debate Mr. Denis Browne, rather againſt order, referred to an aſſertion of the lord lieutenant in converſation, that he had rather put his right hand into the fire, than grant a penſion to any perſon, which every honeſt man ſhould not approve of. Sir Henry Cavendiſh, though he declared his unqualified devotion to that adminiſtration, yet remarked, that doubling the penſions of members might be avoided, "for," ſaid he, "ſuppoſe it appears, that 400*l.* a year are annexed "to the name of a member of this houſe, and that no particular cauſe could be aſſigned for the "grant, may it not be conjectured, that it was made for his ſervice in that houſe, and if ſo, an "additional penſion is unneceſſary, for he that has 400*l.* a year for his vote, will not refuſe voting "though he were to be refuſed 400*l.* a year more." 8 *Par. Deb.* p. 355.

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ſalary of the ſecretary in the late adminiſtration, and to the large ſums expended in the purchaſe and embelliſhment of his houſe in the Phœnix Park, and to the preſent intent of granting a penſion of 2,000*l.* to that very ſecretary for life: * which was eſtabliſhing a moſt miſchievous precedent for ſuch grants to every future ſecretary. He was ſorry to hear the oſtenſible miniſter avail himſelf of the ſame argument, which his predeceſſors had ſucceſsfully uſed for the laſt ten years in reſiſting every attack upon the penſion liſt. He then enlarged upon the pernicious conſequences of placing implicit confidence in adminiſtration; and ſupported his theſis by the following hiſtorical illuſtrations.

† From the year 1773 to 1776, confidence in the adminiſtration of that day had coſt this nation 100,000*l.* in new taxes, and 440,000*l.* raiſed by life annuities. In 1778, confidence in the adminiſtration coſt 300,000*l.* in life annuities; a ſum granted for the purpoſe of defence, and which produced on an alarm of invaſion, one troop of horſe, and half a company of invalids. In 1779 the then ſecretary, for the purpoſe of oppoſing a meaſure, for relief againſt the abuſes of the penſion liſt, read in this houſe an extract of a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate in England, expreſſive of the determination of the then Engliſh miniſtry, not to increaſe the penſion liſt; confidence was placed in the adminiſtration of the day, and it coſt the country 13,000*l.* in new penſions, granted by the ſame ſecretary. In April 1782, on the arrival of the principal of the new adminiſtration, confidence, in the firſt inſtance, was neither aſked nor granted; certain meaſures were propoſed by the commons and the people, they were granted, and the country was emancipated. In 1785, confidence in the adminiſtration of that day, coſt Ireland 140,000*l.* new taxes, to equalize the income and expenditure; but the grant produced 180,000*l.* exceſs of expences. The ſame confidence coſt 20,000*l.* per annum for a police eſtabliſhment, which it had been proved at their bar, contributed to the violation, inſtead of the preſervation of the peace of the metropolis. The ſame confidence coſt the nation laſt year 100,000*l.* charged for buildings and gardens in the Phœnix Park; in fine they might place near two thirds of

* This was intended to be given for the life of the Duke of Bolton. For the ſecretary having married a lady, to whom the bulk of the Bolton eſtate had been left in default of iſſue male of that Duke, he would ceaſe, upon the acceſſion of her fortune, to ſtand in need of that *penſion*. He has for ſome years been in that poſſeſſion, and was created Baron Bolton in 1797.

† 8 Par. Deb. p. 357.

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the national debt to the account of confidence in the adminiſtration of the day. He then moved *a very long and ſpecial addreſs to his majeſty, in which the whole abuſe of the penſion liſt was gone into.

Mr.

* Viz. "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty to expreſs their inviolable attachment to his majeſty's perſon and government, and their zeal and readineſs to maintain the eſtabliſhments of that kingdom, in an amount adequate to the ſupport of his government, and the dignity of his crown.

"That having taken into their conſideration the income and expenditure of the nation, they found themſelves obliged by their duty to his majeſty, to lay before him certain abuſes and miſapplications of a conſiderable portion of the public revenue.

"That the houſe, determined to put an end to the ruinous practice of running in debt, and to raiſe the revenues of that kingdom to an equality with the eſtabliſhments, did, in the ſeſſions of 1785, unanimouſly vote new taxes, eſtimated at 140,000*l.* per annum, and had continued theſe taxes in the preſent and intervening ſeſſions; that the charges of the eſtabliſhments, inſtead of being equal to the revenues, had exceeded conſiderably the national income in the year ending Lady-Day, 1786, and that the exceſs of the expences on the net revenues in the year ending Lady-Day, 1787, was 180,000*l.* That the improvident diſpoſition of the public money in the article of penſions, was one among many other cauſes of that exceſs.

"That the liſt of penſions on the 1ſt of January, 1788, appeared to have increaſed to the amount of 96,289*l.* per annum, excluſive of military penſions, and charges under the head of incidents on the civil eſtabliſhment, and additional ſalaries to ſinecure offices, both of which were ſubſtantially penſions; a ſum greater than the penſion liſt of England, nearly equal to half of the charges on the civil eſtabliſhment, even in its preſent enlarged ſtate, and exceeding by 7000*l.* in one year, the charge of penſions on that eſtabliſhment for two years, ending Lady-Day, 1757, when the commons unanimouſly voted that charge an improvident diſpoſition of the revenue, an injury to the crown, and detrimental to the public.

"That the penſions placed on the civil eſtabliſhment ſince the 24th day of February, 1784, excluſive of thoſe granted in lieu or exchange of former penſions, which had ceaſed, amounted to 17,000*l.* per annum; that many of the penſions had been granted to members of that houſe during the pleaſure of the crown, in violation of the principles of the conſtitution, and the honor of the Houſe of Commons.

"That his majeſty's ſervants in Ireland were ignorant of the cauſes and conſiderations, which induced the grants of other penſions within the above period, and amounting to a conſiderable ſum.

"That a ſyſtem of bartering penſions lately eſtabliſhed, was become an object of univerſal complaint; that the pernicious conſequences of that barter, extended even further than an abuſe of the royal bounty, and an injury of the character of the parliament and government of that country, as it involved the practice of changing the names of perſons, for whoſe lives penſions were formerly granted; of ſubſtituting in the place of thoſe, who were advanced in years, the names of very young perſons, and of continuing the penſions for the lives of ſuch young perſons; a

"practice

Mr. Monk Maſon and the chancellor of the exchequer were the only two, who ſpoke in defence of the adminiſtration: they complained of the multifarious

" practice which muſt effectually prevent the diminution of the preſent penſion liſt, and perpetuate " a charge, that was one of the greateſt burdens on the eſtabliſhment.

" That at the commencement of the adminiſtration of the late lord lieutenant, the ſum of 4000*l.* " was added to the ſalary of the chief governor of that kingdom, and 2000*l.* to that of his princi- " pal ſecretary; that notwithſtanding this encreaſe of ſalaries the ſum charged for one year, ending " Lady-Day, 1787, as expended on buildings and gardens in the Phœnix Park, was nearly equal in " amount to half the ſalary of the chief governor, excluſive of the charge incurred ſince Lady-Day, " 1782, of 43,936*l.* by purchaſing houſes in the Park for the accommodation of the lord lieutenant " and his ſecretary, and by paying ſalaries and other expences attending the Park; and to the above " ſums were to be added, two annuities or penſions, making together 750*l.* granted for lives, and " charged on the eſtabliſhment, for the purpoſe of completing the purchaſe of houſes in the Park " for the chief, and another ſecretary to the lord lieutenant.

" That they could not refrain from expreſſing their apprehenſions to his majeſty, that the firſt effect " produced by the liberal grant of his commons, in ſupport of the dignity of the ſituation of princi- " pal ſecretary, would be a charge on the eſtabliſhment of that kingdom, of a penſion to the perſon " who enjoyed, under the government of the late viceroy, the great and various emoluments of " that office; a meaſure, which they deprecated as pregnant with a two-fold evil to that country; " an immediate increaſe of the public burdens, and an eſtabliſhed precedent for ſimilar charges in " future.

" That they had reaſon to apprehend that ſuch penſion was to be ſo enormous as to exceed con- " ſiderably the ſum which, by the laws of England, could be granted to any one perſon for a like " purpoſe, either at the preſent or any future period.

" That the penſions granted during the period, in which he was confidential ſecretary, con- " ſiderably exceeded the amount of thoſe placed on the eſtabliſhment during the adminiſtration of " any of his predeceſſors, for the laſt twenty years.

" That after all their efforts to reſtrain the groſs and repeated abuſes in the diſpoſition of penſions " had proved ineffectual, and their expectations from the promiſes of œconomy on the part of his " majeſty's miniſters had been uniformly fruſtrated, they had one certain reſource in his majeſty's " wiſdom and juſtice; and they reſted aſſured, that they ſhould obtain relief in an inſtance, in " which they are peculiarly the objects of his majeſty's protection, as the ſole authority, under " which the ſervants of the crown in that kingdom placed penſions on the eſtabliſhment, was de- " rived from his majeſty's letters, counterſigned only by commiſſioners of the Treaſury of Eng- " land: officers, who from their ſituation could not be reſponſible to that houſe for their conduct " in the application of the revenues of that country.

" That united with Great Britain, by the ties of common intereſt as well as mutual affection, " they ſupplicated his majeſty, as the common father of his people, graciouſly to permit his faith- " ful and loyal ſubjects of Ireland to participate in the benefits of the ſalutary regulations adopted " in Great Britain for the reduction of public expences; and they firmly relied on his majeſty's " paternal goodneſs, that he would not ſuffer his faithful ſubjects in that kingdom, to endure the

ſignal

farious maſs of matter contained in the motion, which it was impoſſible then to anſwer: ſuch a farago had never been offered to any aſſembly; they inſiſted upon the meritorious ſervices of many on the penſion liſt, and obſerved, that a large portion of the grants had been made in conſequence of addreſſes from parliament.* In order to get rid of the queſtion (on which miniſters appeared to be the moſt ſore) the queſtion of adjournment was put, and carried by 103 againſt 40.

The laſt thing, which particularly arreſted the attention of parliament during the ſeſſion was Mr. Conolly's humane effort to relieve his poor fellow crea-

" ſignal mortification of obſerving in the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters in England, continued " exertions to eſtabliſh a permanent ſyſtem of the ſtricteſt œconomy, as far as relates to Great " Britain, but of experiencing in the arrangements of the ſame miniſters reſpecting Ireland, an " uniform diſpoſition to ſanction unbounded profuſion. Having thus, with all humble ſubmiſſion, " in diſcharge of what they conceived to be their indiſpenſable duty, laid before his majeſty the " ſtate of the abuſes and miſapplications of a conſiderable portion of the public revenues, they " moſt humbly beſought his majeſty for redreſs thereof, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed not to " grant a penſion exceeding the ſum of 300*l.* per annum, in addition to the amount of penſions on " the civil eſtabliſhment, on the 21ſt of January, 1788, to and for the uſe of any one perſon, and " that the whole amount of the penſions granted in any one year ſhould not exceed the ſum of 800*l.* " until the whole penſion liſt ſhould be reduced to 80,000*l.* nor any penſion granted after the ſaid " reduction to or for the uſe of any one perſon, which ſhould exceed the ſum of 1200*l.* per annum, " except to his majeſty's royal family, or on an addreſs of either houſe of parliament.

" That the abuſes in the penſion liſt had, by long acquieſcence, acquired ſuch a degree of " ſtrength as to render the many private virtues and acknowledged conſtitutional principles of our " late viceroy, in that inſtance, almoſt inoperative and inefficacious; and they had too much rea- " ſon to apprehend, that even the good intentions of their preſent chief governor would be fruſ- " trated, unleſs his excellency's exertions to effectuate the ſyſtem of œconomy were aided and ſup- " ported by his majeſty's gracious and decided interference."

Mr. Conolly moſt chearfully and heartily ſeconded the motion, and the more becauſe his firſt motion was treated with neglect, which nothing that came from him could merit, and becauſe the law propoſed by him, being a part of the Britiſh conſtitution, was denied to that kingdom. It was in vain for that country to ſeek for redreſs, as the ſame gentlemen were always conſulted upon the arrival of a new viceroy and his ſecretary, the ſame meaſures recommended, and at any rate an indemnity granted for the paſt. The right honorable ſecretary had been informed of, and had adopted the old ſyſtem of governing that country. There were gentlemen of equal knowledge, worth and integrity on that ſide of the houſe, and that kingdom could be governed at half its preſent expence. But as that ſide of the houſe had no other way of communicating their ſentiments to government, it had gone into a true ſtate of facts for their information, and that of the people. Facts that could be proved at their bar, not to the ſatisfaction, but to the mortification of the people.

* 8 Parl. Deb. p. 373.

tures

tures by the repeal of the Hearth Tax. He had had it in his intention for two years: he had indeed laſt year been deterred from it, by the miſconduct of ſeveral of thoſe, who would be chiefly relieved by the repeal. He wiſhed to give full time for conſidering the ſubject: and procuring accurate information upon it, and accordingly moved,

Firſt. That the proper officer do lay before this houſe, on the firſt day of next ſeſſion, an account of the houſes, in counties at large in this kingdom, paying hearth-money, which are not of a greater value than 30*s.* per annum, on the full improved rent, and are inhabited by perſons, who have not lands, goods, or chattels, of the value of 5*l.* in their poſſeſſion.

Secondly, That the miniſters or curates, and churchwardens, of the different pariſhes, in counties at large, in this kingdom, do on or before the firſt day of January next, return to the regiſters of the reſpective dioceſes in this kingdom an account of all the houſes, in their reſpective pariſhes, paying hearth-money, which are not of a greater value than 30*s.* per annum, on the full improved rent, and are inhabited by perſons, who have not lands, goods, or chattels of the value of 5*l.* in their poſſeſſion.

Thirdly, Ordered that a copy of this, and the above reſolution, ſigned by the ſpeaker of this houſe, be forthwith ſent to the regiſters of the reſpective dioceſes in this kingdom, and that ſaid regiſters, immediately on the receipt thereof, do ſerve the miniſters or curates, and churchwardens, of the different pariſhes, in their reſpective dioceſes, with copies of the above reſolution, and that ſaid regiſters do, on the firſt day of next ſeſſion, lay before this houſe, all ſuch accounts as ſhall be returned to them, by miniſters or curates, and churchwardens, purſuant to the above reſolution, and alſo a liſt of the names of the miniſters or curates, and churchwardens, whom they have ſerved with a copy of ſuch order, together with the names of the pariſhes, to which they reſpectively belong.*

The chancellor of the Exchequer and ſeveral gentlemen on the Treaſury Bench oppoſed the motions: upon which Mr. Conolly obſerved, that he conceived the reluctance of gentlemen to have the matter inveſtigated, proceeded from the many frauds, that would come to light in conſequence of

* The motions were ſeconded by Mr. O'Neile, who had long employed his mind upon the ſubject: but had given it up in deſpair. Mr. O'Neile, who was afterwards raiſed to the peerage, was always a popular character. At preſent he was in the zenith of favor for the ſharp rebuke he had given laſt ſeſſion to the attorney general.

inveſtigation; when it would appear that patronage was at the bottom of their refuſal. Was it not well known, when a gentleman ſolicited, from the miniſter, a hearth-money collection, that inſtead of 40*l.* a year, its nominal value, that he conſidered it as from 1 to 200*l.* a year, and whence did that ariſe, but out of the plunder of the people, already too wretched, by taking indulgence money, and by afterwards taking their pot, their blanket, and at laſt their door, and making what return they thought proper to the public treaſury. The very act itſelf originated in injuſtice, and it was continued in oppreſſion. Gentlemen ſeemed to have forgotten its origin. This tax was given in England and Ireland to Charles II. in lieu of his right to wardſhip and marriage. The poor felt none of that oppreſſion, they cared not whom their children married; not ſo the rich; but ſtill this tax was by the rich put upon the poor. At the Revolution, in England, King William took away this tax, and ſubſtituted a window tax in the place of it; the houſe of a poor man there, having only ſix windows was exempted. Compare an Engliſh houſe with ſix windows, to an Iriſh houſe with only one hearth.

He ſaid, that he did not even intend to take in all the houſes in Ireland in this predicament, but only to exempt the lower order of people, as deſcribed in this reſolution; the farmer, and many others, were well able to pay; and it would not ſerve them, to take off an old and ſtinted tax, that would not grow, and leave them open to the rapacity of miniſters, who, when they might want money, would ſubſtitute a new tax, which, from its youth, might be an increaſing one, the poor man (as he would afterwards prove) could not, from his means, live honeſtly; (he ſpoke of the neighbourhood of the metropolis in which he lived,) and he did not believe the poor were better off in other parts of the kingdom, except in the heart of the linen manufacturing counties. If he ſhould prove that the poor could not live honeſtly upon what they earned, he ſhould conſider government, in enacting this tax, to be acceſſaries before the fact, in the many depredations they were obliged to commit upon their neighbours. That he did not mean to blame either that or late adminiſtrations, for that effect, but to hope that the recent one would put an end to it, eſpecially as the circumſtances of the country, as lately ſtated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were in ſuch a proſperous way, as to have induced him to bring forward a bill for reducing the public intereſt of money, from ſix to five per cent. The whole of this obnoxious tax could be taken off, and the quantum of its producen early paid out of the redundancy of thoſe taxes, that were

were voted in 1785, which were then calculated to produce 140,000*l.* but had ſince produced 190,000*l.* They were voted to equalize our revenue to our expences, at the opening of a commercial treaty with Great Britain, which had failed, God reſt its manes! and thank God they were then in proſperity with a free trade, as undefined as the prerogative, and he hoped it would thrive as well.

He then ſtated the preamble of the act of William and Mary, upon the repeal of the hearth money tax in England. It was declared therein, to be "not only a great oppreſſion to the poorer ſort, but a badge of ſlavery upon "the whole people; expoſing every man's houſe to be entered into, and ſearch-"ed at pleaſure, by perſons unknown to him;" and therefore to erect a laſting monument of his majeſty's goodneſs in every houſe in the kingdom, the duty of hearth-money was taken away and aboliſhed. Now, if King William did this for his Engliſh ſubjects, why ſhould not his preſent majeſty erect a laſting monument of his goodneſs in every poor man's houſe in Ireland? Were his majeſty, ſaid Mr. Conolly, thoroughly and honeſtly informed of the ſituation of our poor countrymen, he would willingly ſtand their friend. They were ſufficiently taxed by their ſituation in life; they procured bread for the community, and fought the battles of their country. If they could not pay the tax out of their honeſt earnings, as an account of their expences in living would prove, he hoped the tax upon them would be aboliſhed.*

So,

* Mr. Conolly then ſubmitted to the houſe the following ſtatement of a poor man's neceſſary ſubſiſtence through the year.

One man conſumes

| *Per day.* | *In the year.* | *Price.* | *Sum.* *l.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 *lb.* of potatoes | 7 *bar.* 12 *ſt.* | at 5*s.* per bar. | 1 | 18 | 0 |
| 1 *oz.* of butter | 22*lb.* 13 *oz.* | at 6*d.* per lb. | | 11 | 4½ |
| 1-12th part of a ſtone of oaten meal | 8 *cwt.* 6 *ſt.* 1 *pottle.* | at 11*s.* per cwt. | 2 | 1 | 8½ |
| 9 pints of butter-milk | 136 *gal.* 7 *pints.* | at. 1*d.* for 8 quarts | | 15 | 4¼ |
| Salt - - - | | - - | | 1 | 0 |
| 1 kiſh of turf per week, | 40 kiſhes | at 18*d.* per kiſh | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Houſe rent - - | | - - | 1 | 2 | 9 |
| Clothing - - | | - - | | 16 | 0 |
| | | | 10 | 6 | 2¼ |

So warmly did Mr. Conolly preſs this matter upon the oppoſite ſide of the houſe, that he ſaid, conſcious that he was right, he pledged himſelf to perſevere to the laſt hour of his life, as long as he ſhould have a ſeat in that houſe, when he could no longer ſpeak ſtanding, he would throw out his feeble voice from his ſeat to emancipate his poor fellow-creatures and countrymen from a tax ſo oppreſſive to them, and ſo diſgraceful to the government that continued to enforce it. Such, however, was the influence againſt the motion, that it was negatived without a diviſion.

On the 20th of March, the ſpeaker, on preſenting the money bills, made the following ſpeech to the lord-lieutenant:

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

" THE Commons of Ireland, in the year 1785, made a " great and ſpirited effort, by a large increaſe of taxes, to form a ſteady ſyſ- " tem for the annual ſupply of the public expence.

" Such a ſyſtem, deſirable in all countries, and at all times, is particularly " neceſſary to a commercial ſtate, where the proſpect of new loans muſt induce " fluctuations in the price of money, injurious to the ſteady courſe of trade.

" It was happily adopted here; and this is the third ſucceſſive ſeſſion in " which the national debt has not been increaſed by any new loan, nor has " any new tax been impoſed.

" Thus the ſyſtem has anſwered; it ſeems ſettled, and the people confide in " it. Under its influence, public credit has riſen high; and private credit, " unawed by any fear of interference from the nation's borrowing, extends " itſelf with ſafety to encourage induſtry, promote enterprize, and enlarge the

Labourer's means of ſubſiſtence.

| | l. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Labourers at 7d. and 8d. per day, the average 7¼d. deducting 52 Sundays and 10 holidays, the amount for 303 working days comes to | 9 | 9 | 4½ |
| Balance againſt the poor man — — | | 16 | 10¾ |
| | 10 | 6 | 2¾ |

He ſaid, one kiſh of turf per week, will ſcarcely allow of the neceſſary ſaving towards ſupplying a fire to boil the potatoes, and bake the griddle bread, during the twelve weeks in ſummer left out of this calculation.

Neither beer or meat are allowed the poor man in the above account, becauſe he cannot purchaſe them.

" commercial

" commercial capital: manufactures have in conſequence been extended, " our exports increaſed, and the kingdom feels a proſperity unknown in any " former time.

" Such are the happy effects of liberal ſupplies wiſely adminiſtered; and the " commons, ſenſible of thoſe effects, do now, with the moſt dutiful zeal for his " majeſty's ſervice, and with the fulleſt confidence in your excellency's expe- " rienced wiſdom and affectionate attachment to this kingdom, grant the ſame " ſupplies in the bills I have the honor to preſent to your excellency, in their " name, for the royal aſſent."

On the 14th of April, Mr. Grattan, with that undaunted perſeverance ſo peculiar to himſelf, returned once more to the ſubject of tithes, and ſubmitted to the houſe a ſtring of reſolutions, which he meant to move regularly in the courſe of the enſuing ſeſſion. In doing this, his wiſh was to have the great principles of redreſs thoroughly conſidered; and particularly that theſe propoſitions ſhould be ſubmitted to, and maturely weighed by the church, as the foundation of future bills, to ſtand the ſentiments of the commons, and to be (if theſe ſentiments ſhould be reſiſted by a right reverend bench) their acquittal and juſtification to the public. He followed up each reſolution with a moſt impreſſive comment.* Nothing elſe of an intereſting nature came

* 8 Parl. Debates, p. 445, &c. The reſolutions were ſo far oppoſed by the ſecretary of ſtate, as to keep them out of the journals, though he, and the other gentlemen on the Treaſury bench, who ſpoke on the occaſion, did not pretend to controvert the principles. The reſolutions were as follows:

" I. *Reſolved,* That it would greatly encourage the improvement of barren lands in Ireland, if " ſaid lands, for a certain time after being reclaimed, were exempt from the payment of tithes.

" II. *Reſolved,* That a domeſtic ſupply of flax is an object, to which all his majeſty's ſubjects of " Ireland ſhould contribute.

" III. That this houſe greatly contributed to ſaid object by various bounties, but that the " linen manufacture had only flouriſhed in thoſe parts of the kingdom, where a total exemption " from, or a ſmall compoſition for the tithe of flax has exiſted.

" IV. *Reſolved,* That in order to extend the linen manufacture, ſaid exemption or compoſition ſhould be made general.

" V. *Reſolved,* That potatoes are the principal ſubſiſtence of the poor in Ireland, and are, in a great part of the kingdom, moſt fortunately exempt from tithe.

" VI. *Reſolved,* That it would much contribute to relieve the poor of the ſouth of this king- " dom, if the benefit of ſaid exemption were extended to them; and that if it ſhould be made to ap- " pear that the owners of tithe ſhould ſuffer thereby, that houſe would make them juſt compenſa- " tion.

" VII.

came before parliament during that ſeſſion: it was prorogued on the 14th of April, 1788, to the aſtoniſhment of the nation. The natural quickneſs of their ſenſations was accelerated by diſappointment, when they found, that all that was done relative to tithes was, to provide for the clergy what ſome of them had loſt by retention of the tithes in the two preceding years, and to ſecure to them for ever a tithe of hemp of 5*s*. per acre. The failure in every popular attempt of the patriots, went but a little way to ſoothe the ruffled minds of the diſtreſſed peaſantry in the provinces, or of the middling and higher orders in the metropolis and large towns. Notwithſtanding the increaſe of peace officers under the police bill, it was ſarcaſtically obſerved, that his excellency had the peace and tranquillity of the country deeply at heart, for that, upon the ſlighteſt appearance of interruption, he was ſure to call in the aid of the military. It is incident to human nature, to ſee the various events of the day through the medium of that diſpoſition, with which the ſpectator is at the time affected; and as the public mind had not as yet debarraſſed itſelf of all the prejudices, prepoſſeſſions, and reſentment, which the ſucceſſive influence, triumph, and degradation of the volunteers, had produced; and as the police, and other late meaſures of government, were directly calculated to extinguiſh that ſpirit in the people, out of which the volunteer army, and all the conſequent benefits had ariſen to the nation, it was impoſſible, that the army ſhould not have been conſidered uſeleſs for internal regulation, or viewed with an eye of jealouſy or diſguſt by thoſe, who, in their abſence, had preſerved the peace, and worked the happineſs and welfare of their country. Great jealouſy, ſoreneſs, and irritation, manifeſted themſelves throughout the kingdom, on the report of a plan for multiplying barracks, and ſurrounding the iſland with a military cordon for the preventing of ſmuggling: buildings, in the nature of guard-houſes, were to be erected on the coaſt, at the diſtance of ten miles from each other, with a guard of twelve men and a ſerjeant to each. The preſent ſyſtem of government could not be ſucceſsfully carried on without extraordinary countenance to the army on one ſide, and ſtronger checks,

" VII. *Reſolved*, That that houſe would be ready to relieve the owners of tithes from the neceſ-
" ſity of drawing the ſame; and to give ſaid owners a power of recovering the value of the ſame,
" in all caſes, by civil bill, or otherwiſe, provided ſaid owners of tithe ſhould conform to certain
" rateages to be aſcertained by act of parliament.

" VIII. *Reſolved*, That the better to ſecure the reſidence of the clergy, a moderate tax on
" non-reſidents would be expedient."

than

than what were perhaps prudent, upon the conſtitutional rights of the people, on the other. The feelings of the people without were in ſtrict uniſon with the ſentiments of the patriots within the walls of parliament; and the lord-lieutenant finding himſelf preſſed by the weight of talent, influence, and popularity of thoſe, who had ranged themſelves in oppoſition to his meaſures, got rid of them by an early prorogation, that he might buſy himſelf without interruption, in his favorite ſubaltern ſyſtem of œconomical reform.

Animated with a laudable indignation againſt the rapacious and bare-faced practices of the clerks, and other ſubaltern officers in the different fiſcal departments of government, he ſeized all* their keys, examined himſelf their papers and accounts, and ſubjected them to the moſt rigorous ſcrutiny, and demanded inſtant payment of outſtanding balances. An univerſal panic ſeized the whole; many defaulters fled the country, others cut their throats, and ſome few, relying on the ſympathies and countenance of their immediate ſuperiors in office, ſtood the brunt of the enquiry, and, either eluded by dexterity, or ſoftened by falſe promiſes the anger of their indignant governor. Some few were ultimately diſmiſſed with diſgrace. In theſe ſecondary departments nothing was ſo minute, which the ſcrutinizing eye of his excellency would not deſcend to inſpect. The profligacy of official profuſion was truly incredible: peculation reigned in every department where public money was handled, or public property diſpoſeable: the public accounts were wound up yearly with formidable items for balances in the hands of collectors, treaſurers, and pay-maſters, or arrears due by former great officers who had received their employments without ſecurity, or had been diſcarded for miſconduct, or were dead, or had fled, or become bankrupt. Such was the inveteracy of this diſeaſe, that each ſucceeding viceroy, on cloſe inſpection, was afraid to touch it; until the Marquis of Buckingham, with more courage or more temerity than his predeceſſors, ventured to upſet the hornets' hive, and develope the wicked workings of theſe official peculators. In the ordnance and treaſury, the groſſeſt frauds pervaded almoſt every department. The public ſtores were plundered with impunity in the open day. The arms, ammunition, and military accoutrements, condemned as uſeleſs, were ſtolen out at one gate, and bought in at the other, as purchaſed, and charged anew to the public account. Journeymen armourers, who worked in the arſenal, ſeldom went

* When Mr. Corry was made ſurveyor of the ordnance, his firſt act, was to lock up and ſeal the deſks of the ſeveral clerks, who were diſmiſſed inſtantly.

home

home to their meals without conveying away a muſket, ſword, or brace of piſtols, as lawful perquiſites, and ſanctioned by the connivance of their ſuperiors. Clerks in ſubordinate departments, with ſalaries of 100*l.* per annum, or leſs, kept handſome houſes in town and country, with ſplendid eſtabliſhments; ſome of them became purchaſers of loans and lotteries: all exhibited ſigns of redundant opulence.

In the courſe of the year 1788, the county of Armagh was diſturbed by the increaſed animoſity and outrages of the Peep of Day Boys, and Defenders. Theſe two ſets had been advancing in numbers, ſyſtem, and ferocity, ever ſince the year 1785: they aroſe, like many other conſiderable and tumultuary ſets or denominations of men, from mere accident. An altercation took place between two peaſants, who happened to be Preſbyterians: amongſt the ſpectators of the affray, was a Roman Catholic, who took a part with one of the combatants: at which the other ſwore perpetual vengeance: this ſpirit of difference was kept up, and the neighbours began to take a part with the original combatants, according to their intimacies of friendſhip: the ſpirit of diſcord ſpread from families to villages: they embodied and called themſelves fleets, and went out to meet and fight each other: hitherto they knew no other difference or diſtinction, than that of their villages or townſhips; which, from their names, they called the Nappack fleet, and the Bawn fleet: a third ſet, living about Bunker's-hill, between Newry and Armagh, aſſociated to defend themſelves againſt the Nappack fleet, and calling themſelves defenders joined the Bawn fleet. Many on both ſides were armed: and as far back as 1785, near a thouſand men on both ſides met for a regular engagement, which was fortunately prevented by ſome gentlemen of property, who had been apprized of their intentions. When once aſſociations of this ſort have formed themſelves into bodies, it is impoſſible that the ſpirit of diſcord, or revenge, or even frolic, ſhould not carry them beyond their original intentions and lead them into new miſchief, ariſing out of the fortuitous circumſtances of their unguarded warmth. In this part of the country, the religious diviſion of the population was different from moſt other diſtricts in Ireland: the Proteſtants were the more numerous, and of theſe the greater part were Preſbyterians. As the diſcord and animoſity increaſed, ſome accidental differences about religion blew up a religious diſſention amidſt both parties: and, in proceſs of time, they formed into a new diviſion, and enliſted under the oppoſite banners of the Proteſtant and Catholic religions. Of all grounds of diſſen-

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tions, religion is ever the moſt inveterate, and moſt to be dreaded. A tumultuary ſpirit had ſo long pervaded theſe unfortunate people, that as they had once armed and arrayed themſelves for combat, they would not it ſeems part or diſarm without fighting. This new marſhalling of their whole force ſoon gave riſe to different appellations: for the Proteſtants taking advantage of the laws againſt Papiſts having arms, paid their antagoniſts very early domiciliary viſits to ſearch for arms, in which they were often guilty of the moſt wanton outrages; they acquired the appellation of *Peep of Day Boys*: whilſt the others aſſumed that of *Defenders*. The conſequence of this new diviſion of parties was, that their mutual ferocity increaſed, and frequent rencounters terminated in blood. Certain it is, that by timely and vigorous exertions of government, this ſpirit of diſſenſion and outrage might have been at any time ſubdued and extinguiſhed: but unfortunately the unhappy differences were permitted to be fomented by gentlemen of the country for electioneering or other worſe purpoſes. Hence the fatal origin of defenderiſm.

Either for the purpoſe or under the pretence of checking this ſpirit of turbulence and outrage, in this year recourſe again was had to the raiſing of ſeme volunteer corps, by way of ſtrengthening, as it was ſaid, the arm of the civil magiſtrate. It was not in the nature of things, that theſe volunteer corps, into which they refuſed to admit any Catholic, ſhould not be more obnoxious to the defenders, than to the *Peep of Day Boys*: for although they ſhould not have ſhewn favor or affection to any deſcription of men diſturbing the public tranquillity, yet it was the firſt part of their duty to diſarm the defenders (being Papiſts), and in their arms had they for ſome time found their only ſafety and defence againſt their antagoniſts. Some occaſional conflicts happened both between the *Defenders* and *Peep of Day Boys*, and between the *Defenders* and the *Volunteers*. As a corps of volunteers in going to church at Armagh paſſed by a Catholic chapel, a quarrel aroſe with ſome of the congregation, and ſtones were thrown at the volunteers. After ſervice, inſtead of avoiding the repetition of inſult by taking another route, the volunteers procured arms, returned to the ſpot, and a conflict enſued, in which they killed ſome of the Catholic congregation. In conſequence of theſe rencounters, and the defenders procuring and retaining what fire arms they could, the Earl of Charlemont, governor of the county, and the grand jury, publiſhed a manifeſto againſt all Papiſts, who ſhould aſſemble in arms, and alſo againſt any perſon, who ſhould attempt to diſarm them without legal autho-

rity. In addition to theſe efforts, ſome of the *Peep of Day Boys* fought alſo to diſarm their antagoniſts by means of the law: they accordingly indicted ſome of the defenders at the ſummer aſſizes of 1788; but Baron Hamilton quaſhed the indictments, and diſmiſſed both parties with an impreſſive exhortation to live in peace and brotherly love. The *Defenders* about this time were charged with openly ſending challenges both to the *Peep of Day Boys* and the volunteers to meet them in the field: the fact was, that the defenders certainly did look upon them both as one common enemy combined to defeat and oppreſs them: whilſt therefore this open hoſtility between the two parties ſubſiſted and rankled under the daily feſtering ſore of religious acrimony, the defenders, who knew themſelves armed againſt law, though in ſelf-defence againſt the *Peep of Day Boys*, became the more anxious to bring their antagoniſts to an open trial of ſtrength, rather than remain victims to the repeated outrages of their domiciliary viſits, or other attempts to diſarm them. Thus a private ſquabble between two peaſants gradually ſwelled into a village brawl, and ended in the religious war of a whole diſtrict. Some ſymptoms of renovated diſturbances alſo broke out in the ſouth. The prorogation of parliament, without having adminiſtered any relief to their grievances, was not likely to increaſe or ſpread amongſt them a ſpirit of content or gratitude.

We now approach the period of Iriſh hiſtory, pregnant with thoſe awful circumſtances, which it has lately been the ſtudy, affectation, or rage of modern writers to connect with the late Iriſh rebellion in whatever manner it beſt ſuited their views, intereſts, or paſſions: and as the incorporate union of the two kingdoms followed ſo cloſely upon the heels of that rebellion, it becomes the hiſtorian's duty to conduct his reader by an uninterrupted chain of facts to that eventful period of union, which it is the wiſh of every loyal ſubject of his majeſty may, as it certainly ought to be productive of accumulative and permanent proſperity to the Britiſh empire. Whoever has lived to ſee and reflect impartially upon the awful effects of the laſt twelve years in the political turns of human government, will allow the ſuperior neceſſity, at the preſent above any former period, of aſcribing effects to their real cauſes. Inattention to this tranſcendent duty of the ſtateſman in Ireland, appears to have been immediately productive of many of thoſe diſaſters, which the tears of a century will not efface.

From the year 1779, when Lord Clare tells us, that *the imbecility of Lord Bucking-*

*Buckinghamſhire's government had arrayed the volunteer army,* the whole Iriſh nation had been ſucceſſively ſeized with a ſpirit of civil freedom and independence, which had not been felt, or at leaſt had not been ſhewn for ſeveral preceding centuries. We have traced that ſpirit through its ſeveral gradations to its zenith: and when by its undaunted perſeverance it had procured all it demanded in 1782, we have obſerved it at firſt disjointed by internal difference, and when weakened by diviſion, we have ſeen it bought up or worked down by all the allurements, power, and influence of government. From the recal of the Duke of Portland, every meaſure of government had a tendency to extinguiſh the national ſpirit, to which alone the legiſlative independence of Ireland was owing. The defection of the members from the general popularity of their ſentiments in 1782, was at firſt rapid with the change of adminiſtration in all thoſe, who ſyſtematically ſupported the miniſter of the day. Theſe numerically ſecured a majority: but the great landed intereſts of the country remained for a time ſtaunch to the principles, by which their country had become free and independent: with them lay the weight of property, of talent, and natural influence over all that part of the nation, which had not bartered their freedom for emolument or lucre. Although the miniſter commanded conſiderably more than two thirds out of the three hundred votes in the commons, yet ſo hardly were they preſſed by the minority, both as to the popularity of the ſubjects brought under the diſcuſſion of parliament, and the ſuperior abilities, with which they were urged, that the lord lieutenant almoſt indecently curtailed the duration of the ſeſſion, to the great diſſatisfaction of the minority within and the majority out of parliament. Mr. Yelverton's bill and all the tranſactions in the year 1782 had been adopted upon the genuine principles of Whiggiſm, which the Duke of Portland at that time profeſſed, and every true friend of the Marquis of Rockingham practiſed.

In the autumn of this year, it was the will of Heaven to viſit the Britiſh empire with a moſt diſtreſsful calamity. A circumſtance, which placed Ireland in a more peculiar delicacy of ſituation, than any other part of the empire. Soon after the receſs of the Britiſh parliament in the middle of July, 1788, the king, who had been for ſome time rather indiſpoſed, was adviſed by his phyſicians to try the mineral waters of Cheltenham, which ſeemed to promiſe the re-eſtabliſhment of his health. During his reſidence there, his majeſty amuſed himſelf and gratified his people by various excurſions in the

vicinity of that place, diſplaying on theſe occaſions much condeſcenſion and affability, and being every where received with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy. On his return to Windſor, his illneſs returned with new and alarming ſymptoms; and in the month of October it was generally rumoured, that the malady of the king was of a nature peculiarly afflicting. It was however the natural wiſh of the court, that it ſhould not be credited by the public, earlier than the dreadful neceſſity required. On the 24th of October there was a levee at St. James's, for the purpoſe of quieting the alarm, which the report of his indiſpoſition had ſpread amongſt the people; but upon his return to Windſor, his diſorder took a new and unfortunate turn; and before the end of the firſt week in November it was generally known, that it had ſettled in a delirium. The grief and conſternation, which this intelligence excited amongſt all ranks of his affectionate ſubjects could only be equalled by the joy they ſo conſpicuouſly manifeſted at his happy recovery. The Prince of Wales repaired immediately to Windſor, where he was met by the lord chancellor; they, in concert with the queen, took ſuch meaſures relative to the domeſtic affairs of the king, as the neceſſity of the caſe required. In the mean time all thoſe, who by their rank and ſituation in the ſtate were required to take a part in ſo new and unexpected an exigence, aſſembled in the capital; and an expreſs was diſpatched to Mr. Fox, at that time on the continent, to haſten his return.*

The parliament then ſtood prorogued to the 20th of November; and as the intended commiſſion for a further prorogation had not been iſſued by the king, its meeting took place upon that day, as a matter of courſe.† The peers and the commons remained in their ſeparate chambers; and the chancellor in the lords, and Mr. Pitt in the commons, having notified the cauſe of their aſſembling without the uſual notice and ſummons, and ſtated the impropriety of their proceeding under ſuch circumſtances to the diſcuſſion of any public buſineſs whatſoever, both houſes reſolved unanimouſly to adjourn for fifteen days. At the ſame time Mr. Pitt took occaſion to obſerve, that it would be indiſpenſably neceſſary, in caſe his majeſty's illneſs ſhould unhappily continue longer than the period of their adjournment, that the houſe ſhould

* Mr. Fox was at this time on the borders of Italy; and the fatigue of travelling inceſſantly night and day, in order to return in time, ſeriouſly affected his health.

† 25 Parl. Deb. p. 2.

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take into immediate conſideration the means of ſupplying, as far as they were competent, the want of the royal preſence; it was incumbent upon them to enſure a full attendance, in order to give every poſſible weight and ſolemnity to their proceedings. For this purpoſe it was ordered, that the houſe ſhould be called over on Thurſday the 4th of December next, and that the ſpeaker ſhould ſend letters requiring the attendance of every member. Orders to the ſame effect were made by the lords.

In order to lay ſome ground for the proceeding of the two houſes of parliament, a council was holden at Whitehall on the day preceding their meeting, to which all the privy counſellors were ſummoned. Of fifty-four who attended, twenty-four were of the party of oppoſition. The phyſicians,* who had attended his majeſty during his illneſs, were called before them and ſworn; after which three queſtions, which had been previouſly debated and carried in the council, were put to them ſeverally. The firſt was, "Whether "his majeſty's indiſpoſition rendered him incapable of meeting his parlia-"ment, and of attending to any ſort of public buſineſs?" To this they anſwered, "That certainly he was incapable." The ſecond was, "What was "their opinion of the duration of his majeſty's malady, and of the probabi-"lity of a cure?" To this they anſwered, "That there was a great proba-"bility of his recovery, but that it was impoſſible to limit the time." The third queſtion was, "Did they give that opinion from the particular ſymp-"toms of his majeſty's diſorder, or from their experience in complaints of a "ſimilar nature?" To this their general anſwer was, "That it was from expe-"rience, and having obſerved, that the majority of thoſe, who were afflicted "with the ſame diſeaſe, had recovered."

On the 4th the two houſes being aſſembled, the preſident of the council informed the peers, that the king, by the continuance of his indiſpoſition, was rendered incapable of meeting his parliament, and that all the other functions of government were thereby ſuſpended. He then declared it to be his opinion, that in that diſmembered ſtate of the legiſlature, the right devolved on the two houſes of parliament to make ſuch proviſion for ſupplying the defect as ſhould be adequate to the neceſſity of the caſe; but that it was

* The phyſicians were Sir George Baker, Sir Lucas Pepys, Dr. Addington, and Dr. Reynolds; of whom Dr. Addington was the moſt ſanguine in his hopes of his majeſty's recovery, as he had ſeldom or ever known caſes attended by ſuch ſymptoms as he had diſcovered in his majeſty fail of a happy termination. 25 Par. Deb. p. 3.

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neceſſary, before any ſtep could be taken in ſo delicate a buſineſs, that the deficiency ſhould be fully aſcertained: with this view he moved, that the minutes of the privy council ſhould be read; which being done, the following Monday was appointed for taking it into conſideration.

A motion to the ſame effect being made by Mr. Pitt in the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Viner expreſſed his doubt, whether, in a matter of ſuch moment, and which would be attended with ſuch important conſequences, the houſe could proceed upon a report from the privy council, without further examination of the phyſicians, either at their bar, or by a committee of their own. Mr. Pitt urged, in reply, the delicacy to be diſcuſſed; and remarked further, that the examination was taken upon oath, which the houſe had it not in their power to adminiſter. Mr. Fox concurred in opinion with Mr. Viner; he felt the propriety of acting with all poſſible delicacy; but if delicacy and their duty ſhould happen to claſh, the latter ought not to be ſacrificed to the former.

On Monday the 8th of December Mr. Pitt, either convinced, upon further conſideration, of the propriety of Mr. Viner's ſuggeſtion, or expecting that the probability of his majeſty's recovery would become more apparent upon a fuller enquiry into the caſe, came forward to propoſe, that a committee of twenty-one members ſhould be appointed to examine all the phyſicians, who attended the king during his illneſs. A like committee was appointed the ſame day in the Houſe of Lords; and the members in both were choſen nearly in equal numbers from each ſide of the houſe.

The report of the committee being brought up on the 10th, and ordered to be printed, Mr. Pitt moved, "that a committee be appointed to examine "the Journals of the houſe, and report precedents of ſuch proceedings as "may have been had in caſes of the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority "being prevented or interrupted by infancy, ſickneſs, infirmity, or other-"wiſe, with a view to provide for the ſame." Mr. Fox objected to the motion as nugatory, and productive of unneceſſary and improper delay. The right hon. gentleman knew, that no precedent was to be found of the ſuſpence of the executive government, in which, at the ſame time, there exiſted an heir apparent to the crown, of full age and capacity. For his part, he was convinced, upon the matureſt conſideration of the principles and practice of the conſtitution, and of the analogy of the common law of the land, that whenever the ſovereign, from ſickneſs, infirmity, or other incapacity, was unable

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to exercise the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, being of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive power, in the name and on behalf of the sovereign, during the continuance of such incapacity, as in the case of his natural demise. And as to the right, which he conceived the Prince of Wales had, he was not himself to judge when he was entitled to exercise it; but the two houses of parliament, as the organs of the nation, were alone qualified to pronounce when the prince ought to take possession of it, and exercise his right. He thought it candid, entertaining this opinion, to come forward fairly, and avow it at that instant; and therefore, under such an idea, he conceived, that as short a time as possible ought to intervene between the Prince of Wales's assuming the sovereignty, and the present moment. He justified the prince's not making this his indubitable claim himself, by imputing his desire of waving the open advancement of it, to his having been bred in those principles, which had placed his illustrious house on the throne, and to his known reverence and regard for those principles, as the true fundamentals of our glorious constitution, in the maintenance of which, his family had flourished with so much prosperity and happiness, as sovereigns of the British empire. Hence it was, that his Royal Highness chose rather to wait the decision of parliament, with a patient and due deference to the constitution, than to urge a claim, that, he trusted, a majority of that house, and of the people at large, admitted; and which, he was persuaded, could not be reasonably disputed. With regard to the examination of the physicians, three points formed the result, and must be the *substratum*, on which that house would necessarily raise the superstructure, whatever it might be, that they should deem it expedient to erect.

1. That his majesty was incapable of meeting his parliament, or proceeding to business.

2. That there was a great prospect, and a strong probability, of his recovery.

3. But that with respect to the point of time, when that recovery would take place, they were left in absolute doubt and uncertainty.

Mr. Pitt observed, that if a claim of right were intimated (even though not formally) on the part of the Prince of Wales, to assume the government, it became of the utmost consequence to ascertain, from precedent and history, whether that claim were founded; which, if it were, precluded the house from

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the poſſibility of all deliberation on the ſubject. In the mean time he maintained, that it would appear, from every precedent, and from every page of our hiſtory, that to aſſert ſuch a right in the Prince of Wales, or any one elſe, independent of the deciſion of the two houſes of parliament, was little leſs than treaſon to the conſtitution of the country. He pledged himſelf to this aſſertion, that in the caſe of the interruption of the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority, without any previous lawful proviſion having been made for carrying on the government, it belonged to the other branches of the legiſlature, on the part of the nation at large, the body they repreſented, to provide, according to their direction, for the temporary exerciſe of the royal authority, in the name, and on the behalf, of the ſovereign, in ſuch manner as they ſhould think requiſite; and that, unleſs by their deciſion, the Prince of Wales had no right, (ſpeaking of ſtrict right) to aſſume the government, more than any other individual ſubject of the country. What parliament ought to determine on that ſubject, was a queſtion of diſcretion. However ſtrong the arguments might be on that ground, in favor of the Prince of Wales, which he would not enter into at that time, it did not affect the queſtion of right; becauſe, neither the whole, nor any part, of the royal authority could belong to him in the preſent circumſtances, unleſs conferred by the houſes of parliament.

The excluſive right of the prince to the regency under the phyſical inability of his royal father, was ſtrenuouſly and ingeniouſly ſupported in both houſes by the gentlemen of the oppoſition, and warmly and ably oppoſed by the miniſterial members. Although on this great and important occaſion the number of the former were conſiderably encreaſed: yet the miniſter was ſecure on every queſtion of a majority of upwards of threeſcore in the Commons, and of a larger proportion of the Houſe of Lords. Lord Loughborough, who on this occaſion aſſumed the lead of oppoſition in the peers, amongſt other arguments in ſupport of the prince's inherent right, ſtrongly urged, the inconveniency and miſchief, which might ariſe from the contrary doctrine, when it ſhould come to be acted upon by the independent kingdom of Ireland. Was it remembered, ſaid his lordſhip,* that a neighbouring kingdom ſtood connected with us, and acknowledged allegiance to the Britiſh crown. If once the rule of regular ſucceſſion were departed from by

* 26 Par. Deb. Lords. p. 20.

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the two houſes, how were they ſure, that the neighbouring kingdom would acknowledge the regent, whom the two houſes would take upon themſelves to elect. The probability was, that the neighbouring kingdom would depart, in conſequence of our departure, from the rule of hereditary ſucceſſion, and chooſe a regent of their own, which muſt lead to endleſs confuſion and embarraſsment.*

As it was evident from the complexion of both houſes of parliament, that the majority was againſt the claim of the Prince of Wales's ſtrict right to the regency, it was thought moſt adviſeable, by thoſe who held the affirmative, to avoid, if poſſible, its being brought to a formal deciſion. With this view, on the 15th of December, Earl Fitzwilliam, after ſtating the inexpediency of bringing under the preſent circumſtances, any abſtract political queſtions into diſcuſſion, when all parties were agreed in ſubſtance, deſired to know from the miniſters, whether they meant to introduce any propoſition of that nature. He was anſwered by Earl Camden, that as the moſt eſſential rights of the two houſes of parliament had been queſtioned by perſons of great and reſpectable authority, he thought it was become abſolutely neceſſary, that they ſhould not be left doubtful and unſettled. Upon this declaration, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York roſe to expreſs his ſentiments on a ſubject, in which the deareſt intereſts of the country were involved. He entirely agreed with the noble Earl (Fitzwilliam) and other lords, who had expreſſed their wiſhes to avoid any queſtion, which tended to induce a diſcuſſion on the rights of the prince. The fact was plain, that no ſuch claim of right had been made on the part of the prince; and he was confident, that his royal highneſs underſtood too well the ſacred principles, which ſeated the houſe of Brunſwick on the throne of Great Britain, ever to aſſume or exerciſe any power, be his claim what it might, not derived from the will of the people, expreſſed by their repreſentatives and their lordſhips in parliament aſſembled. It was upon that ground that he muſt be permitted to hope, that the wiſdom and moderation of all conſiderable men, at

* In anſwer to this part of Lord Loughborough's ſpeech, Lord Chancellor (Thurlow) lamented, that any remarks ſhould have fallen from the noble and learned lord reſpecting Ireland, becauſe he conſidered them as not unlikely, *Spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas!* Such vague and looſe ſuggeſtions could anſwer no uſeful purpoſe, but might produce very miſchievous conſequences. He declared, that he had every reliance on the known loyalty, good ſenſe, and affection of that country, and felt no anxiety on the danger of Ireland's acting improperly.

a moment when temper and unanimity were ſo peculiarly neceſſary, on account of the dreadful calamity which every deſcription of perſons muſt, in common, lament, but which he more particularly felt, would make them wiſh to avoid preſſing a deciſion, which certainly was not neceſſary to the great object expected from parliament, and which muſt be moſt painful in the diſcuſſion to a family already ſufficiently agitated and afflicted. Such, his royal highneſs obſerved, in concluſion, were the ſentiments of an honeſt heart, equally influenced by duty and affection to his royal father, and by attachment to the conſtitutional rights of his ſubjects: and he was confident, that if his royal brother were to addreſs them in his place, as a peer of the realm, theſe were the ſentiments, which he would diſtinctly avow.

He was followed by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter, who ſtrongly deprecated the diſcuſſion of a queſtion, which could only tend to produce the moſt miſchievous conſequences. He felt ſo ſtrongly on the ſubject, that, if the attempt were perſiſted in, and the queſtion brought before that houſe, he could only ſay, that he believed he ſhould not dare to truſt himſelf to come forward and ſpeak his ſentiments on the extraordinary conduct of thoſe, who were unneceſſarily inclined to compel a deciſion on ſo delicate a queſtion.

Notwithſtanding the entreaties of the princes of the royal family, the miniſters perſevered in their intention; and the lord chancellor cloſed the converſation by declaring, that though he much lamented the ſtarting of ſuch a queſtion, yet he did not ſee how they could now avoid coming to ſome determination upon it.

On the 16th of December, the Houſe of Commons having reſolved itſelf into a committee, Mr. Pitt moved the three following reſolutions, the firſt of which was voted unanimouſly.

" 1. That it is the opinion of this committee, that his majeſty is prevent-
" ed, by his preſent indiſpoſition, from coming to his parliament, and from
" attending to public buſineſs; and that the perſonal exerciſe of the royal
" authority is thereby, for the preſent, interrupted."

" 2. That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is the right and duty
" of the lords, ſpiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, now
" aſſembled, and lawfully and freely repreſenting all the eſtates of the people
" of this realm, to provide the means of ſupplying the defect of the per-
" ſonal exerciſe of the royal authority, ariſing from his majeſty's ſaid indiſ-
" poſition,

" poſition, in ſuch manner, as the exigency of the caſe may appear to re-
" quire."

" 3. *Reſolved*, that for this purpoſe, and for maintaining entire the conſti-
" tutional authority of the king, it is neceſſary, that the ſaid lords ſpiritual
" and temporal and commons of Great Britain, ſhould determine on the
" means, whereby the royal aſſent may be given in parliament to ſuch bill,
" as may be paſſed by the two houſes of parliament, reſpecting the exerciſe
" of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name, and on the behalf
" of the king, during the continuance of his majeſty's preſent indiſpo-
" ſition."

Theſe reſolutions paſſed the commons after ſeveral vehement debates, by a majority of 64: and were carried in the lords by 99 againſt 66. On the 29th of December, 1788, the illneſs of the ſpeaker (Mr. Cornwall, of which he died on the 2d of January, 1789,) prevented his attendance in the commons, and there was no debate for ſome days. During this interval from parliamentary buſineſs, Mr. Pitt, on the 29th of December, 1788, wrote* to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales the following letter, concerning the plan of reſtrictions intended to be put upon the regency.

" SIR,

" THE proceedings in parliament being now brought to
" a point, which will render it neceſſary to propoſe to the Houſe of Com-
" mons, the particular meaſures to be taken for ſupplying the defect of the
" perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority, during the preſent interval, and
" your royal highneſs having ſome time ſince ſignified your pleaſure, that
" any communication on this ſubject ſhould be in writing, I take the liberty
" of reſpectfully entreating your royal highneſs's permiſſion, to ſubmit to
" your conſideration the outlines of the plan, which his majeſty's confiden-
" tial ſervants humbly conceive (according to the beſt judgment which they
" are able to form) to be proper to be propoſed in the preſent circumſtances.

" It is their humble opinion, that your royal highneſs ſhould be empower-
" ed to exerciſe the royal authority in the name and on the behalf of his
" majeſty, during his majeſty's illneſs, and to do all acts which might legal-

* Some aukward miſrepreſentations of what had paſſed at one of the meetings, between his royal highneſs and the premier, having gone abroad, his royal highneſs had from that time declined any perſonal interview with the miniſter, and had expreſſed his royal pleaſure, that any future communications ſhould be in writing.

" ly be done by his majeſty; with proviſions, nevertheleſs, that the care of " his majeſty's royal perſon, and the management of his majeſty's houſe- " hold, and the direction and appointment of the officers and ſervants there- " in ſhould be in the queen under ſuch regulations, as may be thought ne- " ceſſary. That the power to be exerciſed by your royal highneſs ſhould not " extend to the granting the real or perſonal property of the king (except " as far as relates to the renewal of leaſes), to the granting any office in " reverſion, or to the granting, for any other term than during his majeſ- " ty's pleaſure, any penſion, or any office whatever, except ſuch as muſt by " law be granted for life, or during good behaviour; nor to the granting " any rank or dignity of the peerage of this realm to any perſon, except " his majeſty's iſſue, who ſhall have attained the age of 21 years.

" Theſe are the chief points, which have occurred to his majeſty's ſervants. " I beg leave to add, that their ideas are formed on the ſuppoſition, that " his majeſty's illneſs is only temporary, and may be of no long duration. " It may be difficult to fix before hand, the preciſe period, for which theſe " proviſions ought to laſt; but if unfortunately his majeſty's recovery ſhould " be protracted to a more diſtant period, than there is reaſon at preſent to " imagine, it will be open hereafter to the wiſdom of parliament, to recon- " ſider theſe proviſions whenever the circumſtances appear to call for it.

" If your royal highneſs ſhould be pleaſed to require any farther explana- " tion on the ſubject, and ſhould condeſcend to ſignify your orders, that I " ſhould have the honor of attending your royal highneſs for that purpoſe, " or to intimate any other mode, in which your royal highneſs may wiſh to " receive ſuch explanation, I ſhall reſpectfully wait your royal highneſs's " commands.

" I have the honor to be,
" With the utmoſt deference and ſubmiſſion,
" SIR,
" Your royal highneſs's
*Downing-ſtreet, Tueſday night,* " Moſt dutiful and devoted ſervant,
*December* 30, 1788. " W. PITT."

To this letter his royal highneſs wrote the following anſwer, which he delivered to the lord chancellor, January 1, 1789.

" The Prince of Wales learns from Mr. Pitt's letter, that the proceedings " in parliament are now in a train, which enables Mr. Pitt, according to the " intima-

" intimation in his former letter, to communicate to the Prince the outlines " of the plan, which his majeſty's confidential ſervants conceive to be pro- " per to be propoſed in the preſent circumſtances.

" Concerning the ſteps already taken by Mr. Pitt, the Prince is ſilent. " Nothing done by the two houſes of parliament can be a proper ſubject of " his animadverſion; but when, previouſly to any diſcuſſion in parliament, " the outlines of a ſcheme of government are ſent for his conſideration, in " which it is propoſed, that he ſhall be perſonally and principally concerned, " and by which the royal authority, and the public welfare may be deeply " affected, the Prince would be unjuſtifiable, were he to withhold an explicit " declaration of his ſentiments. His ſilence might be conſtrued into a pre- " vious approbation of a plan, the accompliſhment of which every motive " of duty to his father and ſovereign, as well as of regard for the public " intereſt, obliges him to conſider as injurious to both.

" In the ſtate of deep diſtreſs, in which the Prince and the whole royal " family were involved by the heavy calamity, which has fallen upon the " king, and at a moment when government deprived of its chief energy and " ſupport, ſeemed peculiarly to need the cordial and united aid of all de- " ſcriptions of good ſubjects, it was not expected by the Prince, that a plan " ſhould be offered to his conſideration, by which government was to be " rendered difficult, if not impracticable, in the hands of any perſon in- " tended to repreſent the king's authority, much leſs in the hands of his eldeſt " ſon, the heir apparent of his kingdoms, and the perſon moſt bound to the " maintenance of his majeſty's juſt prerogatives and authority, as well as " moſt intereſted in the happineſs, the proſperity, and the glory of the " people.

" The Prince forbears to remark on the ſeveral parts of the ſketch of the " plan laid before him; he apprehends it muſt have been formed with ſuffici- " ent deliberation to preclude the probability of any argument of his pro- " ducing an alteration of ſentiment in the projectors of it. But he truſts, " with confidence, to the wiſdom and juſtice of parliament, when the whole " of this ſubject, and the circumſtances connected with it, ſhall come under " their deliberation.

" He obſerves, therefore, only generally on the heads communicated by " Mr. Pitt, and it is with deep regret the Prince makes the obſervation, that " he ſees in the contents of that paper, a project for producing weakneſs,

" diſorder,

" diſorder, and inſecurity in every branch of the adminiſtration of affairs. " A project for dividing the royal family from each other, for ſeparating the " court from the ſtate; and therefore, by disjoining government from its " natural and accuſtomed ſupport, a ſcheme for diſconnecting the au- " thority to command ſervice, from the power of animating it by reward; " and for allotting to the Prince all the invidious duties of government, " without the means of ſoftening them to the public by any one act of " grace, favor or benignity.

" The Prince's feelings on contemplating this plan are alſo rendered ſtill " more painful to him by obſerving, that it is not founded on any general " principle, but is calculated to infuſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions (wholly " groundleſs he truſts) in that quarter, whoſe confidence it will ever be the " firſt pride of his life to merit and obtain.

" With regard to the motive and object of the limitations and reſtrictions " propoſed, the Prince can have but little to obſerve. No light or infor- " mation is offered him by his majeſty's miniſters on theſe points. They " have informed him what the powers are, which they mean to refuſe him, " not why they are withheld.

" The Prince, however, holding as he does, that it is an undoubted and " fundamental principle of this conſtitution, that the powers and prerogatives " of the crown are veſted there, as a truſt for the benefit of the people; and " that they are ſacred only, as they are neceſſary to the preſervation of that " poiſe and balance of the conſtitution, which experience has proved to be " the true ſecurity of the liberty of the ſubject, muſt be allowed to obſerve, " that the plea of public utility ought to be ſtrong, manifeſt, and urgent, " which calls for the extinction or ſuſpenſion of any one of thoſe eſſential " rights in the ſupreme power or its repreſentative; or which can juſtify the " Prince in conſenting, that in his perſon an experiment ſhall be made, to " aſcertain with how ſmall a portion of the kingly power the executive go- " vernment of this country may be carried on.

" The Prince has only to add, that if ſecurity for his majeſty's repoſſeſſing " his rightful government, whenever it ſhall pleaſe Providence, in bounty to " the country, to remove the calamity with which he is afflicted, be any " part of the object of this plan, the Prince has only to be convinced, that " any meaſure is neceſſary, or even conducive to that end, to be the firſt

" to

" to urge it, as the preliminary and paramount conſideration of any ſettle-
" ment, in which he would conſent to ſhare.

" If attention to what is preſumed might be his majeſty's feelings and
" wiſhes on the happy day of his recovery, be the object, it is with the trueſt
" ſincerity the Prince expreſſes his firm conviction, that no event would be
" more repugnant to the feelings of his royal father, than the knowledge,
" that the government of his ſon and repreſentative had exhibited the ſove-
" reign power of the realm in a ſtate of degradation, of curtailed authority
" and diminiſhed energy; a ſtate, hurtful in practice to the proſperity and
" good government of his people, and injurious in its precedent to the ſe-
" curity of the monarch, and the rights of his family.

" Upon that part of the plan, which regards the king's real and perſonal
" property, the Prince feels himſelf compelled to remark, that it was not
" neceſſary for Mr. Pitt, nor proper to ſuggeſt to the Prince, the reſtraint
" he propoſes againſt the Prince's granting away the king's real and per-
" ſonal property. The Prince does not conceive, that, during the king's
" life, he is by law entitled to make any ſuch grant; and he is ſure, that he
" has never ſhewn the ſmalleſt inclination to poſſeſs any ſuch power. But it
" remains with Mr. Pitt to conſider the eventual intereſts of the royal family,
" and to provide a proper and natural ſecurity againſt the miſmanagement of
" them by others.

" The Prince has diſcharged an indiſpenſable duty, in thus giving his free
" opinion on the plan ſubmitted to his conſideration.

" His conviction of the evils, which may ariſe to the king's intereſts, to the
" peace and happineſs of the royal family, and to the ſafety and welfare of
" the nation, from the government of the country remaining longer in its
" preſent maimed and debilitated ſtate, outweighs in the Prince's mind
" every other conſideration, and will determine him to undertake the painful
" truſt impoſed upon him by the preſent melancholy neceſſity (which of all
" the king's ſubjects he deplores the moſt) in full confidence, that the affec-
" tion and loyalty to the king, the experienced attachment to the Houſe of
" Brunſwick, and the generoſity which has always diſtinguiſhed this nation,
" will carry him through the many difficulties, inſeparable from this moſt
" critical ſituation, with comfort to himſelf, with honour to the king, and with
" advantage to the public.

*Carleton Houſe, Jan. 2d*, 1789. (Signed) G. P."

On

On the 6th of January Mr. Pitt having given notice, that he ſhould on that day propoſe to the houſe the reſtrictions, within which the exerciſe of the regal power ſhould be granted to the regent, Mr. Loveden, the member for Abingdon, roſe as ſoon as the order of the day was moved, and obſerved, that before the houſe proceeded to ſettle the terms of the regency, he conceived that they ought to know exactly the preſent ſtate of his majeſty's health, what the degree of alteration, which it had undergone ſince his majeſty's phyſicians were laſt examined. This was the more neceſſary, as reports had gone abroad of a very contradictory kind, and the authority of the different phyſicians who attended his majeſty had been made uſe of to give ſanction to thoſe reports. He therefore moved, "That the phyſicians, who had attended his "majeſty ſhould be again examined, to inform the houſe whether any al- "teration or amendment had taken place in the ſtate of the king's health, "and if the preſent ſymptoms were ſuch, as to give reaſon to hope for his "majeſty's ſpeedy recovery."

This motion gave riſe to a warm debate, which was managed not with the moſt perfect temper and moderation on either ſide of the houſe. After much altercation it was agreed, that a new committee ſhould be appointed, and that the phyſicians ſhould be examined.

The committee ſat till the 13th of January, when the report was brought up, ordered to be printed, and to be taken into conſideration in a committee of the whole houſe on the ſtate of the nation upon the 16th of January, 1789.

On that day Mr. Pitt, after expreſſing his ſatisfaction at having conſented to the motion for re-examining the phyſicians, the event of which had juſtified his former opinion reſpecting the probability of his majeſty's recovery, proceeded to open the buſineſs, which was then to be the ſubject of their deliberations. The ſubject divided itſelf into three diſtinct heads: 1ſt, The nature of the king's illneſs. 2dly. The principles, upon which the two houſes were authoriſed to act on this occaſion. And 3dly, The application of thoſe principles to the meaſures, which he ſhould propoſe for remedying the preſent defect in the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority.

It had been determined, that the right to provide for the deficiency in the executive government devolved on the two houſes of parliament; but there was abundant reaſon to hope, that the occaſion would be temporary and ſhort. What they had to provide for, therefore, was no more than an interval, and if unfortunately,

unfortunately, his majeſty's illneſs ſhould be protracted, they might leave it to parliament to do what at preſent was clearly unneceſſary; to conſider of a more permanent plan of government. They were to provide only for the preſent neceſſity, and not to exceed it; they were alſo to provide againſt any embarraſſment in the reſumption of the royal authority, whenever God, in his providence, ſhould enable the rightful holder again to exerciſe it. They were therefore to grant ſuch powers, and none other, as were requiſite to carry on the government of the country with energy and effect.

Upon theſe principles he ſhould propoſe to inveſt the Prince of Wales with the whole royal authority, to be exerciſed in the name and on the behalf of the king, ſubject to ſuch limitations and reſtrictions only as ſhould be provided. He obſerved in the Succeſſion Act of Queen Ann, and in the regency acts of George the Second and George the Third, the exerciſe of all the royal prerogatives were granted in a fuller manner than he intended to propoſe: but on the other hand, the regent, in all thoſe caſes, was fettered with a council, the conſent of a majority of which was neceſſary to authorize his acts. Under the preſent circumſtances he thought it more adviſeable to leave the regent entirely free in the choice of his political ſervants; but at the ſame time this required ſome limitation of the authority, with which he was to be inveſted.

The firſt reſtriction he meant to propoſe was, that the authority of the regent ſhould not extend to the creating any peer, except ſuch of the royal iſſue as ſhould have attained the age of twenty-one. There were three grounds, he conceived, upon which this branch of the prerogative was intruſted by the conſtitution to the crown, none of which were applicable to the preſent caſe. Firſt, It was deſigned to enable the king to counteract the deſigns of any factious cabal in the Houſe of Lords, which might have acquired a predominant influence in their deliberations. But was it at all probable that the government of his royal highneſs ſhould be obſtructed by any ſuch cabal? He, for one, was ready to declare, that he ſhould give no oppoſition to any adminiſtration the regent ſhould chuſe to form, ſo long as their meaſures were compatible with the proſperity of the kingdom. On the other hand, he ſaid, ſuch a number of peers might be created, as would conſiderably embarraſs his majeſty's government on the event of his being reſtored to health. Secondly, This power was veſted in the crown, to enable the ſovereign to reward eminent merit, and thereby to invite others to the ſame

laudable exertions in the public ſervice. But was it, he ſaid, to be ſuppoſed that for want of ſuch an incentive for a few months, the country was likely to be deprived of the ſervice of men of merit. If his majeſty recovered, as they all hoped, and had reaſon to expect he would, the power of creating peers might be exerciſed by the rightful holder of the prerogative; but if, unfortunately, his majeſty ſhould grow worſe, and be pronounced not likely to recover for a long time, parliament would have it in its power to take off the reſtriction, and veſt the regent with a power, which though not at preſent, he was ready to admit might in time become neceſſary to the carrying on of a powerful government. Thirdly, This power was deſigned to provide for the fluctuation of wealth and property in the country, that by raiſing men of great landed intereſt to the peerage, that branch of the legiſlature ſhould be always placed upon its true and proper baſis. But ſurely it would not be contended, that it was neceſſary to provide in a temporary plan for exigencies, which could only ariſe from the lapſe of conſiderable periods of time. For all theſe reaſons taken together he ſhould therefore propoſe, that the regent ſhould be reſtrained from the exerciſe of that part of the prerogative of the crown.

The next reſtriction he ſhould propoſe was, that the regent ſhould not grant any penſion or place for life, or in reverſion, other than ſuch place as is, from its nature, to be holden for life, or during good behaviour. This reſtriction, he ſaid, flowed from the ſame principle, which ſupported the former; it would prevent his majeſty from being put on a worſe footing, ſhould he recover, than he was before his illneſs; and it could not be ſaid, that the power reſtrained by this limitation was neceſſary to a regent.

The next was, to reſtrain the regent from exerciſing any power over the perſonal property of the king. Mr. Pitt on this occaſion obſerved, that he ſcarcely thought it neceſſary to paſs this reſolution, as it was not probable, that his royal highneſs ſhould interfere with his majeſty's perſonal property in his life-time, but as they were acting upon parliamentary principles, he thought it his duty to ſubmit it to the committee.

The laſt reſolution would be for entruſting the care of the royal perſon during his majeſty's illneſs, where of courſe all men would be unanimous in agreeing that the royal perſon ought to be placed, in the guardianſhip of the queen; and with this truſt his intention was, to propoſe to put the whole of his majeſty's houſhold under her authority, inveſting her with full powers to diſmiſs

diſmiſs and appoint, as ſhe ſhould think proper. Without being inveſted with this control, he imagined that the queen could not diſcharge the important truſt committed to her care. Theſe officers were, for the moſt part, in actual attendance upon his majeſty's perſon, and he did not ſee how they could be put under the control of the regent, while the care of his majeſty, upon whom they were to attend, was truſted to another perſon.

The lords of the bed chamber, indeed, might not be thought neceſſary now, when their attendance could not be required; but, on the other hand, a generous and liberal nation would not have it ſaid, that in the moment of the king's illneſs they had grown ſo œconomical, that they would not bear the expence of ſupporting, till his recovery, thoſe officers who formed part of his majeſty's royal ſtate; it would be no pleaſant thing to his majeſty to be told, ſhould he, on his recovery, call for ſome one of thoſe lords who uſed to be about his perſon, that they had been diſmiſſed, that the nation might ſave the expence attending their offices.

Laſtly, he ſhould propoſe, that a council ſhould be named to aſſiſt the queen with their advice, whenever ſhe ſhould require it: but who ſhould not have any power of control, but barely that of giving advice, and of ſatisfying themſelves daily of the ſtate of the king's health: and that they, or ſome others, ſhould be appointed to manage the real and perſonal eſtate of the king, with this reſtriction, not to alienate, or to diſpoſe of any part of it, except by leaſe.

Mr. Pitt then moved the firſt of the five reſolutions* which he ſucceſſively brought

* The form of the reſolution was as follows:

"*Reſolved*, That for the purpoſe of providing for the exerciſe of the royal authority, during the "continuance of his majeſty's illneſs, in ſuch manner, and to ſuch extent, as the preſent circum- "ſtances and the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require, it is expedient that his Royal "Highneſs the Prince of Wales, being reſident within the realm, ſhall be empowered to exerciſe "and adminiſter the royal authority, according to the laws and conſtitution of Great Britain, in the "name and on the behalf of his majeſty, and under the ſtile and title of regent of the kingdom; "and to uſe, execute, and perform, in the name and on the behalf of his majeſty, all authorities, "prerogatives, acts of government, and adminiſtration of the ſame, which belong to the King of "this realm to uſe, execute, and perform, according to the laws thereof, ſubject to ſuch limitations "and exceptions as ſhall be provided.

"*Reſolved*, That the power, ſo to be given to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, ſhall "not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peerage of the realm to any perſon what-

 "ever,

brought before the houſe: they were warmly conteſted in their progreſs through the commons, as well as they were in paſſing through the lords: the diviſions upon them or the different amendments propoſed kept the ſame proportion throughout: in the lords a very ſtrong * proteſt was ſigned by fifty-five lords, at the head of whom were two princes of the blood.

On

" ever, except to his majeſty's royal iſſue who ſhall have obtained the full age of twenty-one " years.

" *Reſolved*, That the ſaid powers ſhould not extend to the granting in reverſion, of any office " whatever, or to the granting of any office, ſalary, or penſion, for any other term than during his " Majeſty's pleaſure, except ſuch offices as are by law required to be granted for life, or during " good behaviour.

" *Reſolved*, That the ſaid powers ſhould not extend to the granting of any part of his majeſty's " real or perſonal eſtate, except ſo far as relates to the renewal of leaſes.

" *Reſolved*, That the care of his majeſty's royal perſon, during the continuance of his majeſty's " illneſs, ſhould be committed to the queen's moſt excellent majeſty; and that her majeſty ſhould " have power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint ſuch perſons as ſhe ſhall think proper, " to the ſeveral offices in his majeſty's houſehold; and to diſpoſe, order and manage all other mat- " ters and things relating to the care of his majeſty's royal perſon, during the time aforeſaid: and " that, for the better enabling her majeſty to diſcharge this important truſt, it is alſo expedient " that a council ſhould be appointed, to adviſe and aſſiſt her majeſty in the ſeveral matters aforeſaid. " And with power from time to time, as they may ſee cauſe, to examine upon oath, the phyſicians " and others attending his majeſty's perſon, touching the ſtate of his majeſty's health, and all " matters relative thereto."

* The form of the proteſt will apprize the reader of the general grounds, upon which the friends of the Prince oppoſed the reſolutions, and as it may be matter of hiſtorical curioſity to know how the different members voted on this important occaſion, a correct liſt of the majority and minority and of thoſe who did not vote, may be ſeen in the Appendix, No. LXXIX.

Diſſentient,

1ſt. Becauſe we firmly adhere to the principles and arguments, on which we diſapproved the reſolutions formerly paſſed by this houſe, eſpecially when the legiſlative power of the two houſes of parliament, unconſtitutionally aſſumed by thoſe reſolutions, is meant to be employed to reſtrict or ſuſpend many important and eſſential branches of the royal power, at the moment of the declared incapacity of the King.

2d. Becauſe we think the power of conferring the rank and privileges of the peerage, as a reward to merit, is neceſſary to the royal authority, in order to afford an incitement to vigorous exertions in the ſervice of the ſtate, and is more peculiarly neceſſary (like all other parts of the prerogative) when the regal power is to be exerciſed by a ſubſtitute, with an authority uncertain and precarious in its duration: but eſpecially on the preſent occaſion, as it is the only branch of the prerogative ſufficiently powerful to afford a remedy againſt ſuch a combination in this houſe, as other parts of this ſyſtem of reſtriction and mutilation, have a natural and obvious tendency to produce.

And

On the 27th of January, 1789, Mr. Pitt after having recapitulated the various ſteps, that had been already taken, obſerved, that before they proceeded any farther, he thought it would be moſt reſpectful to the Prince of Wales, and moſt expedient in the order of their proceedings, to endeavour to know, whether his royal highneſs were willing to accept the regency upon the terms of the reſolution which they had come to. With this view he moved, That a committee ſhould be appointed to attend his Royal Highneſs

And becauſe we conceive that this reſtriction may create an intereſt in the members of this houſe, to withhold their aſſent to reſtore the ancient powers of the crown in this reſpect.

3d. Becauſe we conceive, that by the ſubſiſting law of the land, his majeſty's property is ſufficiently ſecured from any undue diſpoſition and alienation, and the reſolution on that ſubject can have no other effect, but to convey to the public injurious ſuſpicion, and unjuſt imputation, on the character and intentions of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales.

4th. Becauſe we are of opinion, that in order to maintain the proper dignity of the crown, and preſerve the due influence and reſpect, which ariſe from the great offices of the ſtate, it is neceſſary that the perſon exerciſing the royal authority in the name and on the behalf of his majeſty, ſhould be attended by thoſe diſtinguiſhed ſervants, whoſe functions have been eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of adding weight and ſplendor to the regal office. We cannot agree to a diviſion of the royal power; to the creation of a fourth eſtate, unknown to the conſtitution of this country.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Frederick | Loughborough | Southampton | Bayle |
| Henry | Scarborough | Shafteſbury | Maynard |
| Lothian | Foley | Chedworth | Eglington |
| Devonſhire | Ponſonby | Portland | Sandwich |
| Audley | Douglas | Huntingdon | Kinnaird |
| Craven | Rawdon | Egremont | Aberdeen |
| Bedford | St. John | Ponſonby | Chr. Briſtol |
| Carliſle | R. Landaff | Malmeſbury | Hay |
| Portcheſter | Cholmondeley | Sandes | Rodney |
| Pelham | Hereford | Montfort | Northumberland |
| Breadalbane | Peterborough | Derby | W. Fitzwilliam |
| Caſſilis | Stawell | Hertford | Buckingamſhire |
| Abergavenny | Cardiff | Cadogan | |

Diff. for the 2d, 3d. and 4th, reaſons.

St. Albans.

Diff. for the 1ſt, 2d, and 4th, reaſons only.

| | |
|---|---|
| Clifton | Suffolk and Berks |
| Spencer | Hawke |

Diff. For all the reaſons given in this proteſt, except thoſe in the latter parts of the 2d. reaſon, viz. beginning at theſe words, "but eſpecially on, &c." and thence to the end of that ſecond reaſon,

Selkirk.

the

the Prince of Wales with the reſolutions, which had been agreed to by the lords and commons, for the purpoſe of ſupplying the defect of the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority during his majeſty's illneſs, by impowering his royal highneſs to exerciſe ſuch authority, in the name and on behalf of his majeſty, ſubject to the limitations and reſtrictions which the circumſtances of the caſe then appeared to require; and, that the committee ſhould expreſs the hope, which the commons entertained, that his royal highneſs, from his regard to the intereſts of his majeſty and the nation, would be ready to undertake the weighty and important truſt propoſed to be inveſted in his royal highneſs as ſoon as an act of parliament ſhould have been paſſed for carrying the ſaid reſolutions into effect.

This motion gave riſe to a very heated altercation, in which the miniſters were accuſed, and they defended themſelves againſt the accuſations of having treated the Prince of Wales, throughout the whole courſe of their proceedings, with the moſt ſhameful want of attention and reſpect. The motion was voted without a diviſion, and ordered to be carried to the lords for their concurrence, together with a ſimilar reſolution for a committee to lay before the Queen the reſolution of the two houſes, relating to the care of his Majeſty's perſon.

The reſolutions having been read in the houſe of lords on the 28th, and a motion made for their lordſhips concurrence, the Duke of Northumberland briefly obſerved, that theſe reſolutions, as propoſed to be preſented to the prince for his aſſent, appearing on the face of them moſt materially to curtail the exerciſe of that royal authority, which they were about to put into his hands, would, as they ſtood, ſeem to convey a want of confidence in his royal highneſs; he conceived it, therefore, would be but decent in their lordſhips to ſpecify the reaſons which had guided their lordſhips in adopting thoſe reſolutions.

It having been moſt generally taken as the ground for thoſe reſtrictions, that his Majeſty's illneſs was but temporary, and would probably be but of ſhort duration, he conceived their lordſhips could have no objection to connect that with the addreſs. His grace concluded with moving an amendment to that effect, which was negatived without farther debate; and the uſual blanks were ordered to be filled up with the words, " lords ſpiritual and temporal."

On

On the 30th of January the two committees preſented to the Prince of Wales and the Queen the reſolutions of the two houſes.

To this committee his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales was graciouſly pleaſed to give the following anſwer.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I THANK you for communicating to me the reſolutions " agreed upon by the two houſes, and I requeſt you to aſſure them in my " name, that my duty to the King my father, and my anxious concern for " the ſafety and intereſts of the people, which muſt be endangered, by a long " ſuſpenſion of the exerciſe of the royal authority; together with my reſpect " for the united deſires of the two houſes, outweigh, in my mind, every other " conſideration, and will determine me to undertake the weighty and impor- " tant truſt propoſed to me, in conformity to the reſolutions now communi- " cated to me. I am ſenſible of the difficulties that muſt attend the execution " of this truſt, in the peculiar circumſtances, in which it is committed to my " charge, of which, as I am acquainted with no former example, my hopes " of a ſucceſsful adminiſtration cannot be founded on any paſt experience. " But confiding that the limitations on the exerciſe of the royal authority " deemed neceſſary for the preſent, have been approved by the two houſes " only as a temporary meaſure, founded on the loyal hope, in which I " ardently participate, that his majeſty's diſorder may not be of long dura- " tion, and truſting, in the mean while, that I ſhall receive a zealous and united " ſupport in the two houſes and in the nation, proportioned to the difficulty " attending the diſcharge of my truſt in this interval; I will entertain the " pleaſing hope, that my faithful endeavours to preſerve the intereſts of the " king, his crown, and the people, may be ſucceſsful."

When the committee preſented the reſolutions of the lords and commons concerning the cuſtody of his majeſty's perſon, her majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to give the following anſwer.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" MY duty and gratitude to the king, and the ſenſe I " muſt ever entertain of my great obligations to this country, will certainly " engage my moſt earneſt attention to the anxious and momentous truſt " intended to be repoſed in me by parliament. It will be a great conſolation " to me to receive the aid of a council, of which I ſhall ſtand ſo much in " need, in the diſcharge of a duty wherein the happineſs of my future life is

" indeed

" indeed deeply intereſted, but which a higher object, the happineſs of a " great, loyal, and affectionate people, renders ſtill more important."

Theſe reſolutions and anſwers were ordered to be entered on the journals; and the miniſter, when buſineſs was reſumed in the houſe, emphatically entreated gentlemen to pauſe, and by giving the bill, that would be laid before them a deliberate peruſal and cool unbiaſſed reflection, proceed in future with the caution due to ſuch a momentous tranſaction. On the 31ſt of January, 1789, the houſe of lords being in a committee of the whole houſe on the ſtate of the nation, Lord Camden began with remarking, that being ſtill merely a convention, they could do no one legiſlative act till they were enabled ſo to do by the preſence or aſſent of the ſovereign. Deprived of the aſſiſtance of his majeſty in his natural capacity, they were compelled to reſort to his political capacity. There was but one organ by which this aſſiſtance could be obtained, and that organ was the great ſeal. This mode of proceeding, he knew, had already been ridiculed as a phantom. But would thoſe, who were thus free of their ridicule impart any other mode, by which they could be extricated from their preſent difficulties? They were compelled, therefore, by neceſſity to reſort to the reſolutions of the two houſes, impowering the proper perſon to make uſe of the great ſeal; an inſtrument, which his lordſhip ſaid, was of ſuch great and particular authority, that even if the lord chancellor committed a high miſdemeanor by affixing it to letters patent, thoſe inſtruments muſt be conſidered valid; they would have the whole force of law, and could not be diſputed by the judges. His lordſhip, in ſupport of this doctrine, quoted the conduct of lord chancellor Hardwicke, who had ſuffered the great ſeal to be affixed to an inſtrument in the manner he now propoſed. Two reſolutions, he ſaid, would be therefore found neceſſary to be adopted under their preſent circumſtances to compleat the legiſlature. The firſt was, to eſtabliſh a commiſſion to open and hold the parliament in due form; the ſecond would follow up the firſt at a convenient time, for the purpoſe of impowering the royal aſſent to be given in his majeſty's name to the bill of regency, by the ſame, or by another commiſſion. His lordſhip concluded by moving, " That it is expedient and neceſſary that letters patent, " under the great ſeal of Great Britain, be impowered to be iſſued by the " authority of the two houſes of parliament, in the tenor and form follow- " ing:" Then followed an exact tranſcript of the writ uſually iſſued under the ſign manual, impowering certain commiſſioners to open and hold the king's

parliaments

parliaments at Weſtminſter. The commiſſioners nominated by the preſent letters patent, were, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Dukes of Cumberland and Glouceſter, together with the other perſons uſually inſerted therein.

The motion having been ſeconded, Lord Portcheſter aroſe, and obſerved, they were now in that preciſe ſituation, where they ſtood two months ſince, with this difference only, that they were now going to do, by a pretended act of parliament, what ſhould have been done by a declaration of the two houſes. But beſides this fiction of the great ſeal, there were other ſtumbling blocks in their way. By two acts of parliament, the ſign manual was made eſſentially neceſſary to the validity of any act: theſe were, the acts of 33d of Henry the Eighth, and the 1ſt of Philip and Mary; the former declaring, that no act could be valid unleſs ſigned by the ſovereign, or, in his abſence, by the cuſtos regni; and the latter, in deciding on the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, ſpeaking the ſame language, but in ſtronger terms.

Lord Camden replied, that a different meaning was to be attached to thoſe acts: they were, he contended, acts merely affirmative; that is, they aſſerted, that acts ſo ſigned, were legal; but they no where contained the aſſertion, that thoſe acts could not be legalized in any other form. His lordſhip added a precedent in point, that of the 28th of Elizabeth, which had actually paſſed under the great ſeal only, and without the ſign manual.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of York roſe unexpectedly at this moment, and ſaid, he had not been informed, that it was intended to inſert his name in the commiſſion, and therefore it had not been in his power to take any ſteps to prevent it. He could not ſanction the proceedings with his name, not wiſhing to ſtand upon record, and be handed to poſterity, as approving ſuch a meaſure. His opinion of the whole ſyſtem adopted was already known: he deemed the meaſure propoſed, as well as every other that had been taken reſpecting the ſame ſubject, to be unconſtitutional and illegal. He deſired, therefore, to have nothing to do with any part of the buſineſs; and requeſted that his name, and that of his brother, the Prince of Wales, might be left out of the commiſſion.

Lord Camden ſaid, upon a requiſition thus communicated, there could be no heſitation. He ſhould not for a moment reſiſt the royal duke's deſire, but would readily agree to omit his royal highneſs's name, and that of his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales.

The Dukes of Cumberland and Glouceſter deſired their names might alſo be omitted, which was complied with.

The reſolutions, as amended and paſſed by the lords, on February the 2d, having been communicated to the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Pitt moved for their concurrence therein. This motion, which was at length carried without a diviſion, gave riſe to a long and warm debate. The reſolutions were defended, as affording the only legal ſecurity to their proceedings, which the caſe admitted of. On the other ſide, it was urged, that however they might thus be made formally legal, yet being ſubſtantially and hiſtorically otherwiſe, it would have been much more ſafe, that the whole caſe ſhould ſtand upon its own ground, diſtinguiſhed as an irregular proceeding, juſtified only by neceſſity, than to call in counterfeit props to ſupport it. The precedents of the reign of Henry the Sixth, upon which ſo much ſtreſs had been laid, whilſt miniſters were contending for the right of the two houſes to nominate a regent, were now totally abandoned. In conformity to thoſe precedents, the Prince of Wales ought to be empowered, by the propoſed commiſſion, to open the parliament in the king's name, and to exerciſe the legiſlative authority of the king, in the paſſing of ſuch acts as might be tendered for the royal aſſent. Nor could there be now any ground of apprehenſion that he ſhould reject a bill of limitation, as he had already declared his willingneſs to accept the regency with the reſtrictions propoſed.

Mr. Burke, in a long and able ſpeech, ſupported the excluſive right of the Prince of Wales to the regency; and endeavoured to impreſs the committee with a ſenſe of the fatal conſequences that might follow, from admitting any idea of competition in it, to the unity of the empire, the integrity of the conſtitution, and the hereditary ſucceſſion to the throne itſelf.

The day following, February the 3d, the ſpeaker with the commons being at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, Earl Bathurſt, who ſat as ſpeaker for the lord-chancellor, acquainted them, that the illneſs of his majeſty had made it neceſſary, that a commiſſion in his name ſhould paſs the great ſeal, which they would hear read. The clerk having read the commiſſion, Lord Bathurſt, in a ſhort ſpeech,* opened the cauſes of their preſent meeting, and the objects, for which they were to provide. As

* Lord Bathurſt's ſpeech was as follows:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"IN purſuance of the authority given to us by his majeſty's commiſſion "under the great ſeal, which has been read, amongſt other things, to declare the cauſes of your "preſent

As ſoon as the commons had returned to their houſe, and had gone through the uſual forms, Mr. Pitt roſe, and after a ſhort preface, moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to provide for the care of his majeſty's royal perſon, and for the adminiſtration of the regal authority during his majeſty's illneſs. Leave was accordingly given; and the bill was brought in and read for the firſt time, without a debate, on the day following.

So far in this delicate and important ſituation of the Britiſh empire, had the miniſter laid down and ſucceſsfully put in train, a ſyſtem of proviſional regency, during the uncertain duration of his majeſty's incapacity, fettered and clogged with reſtrictions and limitations, which it was frequently urged by the gentlemen in the oppoſition, were induſtriouſly calculated to produce a weak government with a ſtrong oppoſition. Mr. Burke particularly obſerved, that it was inſulting and injurious to the prince, as his royal highneſs's conduct had never given the remoteſt ground for ſuſpecting him of a diſpoſition to abuſe power. It was evidently the intention, and probably the expectation of the Britiſh miniſter, that the two houſes of the Iriſh parliament ſhould follow the example of thoſe of Great Britain. This national calamity had too recently followed the declaration of Iriſh legiſlative independence, to ground any reaſonable expectation in our cabinet, that the parliament of Ireland would be dictated to by a Britiſh convention, with all the auxiliary powers and effects intended to be attached to the application of the great ſeal. Many grounds of anxiety, miſtruſt, and alarm, with reference to the conduct of the Iriſh on this trying occaſion, agitated the breaſts of the Britiſh and Iriſh cabinets. The conſcious unpopularity of the Marquis of Buckingham: the real congeniality of principle in the bulk of every independent Iriſhman with that party, which had given them independence in 1782, and now oppoſed the galling and humiliating fetters about to be rivetted on the regent; the ſympathy of the true Iriſh character, with the native proweſs, generoſity, and magnanimity of the prince: the national diſguſt, contempt, and deteſtation of any thing mean, ſordid, and ſuſpicious: and, above all, the brilliant and important occaſion of exerciſing their national independence in aſcertaining and eſtabliſhing the conſtitutional boundaries of the royal authority in the

" preſent meeting, we have only to call your attention to the melancholy circumſtances of his ma-
" jeſty's illneſs; in conſequence of which, it becomes neceſſary to provide for the care of his
" majeſty's royal perſon, and for the adminiſtration of the royal authority, during the continuance
" of this calamity, in ſuch manner as the exigency of the caſe ſeems to require."

perſon of their favourite prince. All theſe conſiderations deterred the joint cabinet from convening the Iriſh parliament. From the moment, however, of the melancholy tidings of the king's malady having been announced in Ireland, effects were daily more and more diſcernable of the riſing difficulties, which the government would have to encounter in perſuading or forcing the Iriſh nation to adopt the very extraordinary meaſures of the Britiſh cabinet.

Amongſt the firſt impreſſions, which the fatal news of his majeſty's incapacity to exerciſe the executive functions of government produced upon the greateſt part of the Iriſh nation, was the flattering expectation of ſoon ſeeing an end to the adminiſtration, which they conſidered ſyſtematically inimical to their welfare. To a change of miniſters, they naturally attached a diſſolution of parliament. As early, therefore, as in the month of November, 1788, meetings were had throughout the kingdom, and aſſociations formed preparatory to the expected election for a new parliament; and a common teſt was very generally agreed upon to be tendered, and ſworn to by every candidate before he ſhould be entitled to propoſe himſelf as a repreſentative of either county or borough: the aſſociated electors bound themſelves to each other (generally by oath), to vote for no man who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe, and ſwear to their teſt: the purport of which was: 1ſtly. To vote for a per centage tax upon the property of all abſentees. 2dly. For a ſettlement or commutation of tithes. 3dly. For the reſtoration of the ſail cloth manufacture. 4. For a bill to limit the penſion liſt, (with a N. B. that it then exceeded that of England by 8000*l.*) 5thly. For a reform in the popular repreſentation in parliament. 6thly. For protecting duties.

On the other hand, the moſt unlimited diſcretion and imperative inſtructions, were received at the Caſtle from England, to procure from Ireland a formal recognition, that whomever Great Britain ſhould appoint as regent, ſhould, *ipſo facto*, be received in Ireland with all the reſtrictions and limitations impoſed upon the regent in Great Britain; with peremptory orders to convene the parliament the inſtant his excellency could anſwer for a majority for carrying ſuch recognition. Unuſual exertions to gain over the members to that point were uſed by all the means, which the Caſtle influence, aided at that time by the Britiſh treaſury, could command. Threats alſo were circulated, and generally credited, (not raſhly, as experience afterwards proved), that, whoever poſſeſſing place or penſion, ſhould vote againſt the miniſter, would forfeit,

forfeit, or be deprived. Yet inaſmuch as the Leinſter, the Shannon, the Tyrone, and moſt other independent intereſts in Ireland, violently oppoſed Mr. Pitt's plan of regency, the canvaſs of the Caſtle proved unſucceſsful; and it was previouſly known, that government would be left in a minority on the queſtion: they therefore deferred the evil day as long as poſſible, and convened the parliament only on the 5th of February, after the whole plan had been ſettled, and ſubmitted to by the Prince in England. On an emergency ſo preſſing, the lord-lieutenant, who at no time had been popular, now found himſelf importuned and harraſſed beyond bearing: the deaths of Sir William Montgomery and Lord Clifden, who held lucrative places under government, brought upon his excellency a hoſt of beſiegers, rather than beſeechers, who impoſed their extortionary demands with an arrogance in proportion to the value now known to be ſet on a ſingle vote at the Caſtle.

A ſingular meaſure was about this time carried with a high hand, which Lord Townſend had once carried, though he were forced immediately after to abandon it: this was the diviſion of the revenue and exciſe board: preparatory to which his excellency appointed one of the Beresford family to be ſecond council to the commiſſioners. About this time alſo his excellency found it neceſſary to reſtore to the officers in barracks their wonted allowances of firing, which in a former fit of ſubaltern œconomy he had ſtopped from them: this pitiful ſtoppage had been laid on to the great diſcontent of the army; and being very ungraciouſly removed, the alleviation was received without gratitude. The very creatures of the Caſtle decried the parſimonious ſyſtem purſued within its walls, and contraſted it againſt the days of Lord Townſend, who had done more by table attachments, than his command of the treaſury. Amongſt other œconomical arrangements, the Marquis of Buckingham about this time appointed an additional commiſſioner to the ſtamp office; which the people conſidered as a new and unneceſſary creature, and in defiance of a ſtatute, which had already appointed a given number of commiſſioners. The oppoſition to the Marquis of Buckingham's adminiſtration, feeling their own ſtrength, and anxious to loſe no part of it, from want of concert and harmony, met on the 3d of February, 1789, at Lord Charlemont's houſe in Rutland-ſquare, in order to arrange their plan of operation for the meeting of the parliament.

The ſeſſion was opened by the Marquis of Buckingham on the 5th of February,

bruary, 1789, who, in his ſpeech* from the throne, informed the two houſes of the ſevere indiſpoſition with which the king had been inflicted, and apprized them, that he had directed all the documents reſpecting his majeſty's health, which could aſſiſt their deliberations, to be laid before them. On the next day, ſome objections to the addreſs to the lord-lieutenant, were made, that brought on a very long and intereſting converſation: for as it was the common belief, that the government of the Marquis of Buckingham would now be of very ſhort duration,† opinions were delivered of his excellency without any

* 13 Journ. Com.

" My Lords and Gentlemen.

" WITH the deepeſt concern I find myſelf obliged, on opening the pre-
" ſent ſeſſion of parliament, to communicate to you that his majeſty has been for ſome time
" afflicted by a ſevere malady, in conſequence of which he has not honored me with his commands
" upon the meaſures to be recommended to his parliament.

" I have directed ſuch documents as I have received reſpecting his majeſty's health, to be laid be-
" fore you; and I ſhall alſo communicate to you as ſoon as I ſhall be enabled, ſuch further infor-
" mation as may aſſiſt your deliberations on that melancholy ſubject."

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

" DEEMING it at all times my indiſpenſable duty to call your attention
" to the ſecurity of the public credit, and to the maintenance of the civil and military eſtabliſh-
" ments, I have ordered the public accounts to be laid before you.

" My Lords and Gentlemen.

" IT is unneceſſary for me to expreſs to you my earneſt wiſhes for the wel-
" fare and proſperity of Ireland, which, in every ſituation, I ſhall always be anxious to promote.
" Nor need I declare my confidence in that affectionate attachment to his majeſty, and in that
" zealous concern for the united intereſts of both kingdoms, which have manifeſted themſelves in
" all your proceedings."

† The reaſon of ſubmitting to the reader ſome of theſe ſevere cenſures upon the Marquis of Buckingham is, that they are the ſtrongeſt vouchers that can be procured of ſeveral important facts, neceſſary to be known to thoſe, who take an intereſt in the genuine hiſtory of Ireland: and it appears, that ſuch of thoſe facts aſſerted or referred to on this occaſion, as were not contradicted by any of the gentlemen, whoſe diſpoſition, intereſt, and duty called upon them to deny them, (if falſe), muſt be admitted as true. 9 Parl. Debates. Mr. Brown, of the College, ſaid, that he came into the houſe extremely well-diſpoſed to dilacerate the public character of the viceroy; but really it was now left in ſo miſerable and mangled a condition, that it would be ungenerous, and unmanly, to attack the ſmall fragment that remained. He could only now talk of what he intended to have done, which had been already anticipated by other aſſailants. He might have painted the acclamations, with which his adminiſtration began; the diſgrace, with which it terminated; the declarations againſt jobbing; the actual jobbing that ſucceeded; jobbing in the cloſet; coercion

any reſerve or tenderneſs to his character or ſituation: and by the turn of the debate, the miniſters ſeemed thoroughly conſcious of commanding no longer that

coercion in the offices. A little gnawing, corroding, venomous ſcrutiny, which eats its way into the hearts of ſome poor men, who had not ſtrength of body to bear violent accuſation, or ſtrength of mind enough to retort on greater offenders; which ſeemed to look out for crimes and forfeitures, as objects of prey, not of correction. He might have painted an œconomy, which inſtead of applying itſelf to great objects, ſuch as the penſion liſt, police eſtabliſhment, or ſinecure offices, fell upon a few miſerable military taylors; and by depriving them of their little fire, in reality increaſed, inſtead of diminiſhing, the expence of clothing the army. He might have dwelt on a prorogation of parliament, prejudicial to the public buſineſs, and unneceſſary, except for the purpoſes of a faction.

Mr. Grattan wiſhed that the lord-lieutenant had not been introduced into the addreſs: he ſaid, the expences of the Marquis of Buckingham were accompanied with the moſt extraordinary profeſſions of œconomy and cenſures on the conduct of the adminiſtration, that immediately preceded him; he had exclaimed againſt the penſions of the Duke of Rutland, a man acceſſible undoubtedly to applications, but the moſt diſintereſted man on earth, and one whoſe noble nature demanded ſome, but received no indulgence from the rigid principles or profeſſions of the Marquis of Buckingham. He exclaimed againſt his penſions, and he confirmed them: he reſiſted motions made to diſallow ſome of them; and he finally agreed to a penſion for Mr. Orde, the ſecretary of the Duke of Portland's adminiſtration, whoſe extravagance was at once the object of his invective, and of his bounty: he reſiſted his penſion, if report ſays true; and having ſhewn that it was againſt his conſcience, he ſubmitted. Mr. Orde can never forgive the Marquis the charges made againſt the man he thought proper to reward: the public will never forgive the penſion given to a man the Marquis thought proper to condemn. The penſion liſt, ſaid he, whoſe increaſe the Marquis condemned, he had an opportunity to reſtrain. A bill limiting the amount of penſions was propoſed by an honorable friend of his, and was reſiſted by the Marquis of Buckingham; his ſecretary was the perſon to oppoſe that bill, and to give a ſignal to the ſervants of the crown to reſiſt it. He aſſigned his reaſon, viz. becauſe he thought his excellency was entitled to the ſame confidence which had been repoſed in the other viceroys, that is, the confidence, which the Marquis of Buckingham pathetically declared had been groſsly abuſed. The police was another theme of his excellency's indignation; he had exclaimed, or had been ſaid to have exclaimed, againſt the expence of that eſtabliſhment. A committee was appointed to examine into its utility; and after a long and minute inveſtigation, diſcovered that the turbulence and corruption of the police-men, were at leaſt equal to the extravagance of the eſtabliſhment. With that two-fold knowledge of its prodigality and its licentiouſneſs, he defended the police eſtabliſhment, and reſiſted a meaſure to repeal that bill; defending in parliament every meaſure, againſt which he was ſuppoſed to have exhauſted his time in invective and in inveſtigation.

The park eſtabliſhment was ſuppoſed alſo to have excited his indignation. A motion was made to diſallow ſome of thoſe charges, and reſiſted by all the ſtrength of his government. He was on theſe ſubjects ſatisfied with a minute examination, a poor and paſſionate exclamation, and a miſerable acquieſcence. Some of theſe expences muſt have ſtopped, becauſe they were for furniture

and

that docile majority, which they had ſo long kept ſteady in their ranks, and by a look or nod had marſhalled to every command, that iſſued from their bench.

If

and improvement, and were not annual expences; but the principle remained; the country was open to the repetition of the charge; and the Marquis had only to take credit for the ceaſing of charges, which muſt for a time have ſtopped of themſelves, but which, by his influence and reſiſtance in parliament to motions diſallowing them, might be renewed; but he not only continued the evils he found; he introduced a number; on the expences of his predeceſſor he introduced jobs of his own. He increaſed ſalaries in the departments, which he propoſed, and was ſaid to reform. He made by that increaſe certain places parliamentary objects, which before had not come into the ſphere of what is called parliamentary corruption; and greatly increaſed the influence of the crown at the time he affected to reduce the expences of the nation. The diſpoſition he made of ſome of thoſe offices, was in favor of very worthy men. He would not ſay that one of them was not yet underplaced, but he did ſay, that his office ought not to have been raiſed to his merits, for his merits were his own, and of courſe during life; but the increaſe was perpetual; and the increaſe of ſalary would never want a pretence if this argument were admitted. You will eaſily have that ſpecies of œconomy, which does at leaſt as much miſchief as good, checks peculation, and promotes undue influence. He did not confine himſelf to the increaſe of ſalaries; he projected, if fame ſays true, a number of new offices to be created for the accommodation of friends, at the public expence, by dividing and ſplitting offices or boards, under that worſt ſpecies of profuſion, the maſk of œconomy, laying the foundation of new ſalaries hereafter, and increaſing undue influence for the preſent. But there was one of his projects he had actually carried into execution, the revival of an obſolete office, the ſecond counſel to the commiſſioners: that office was the remnant of a wretched job, attempted eighteen years ago, and put down becauſe impracticable and improper. The diviſion of the boards of cuſtom and exciſe, for extending the undue influence of the crown; that meaſure was put down; but the ſecond counſel, a wretched remnant, was ſuffered for a time: and when the then counſel, Mr. Maunſel, died, his place alſo was diſcontinued. It thus remained on the eſtabliſhment an obſolete unoccupied office, until it had been revived by the Marquis of Buckingham, no doubt, it will be ſaid, for the purpoſe of ſaving. The office was to be a great ſaving to the public; he was to feed like the firſt counſel in the revenue. You are to have two counſel inſtead of one, to give opinions, and to receive fees in all revenue proceedings: but this was to be a great ſaving. He was not at preſent to be conſulted in the framing of the money bills; but this was a private tranſaction; and this was a ſaving, on the duration of which little dependance was to be had. He had ſtated particular inſtances of the expenſive genius of the Marquis of Buckingham in the management of the public money: and in the courſe of one year, the year, in which even prodigal lord-lieutenants impoſe on themſelves a reſerve. But theſe particular inſtances were principles, bad principles: the attempt to increaſe the number of offices, was an attempt to increaſe corruption: the man guilty of that attempt was not pure. The revival of an obſolete uſeleſs office for a friend, was a bad principle; and if accompanied with extraordinary profeſſion of public parſimony, was a deteſtable principle: hypocriſy, added to extravagance! His great objection to the Marquis of Buckingham, was not merely that he had been a jobber, but a jobber in a maſk: his

objection

If the nature of the Iriſh character be fairly conſidered, that they are a people of quick impulſe, iraſcible, generous, unſuſpecting, daring and intrepid, forming

objection was not merely, that his adminiſtration had been expenſive, but that his expences were accompanied with hypocriſy: it was the affectation of œconomy, attended with a great deal of good, comfortable, ſubſtantial jobbing for himſelf and his friends. That led to another meaſure of the Marquis of Buckingham, which was the leaſt ceremonious, and the moſt ſordid and ſcandalous act of ſelf-intereſt, attended with the ſacrifice of all public decorum; he meant the diſpoſal of the reverſion of the place of the chief remembrancer to his brother, one of the beſt, if not the very beſt office in the kingdom, given in reverſion to an abſentee, with a great patronage and a compenſation annexed. That moſt ſordid and ſhameleſs act was committed exactly about the time when that kingdom was charged with great penſions for the bringing home, as it was termed, abſentee employments. That bringing home abſentee employments was a monſtrous job; the kingdom paid the value of the employment, and perhaps more; ſhe paid the value of the tax alſo. The penſioner ſo paid was then ſuffered to ſell both to a reſident, who was free from the tax: he was then permitted to ſubſtitute new and young lives in the place of his own, and then permitted to make a new account againſt the country, and to receive a further compenſation, which he was ſuffered in the ſame manner to diſpoſe of. In excuſe for that ſort of traffic they were told, that they were not buying places, but principles; the principle of confining the great employments of that country to reſidents; a principle invaluable, they were told, to her pride and her intereſt. While they were thus buying back principles, and while the Marquis of Buckingham was profeſſing a diſintereſted regard for the proſperity of Ireland, in oppoſition to the principles and the profeſſions, he diſpoſed of the beſt reverſion in Ireland to his own family; the only family in the world that could not, with decency, receive it, as he was the man in the world, that could not diſpoſe of it to them. After that, Lord Buckingham was not to be called diſintereſted; call him any thing elſe; give him any appellation you pleaſe of ability or activity, but do not call him a public reformer; do not ridicule him by calling him a diſintereſted man.

Gentlemen had ſpoken about public inconſtancy, and had dwelled on the rapid turn of the public mind, in deſpiſing now what a year ago it ſeemed to idolize; but let thoſe gentlemen reflect a little. When a man in a high ſituation profeſſed to be a reformer; when he exclaimed againſt the profuſion and memory of his predeceſſor; when he taught the people to deceive themſelves; enfeoffed himſelf in popularity; ſhook hands with the populace; when ſuch a man agreed to no one conſtitutional or œconomic bill; on the contrary, reſiſted motions for diſallowing extravagance, and bills tending to ſecure the country againſt future extravagance, and ſet up his own temporary regulations, his own contingent ſavings, and caſual fractions of œconomy, in the place of laws; ſuch a man muſt ſpeedily forfeit the opinion of the public: but when the ſame man ſhall, to the crime of omiſſion, add that of commiſſion, ſhall increaſe the expences, of which he complained, on the principle which he affected to reprobate; multiply undue influence, and create or revive offices merely for private gratification: and finally, ſhall attach the beſt office of the kingdom to his family, whilſt he affects to attach the love of the public to his perſon: ſuch a man could not be ſurprized at the loſs of popularity; an event the

 natural

forming the wiſeſt reſolutions, but impatient of the delays neceſſary to bring them to maturity, and crown their perſeverance with ſucceſs: if it be conſidered,

natural conſequence, not of public inconſtancy, but of his own inconſiſtency; of his great profeſſions and his contingent ſavings overbalanced by his jobbing; a teazing and minute induſtry ending in one great principle of œconomy, and tarniſhed by attempts to increaſe the influence of corruption, and by a ſordid and indecorous ſenſe of private intereſt.

Sir John (now Lord) Blaquiere, having had particular reaſon to be diſpleaſed at the marquis's ſcrutinizing ſpirit of œconomy, made a moſt angry and perſonal invective againſt the lord lieutenant. Mr. Curran ſpoke largely upon the queſtion; but referred not to facts: he ſtrongly oppoſed the addreſs, as an addreſs of delay, and improper in its time, nature and circumſtances. He obſerved, that he found the appeal to the compaſſion of the public ſtronger than to their juſtice. He felt the reverſes of human fate. He remembered this very ſupplicant for a compliment, to which he pretended only becauſe it was no compliment, drawn into that city by the people harneſſed to his chariot, through ſtreets blazing with illuminations; and after more than a year's labour at computation, he had hazarded all on a paragraph, ſtating no one act of private or of public good, ſupported by no man that ſaid he loved him, atteſted by no act, that ſaid he ought to be beloved, defended not by aſſertion of his merit, but an extenuation of his delinquency. So much having been ſaid of the Marquis of Buckingham's character and conduct as viceroy of Ireland in face of his ſecretary and all the ſupporters of his adminiſtration, hiſtorical juſtice demands, that I ſhould lay before the reader all that was ſaid in anſwer to it. Mr. M. Maſon ſaid Mr. Grattan had argued from two facts, which he ſuppoſed, but of which there was no proof; the penſion to Mr. Orde and the reverſion to Mr. Grenville: but of a third, viz. the appointment of a ſecond counſel to the revenue, he could ſay, it was really œconomical, as revenue cauſes had ſo multiplied, that the expence of employing counſel not connected with the revenue was become enormous. Mr. Fitzgibbon maintained this appointment not only as an act of œconomy, but of abſolute neceſſity; as one might be attending a trial at Derry, whilſt the other was at Cork. Mr. Boyd ſpoke to the ſame effect. Mr. Corry admitted a large encreaſe of ſalary in his appointment (ſurveyor of the ordnance), but could at the ſame time ſhew ſome ſavings to the public in his department, which would fully juſtify whatever alteration had been made: the intention of the alteration was to place the management in the hands of men, who might be ſuppoſed above the little arts of plunder and peculation, which had before diſgraced the department much to the public loſs. He had ever oppoſed the extenſion of penſions, and oppoſition to that practice was one of the conditions, on which he had accepted of office: but he could not ſee, that the Marquis of Buckingham deſerved cenſure becauſe a bill to limit penſions had been oppoſed in his adminiſtration. The majority of the houſe ſtood pledged to oppoſe the bill: but the marquis had not added a penſion to the liſt. The ſolicitor general aſſured the houſe, that the Marquis of Buckingham had always ſpoken honorably of his predeceſſor. The chancellor of the Exchequer reminded the houſe, that all the objections, which had been made were either drawn from unproved aſſertions of paſt miſconduct, or ſuggeſtions and conjectures of future impropriety: but he ſaid from experience, that whenever the books ſhould come under the inſpection of the houſe, there would be ample proof of his excellency's attention to œconomy.

ſidered, that the immediate proſpect then before the eyes of the nation was a change of government, in every principle and feature differing from that of the Marquis of Buckingham, compoſed of thoſe men, who had given their country freedom and a conſtitution in 1782, it will be no wonder, that all independent men in parliament ſhould have riſen unanimouſly againſt a government ſo little popular; and even that many, who had been fettered to the pernicious ſyſtem ſhould have indignantly burſt their trammels and once more ſtood forward in ſupport of Iriſh freedom. Pointed contraſts were drawn between the conduct of the two independent kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. The parliament of England had been convened, and the ſtate of the nation boldly inveſtigated in it. Miniſters there dared not irritate the people: in Ireland, under the ſame exigency, they ſuffered every outrage, and that the Iriſh might not diſagree from the Britiſh ſenate, it was not ſuffered to aſſemble. God had incapacitated their king, and the viceroy had incapacitated the other two eſtates; by virtue of what authority then did he retain his lieutenancy? It was, they ſaid, a paradox in government, that the repreſentative ſhould continue when the power deputing had ceaſed. It was a new phænomenon, that the ſhadow remained when the ſubſtance was no more. They inſiſted, that lieutenants of Ireland ſhould regulate their conduct by the conſtitution of Ireland; and know no other ſtandard; but they were in fact motionleſs puppets, until the ſtring which actuated them was pulled from acroſs the channel.

nomy. Mr. Coote ſaid, the ſoldiers had not been deprived of their allowance of fuel: ſome abuſes in the diſtribution of that article indeed had been corrected; and his excellency ſpoke always moſt handſomely of the Duke of Rutland. Mr. Cuffe (now Lord Tyrawley) confirmed what had been ſaid of the fuel. Mr. Secretary Hamilton ſaid that he held his houſe in the Park as an appendage of his office: it was an eſtabliſhment as old as James I. and every thing there had been conducted with frugality: the accommodation he poſſeſſed had been provided by parliament, and whilſt his countrymen approved of it, he ſhould never be aſhamed of his poſſeſſion.

Mr. Marcus Beresford agreed with Mr. Curran, that the adminiſtration of the Marquis of Buckingham exhibited a ſtrong proof of the inſtability of human grandeur. But little more than a twelvemonth ago, he was introduced with the plaudits of the nation and of the ſenate. Thoſe twelve months he had with the moſt ſedulous attention employed himſelf for the benefit of the country, œconomizing her expences, and improving her finances. During theſe twelve months he had not done a ſingle act to merit reprehenſion, yet ſuch was the futile diſpoſition of ſome and the party ſpirit of others, that an effort was made to withhold a trifling compliment, while little-minded men could ſcarcely refrain from inſulting a chief governor, by whoſe favor they hoped no longer to benefit.

After an amended and qualified addreſs had been voted in the commons, Mr. Fitzherbert (now Lord St. Helen's) moved, that the houſe ſhould on Monday (the 16th) reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation.* As the evident deſign of this delay was to prevent the Iriſh parliament from coming to any reſolution relative to a regency, before the determination of the Britiſh parliament could be propoſed to them for their concurrence, it was ſtrongly oppoſed, as derogatory to the independance of that kingdom, and to the dignity and credit of its parliament. Mr. Grattan, therefore, propoſed that the houſe ſhould meet on the next Wedneſday; and his amendment after ſome debate, was carried by a majority of 128 to 74.

A majority of 54 againſt the miniſter was an unexpected thunder clap on the Treaſury Bench: inſomuch, that when the chancellor of the Exchequer moved for proceeding immediately upon the buſineſs of ſupply preparatory to the paſſing of the money bills, and was oppoſed by Mr. Grattan, they would not riſk a diviſion; though by the warmth, with which the attorney general argued for the propriety of the meaſure, it was an object, which government had much at heart.

The 11th of February, 1789, was the great day of conteſt upon the regency of Ireland: Mr. Grattan and Mr. Fitzgibbon took the lead on the oppoſite ſides: the houſe being in committee on the ſtate of the nation, after ſome preliminary converſation, in which the plan of the caſtle was candidly avowed by Mr. Fitzherbert, Mr. Grattan ſaid, that the right honorable gentleman had ſtated the plan of the caſtle to be limitation and a bill. He propoſed to name for the regency of that realm, His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales; in that they perfectly agreed and only followed the moſt decided wiſhes of the people of Ireland; they were clear, and had been ſo from the firſt, that His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales ought, and muſt be the regent; but they were alſo clear, that he ſhould be inveſted with the full regal power; plenitude of royal power. The limitations, which a certain

* 13 Journ. Com. p. 11. There might have been more truth than delicacy in what Mr. Browne (of the College) obſerved in this debate. 9 *Parl. Deb. p.* 30. " It was the intereſt of " Lord Buckingham to defer the buſineſs of appointing a controlling power over him. As long as " the money bills went on in their uſual courſe, there was nothing to urge him to expedition to " that appointment: and he ſhould expect every kind of trick and artifice on the part of govern- " ment, in order to obtain procraſtination."

member

member propoſed to impoſe, were ſuggeſted with a view to preſerve a ſervile imitation of the proceedings of another country, not in the choice of a regent, which was a common concern, but in the particular proviſions and limitations, which were not a common concern, and which ought to be, and muſt be governed by the particular circumſtances of the different countries. The bill, or inſtrument which he called a bill, was ſuggeſted on an opinion, that an Iriſh act of parliament might paſs without a king in a ſituation to give the royal aſſent, and without a regent appointed by the Iriſh Houſes of parliament to ſupply his place. The idea of limitation, he conceived to be an attack on the neceſſary power of government; the idea of his bill was an attack on the King of Ireland. They had heard the caſtle diſſenting from their ſuggeſtion. It remained for them to take the buſineſs out of their hands, and conſide the cuſtody of the great and important matter to men more conſtitutional and reſpectable. The lords and commons of Ireland, and not the caſtle, ſhould take the leading part in this great duty. The country gentlemen, who procured the conſtitution, ſhould nominate the regent. He ſhould ſubmit to them the proceedings they intended in the diſcharge of that great and neceſſary duty.

They propoſed to begin by a reſolution declaring the incapacity of the king, for the preſent, to diſcharge the perſonal functions of the regal power. It was a melancholy truth, but a truth of which no man entertained a doubt; the recovery of the ſovereign, however the object of every man's wiſhes, was that uncertain event, on which no man would preſume to deſpair or to decide. Having then by the firſt reſolution aſcertained the deficiency in the perſonal exerciſe of the regal power, the next ſtep would be the ſupply of that deficiency: that melancholy duty fell on the two houſes of the Iriſh parliament; whether they were to be conſidered as the only ſurviving eſtates capable of doing the act, or as the higheſt deſcription of his majeſty's people of Ireland. The method whereby he propoſed theſe great aſſemblies ſhould ſupply this deficiency, was addreſs. There were two ways of proceeding to theſe auguſt bodies perfectly familiar; one by way of legiſlation; the other by way of addreſs. When they proceeded by way of legiſlation, it was on the ſuppoſition of a third in a capacity to act; but addreſs was a mode excluſively their own, and complete without the interference of a third eſtate; it was that known parliamentary method, by which the two houſes exerciſed thoſe powers to which they were jointly competent; therefore, he ſubmitted

to

to them, that the mode by addreſs, was the moſt proper for ſupplying the exiſting deficiency; and though the addreſs ſhould on this occaſion have all the force and operation of law, yet ſtill that force and operation aroſe from the neceſſity of the caſe, and were confined to it. They would not profeſs to legiſlate in the ordinary forms, as if legiſlation were their ordinary province; they propoſed to make an efficient third eſtate in order to legiſlate, not to legiſlate in order to create the third eſtate, the deficiency being the want of an efficient third eſtate. The creation of ſuch an eſtate was the only act that deficiency made indiſpenſable; ſo limiting their act they would part with their preſent extraordinary power the moment they ſhould have exerciſed it, and the very nature of their act would diſcharge and determine their extraordinary authority.

But as the addreſſes of parliament, though competent on the event of ſuch a deficiency to create an efficient third eſtate, yet would not and could not with propriety annex to their act the forms of law and the ſtamps of legiſlation, it was thought adviſeable, after the acceptance of the regency, that there ſhould be an act paſſed reciting the deficiency in the perſonal exerciſe of the regal power, and of his royal highneſs's acceptance of the regency of the realm, at the inſtance and deſire of the two houſes of the Iriſh parliament, and further, to declare and enact, that he was and ſhould be regent thereof during the continuation of his majeſty's indiſpoſition. The terms of the act would deſcribe the powers of the regent; and the power intended was, the perſonal exerciſe of the full regal authority; and the reaſon why plenitude of regal power was intended by the addreſs, and afterwards by the bill, was to be found in the nature of the prerogative, which was given, not for the ſake of the king, but of the people, for whoſe uſe kings and regents, and prerogatives were conceived. They knew of no political reaſon, why the prerogatives in queſtion ſhould be deſtroyed, nor any perſonal reaſon why they ſhould be ſuſpended.

He had ſtated the method to be purſued, indeed the method almoſt ſtated itſelf; undoubtedly it was not the method purſued by Great Britain; but the diverſity aroſe from obvious cauſes. The declaration of right was omitted in their proceedings; why? Becauſe they knew of no claim advanced againſt the privileges of the people. A declaration of right in ſuch a caſe, would be a declaration without a meaning; it would beſpeak an attack, which had not been made, and would be a defence againſt no invaſion: it would

would be a falſe alarm, and hold out falſe ſignals of public danger, in times of perfect ſafety, confounding and perplexing the public mind; ſo that in the moment of real attack, the people would not be forthcoming. He objected to a declaration of right in Ireland, therefore, as bad huſbandry of popular artillery. He objected to it alſo, as attempting to convey to poſterity hiſtoric evidence againſt the conſtitutional principles of the ſecond perſon in his majeſty's dominions, without any ground or pretence whatſoever. For theſe two reaſons he had not adopted the declaration of right, conceiving it would in that country be no more than a proteſtation againſt a claim, which had not been made, and therefore would be a falſe alarm and a falſe ſuggeſtion.

Their method differed alſo from that purſued by Great Britain, inaſmuch as they gave the full exerciſe of the regal power; whereas the parliament of Great Gritain had impoſed limitations; but he had aſſigned a general principle why limitations were omitted, and would add, that whatever reaſons might have been ſuppoſed to exiſt in England for thoſe limitations, they were not ſo much as pretended in Ireland. He had therefore thought it unneceſſary and improper to enfeeble a government, which they profeſſed to reſtore, as he thought it alſo improper to defend a conſtitution, which they acknowledged to be uninvaded. As the ſubſtance of their proceedings was different, the mode was different alſo, and it was impoſſible, even though they wiſhed it, that the mode ſhould be the ſame. The mode propoſed by the Caſtle differed from Great Britain more, than that which he had ſubmitted; that which he had ſubmitted, departed from the model of England, but did not commit them with England, nor caſt the leaſt reflection on the wiſdom of her meaſures. They concurred in the great object, the regent: in the proceedings neceſſary to form the regency, the deliberation of the two countries were governed by their reſpective circumſtances. In the proceedings, which he had ſubmitted, it was ſufficient to affirm, that all the great objects, which could attract the care of a nation, were punctiliouſly attended to; firſt, as to their conſtitution in every ſtage of the buſineſs, they exerciſed the power of a free and an independent houſe of parliament; the incapacity of the king to the perſonal exerciſe of the regal power, they diſcuſſed and decided: the deficiency thereby declared, they ſupplied, and having ſupplied that deficiency, they proceeded to legiſlate, and give their own work the cloathing and ſtamp of law. As to their government, they reſtored it, and reſtored it to all its energies,

gies, that the concern of the people for the indiſpoſition of the king, might not be aggravated by a tottering and impotent adminiſtration of public affairs. They alſo manifeſted attachment to the royal family, not only by renewing the government in the perſon of the heir apparent, but by renewing it in a manner honorable both to Prince and people.

In that great meaſure he had not relied on his own judgment. He had had recourſe to hiſtory, he had looked for the higheſt land mark in the Britiſh annals, and had found it in the period of the Revolution.

The addreſs which would be moved, in part of its phraſeology was copied from an addreſs voted by the convention parliament to the Prince of Orange, deſiring him to take upon himſelf the conduct of public affairs. The idea of proceeding by addreſs was taken alſo from thoſe addreſſes, which declared the Prince and Princeſs of Orange King and Queen of Ireland; and the idea of an act was alſo taken from the ſame period; in the ſecond ſeſſion of the convention parliament an act paſſed, containing the ſubſtance of the addreſſes laſt mentioned, and giving the whole the clothing and form of the law.

There were points, in which the Revolution bore a near reſemblance to the exiſting period, as there were other points, in which it was not only different but oppoſite. The throne being full, and the political capacity of the king's exiſting, the power of the two houſes could not be applied to that part of the monarchical condition; but the perſonal capacity of the king, or rather the perſonal exerciſe of the royal power being deficient, and the laws of the land not having, in the ordinary courſe of law, made proviſion for that deficiency, and one of the eſtates being incapable, it remained with the other two to adminiſter the remedy by their own authority: the principle of their interference was eſtabliſhed by the Revolution, the operation of that principle limited by the contingency, the power of the houſes of parliament in the one caſe extended to remedy a defect in the perſonal and political capacities of the monarch; in this caſe it extended only to remedy a defect in the perſonal capacity, but in both caſes it was the power of the houſes of parliament called upon to interfere by their own authority when the ordinary courſe of law had made no proviſion, and where the three eſtates could not ſupply the defect. He had, therefore, had recourſe to the precedent of the Revolution in the mode of ſupplying the exiſting deficiency.

Gentlemen had called that an important day; he would add, to the expreſſion: he would call it a proud day for Ireland; ſhe had deſerved it, ſhe had

had ſtruggled hard for her independency, and ſhe was then diſpoſed to make a moſt judicious uſe of it: it was not a cold, deliberate act, ſupplying a deficiency in the regal function; it was not a judicious, but languid nomination of a ſubſtitute for the exerciſe of monarchical power; that country annexed a paſſion to her proceeding, and kindled in love and affection to the houſe of Brunſwick, and the effect of her exertions, and the great labour of years, in reſtoring her conſtitutional rights and privileges, ſhe now gathered in a harveſt, which ſhe ſhared with her princes.

He ſhould therefore move the following reſolutions:

"*Reſolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the perſonal exercise of the royal authority, is, by his majeſty's indiſpoſition, for the preſent interrupted."

The queſtion having been put on the reſolution, it paſſed without a diviſion.

Mr. Conolly then roſe and ſaid, that on that melancholy occaſion, which every gentleman in and out of office lamented, and none more ſincerely than he did, it had fallen to the lot of the two houſes to put into the kingly office a ſubſtitute for their beloved ſovereign; and there ſeemed to be but one mind, which was to make that ſubſtitute the illuſtrious perſon who had, of all others, the greateſt intereſt in preſerving the prerogative of the crown, and the conſtitution of the realm.

He entirely coincided in the plan Mr. Grattan had propoſed, becauſe he was convinced it was conſonant to the conſtitution, and ſuch as his royal highneſs, to whom he ſhould then move an addreſs, muſt neceſſarily approve. He hoped they would be unanimous on the occaſion. He therefore moved the following reſolution:

"*Reſolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his royal highneſs to take upon himſelf the government of this realm, during the continuation of his majeſty's preſent indiſpoſition, and no longer, and under the ſtyle and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name of his majeſty to exerciſe and adminiſter, according to the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, juriſdiction, and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging"

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. George Ponſonby.

Several of the former friends of government ſupported the addreſs, when the Attorney General deſired the clerk to read the act of the 4th of William and Mary, chap. 1. ſect. 1. which having been done, he requeſted gentlemen

to recollect they were not debating, whether they were to lay reſtrictions on the Prince of Wales, or not; but to conſider, whether the addreſs moved for were an inſtrument ſufficient to convey to his royal highneſs the regal authority, and whether it were ſuch an addreſs as they ought to preſent.

Before he proceeded he would obſerve, that he was perfectly convinced what he ſhould ſay would have no manner of effect on gentlemen, who formed the government on the other ſide of the houſe; for let them propoſe whatever addreſs they might take into their heads, it would certainly be voted; and therefore he would not have riſen to trouble the committee at all, if he had not been convinced, that the meaſures propoſed were equally contrary to the common ſtatute law of the realm, and criminal in the extreme.

He maintained, that the crown of Ireland and the crown of England were inſeparably and indiſſolubly united; and that the Iriſh parliament was perfectly and totally independent of the Britiſh parliament.

The firſt poſition was their ſecurity; the ſecond was their freedom; and when gentlemen talked any other language than that, they either tended to the ſeparation of the crowns, or to the ſubjugation of their parliament; they invaded either their ſecurity or their liberty; in fact, the only ſecurity of their liberty was their connexion with Great Britain, and gentlemen who riſked breaking the connexion, muſt make up their minds to an union. God forbid he ſhould ever ſee that day; but if ever the day on which a ſeparation ſhould be attempted, ſhould come, he ſhould not heſitate to embrace an union rather than a ſeparation.

Under the Duke of Portland's government the grievances of Ireland were ſtated to be

The alarming uſurpation of the Britiſh parliament.

A perpetual mutiny bill.

And the powers aſſumed by the privy council.

Theſe grievances were redreſſed, and in redreſſing them they paſſed a law repealing part of Poynings'. By their new law they enacted, that all bills, which ſhould paſs the two houſes in Ireland, ſhould be certified into England, and returned under the great ſeal of England, without any addition, diminution, or alteration whatſoever, ſhould paſs into law, and no other. By this they made the great ſeal of England eſſentially and indiſpenſably neceſſary on the paſſing of laws in Ireland; they could paſs no act without firſt certifying it into England, and having it returned under the great ſeal in that kingdom, inſomuch,

inſomuch, that were the King of England and Ireland to come in perſon, and to reſide in Ireland, he could not paſs a bill without its being firſt certified to his regent in England, who muſt return it under the ſeal of that kingdom before his majeſty could even in perſon aſſent to it. That if the houſe ſhould by force of an addreſs, upon the inſtant, and without any communication with England, inveſt a regent with powers undefined, he ſaid, that when the moment of reflection came, it would ſtartle the boldeſt adventurers in England; and then he reminded gentlemen of the language they held with England in the day they aſſerted their freedom: "Perpetual connexion; com-" mon fortune; we will riſe or fall with England; we will ſhare her liberty, " and we will ſhare her fate." They then applauded the manly policy of England, but would not now condeſcend to receive information from her. Did gentlemen recollect the arguments uſed in England to juſtify the fourth propoſition of the commercial treaty? Ireland, ſaid they, having a parliament of her own, may think fit to carry on a commerce, and regulate her trade by laws different from, perhaps contradictory to, the laws of Great Britain. How well founded that obſervation was, they would prove, if they ſeized the firſt opportunity that offered of differing from Great Britain in a great imperial queſtion; certainly if it be the ſcheme to differ in all imperial queſtions, and if that be abetted by men of great authority, they meant to drive them to an union, and the method they took was certainly more effectual to ſweep away oppoſition, than if all the ſluices of corruption were opened together, and deluged the country's repreſentatives; for it was certain nothing leſs than the alternative of ſeparation that could ever force an union.

He would not yield to any man in perſonal reſpect and attachment to the Prince of Wales. No man could think of him more highly than he did; but he would manifeſt his reſpect and attachment to the Prince of Wales, by endeavouring to preſerve entire the imperial crown, which in the courſe of nature would deſcend to him, and which they then were, by an act of criminal raſhneſs, about to deprive of its beſt appendage. He would not inſult the Prince of Wales by an addreſs, which could not confer on him the ſhadow of royal power; he wiſhed to inveſt him with ſubſtantial royal powers, which he might execute conſiſtently with the laws, by which he was to govern. Would any man ſay, that they were now in full parliament? Was not his majeſty, George the Third, to whom they had all ſworn allegiance, living? and he hoped God in his mercy would ſoon reſtore him. Was not his

lord lieutenant there in full authority? What had they then to do? As ſoon as it ſhould be certified, that the Prince of Wales was inveſted with the authority of regent in England, but to paſs an act to inveſt him with that authority in Ireland. Send that act to the prince regent in England; he would then have the command of the great ſeal of England, and return the act authenticated according to law.

His lord lieutenant might then, by his command, give the royal aſſent to it; and who would ſay that it would not be a law of the land? But ſuppoſe the Prince did not accept the regency in England; ſuppoſe their addreſs ſhould reach him before he was actually inveſted with royal powers in England, in what ſituation would you put him? They would call on him, in defiance of two acts of parliament, which made the crowns inſeparable, to dethrone the king his father. They would call upon him to do an act now, at which hereafter his nature would revolt. They were falſe friends of the Prince of Wales, who ſhould adviſe him to receive an addreſs, that might give him cauſe to curſe the hand, which preſented it. He knew, that liberties indecent in the extreme had been taken with the name of that auguſt perſonage. He knew it had been whiſpered, that every man, who ſhould vote againſt the addreſs, would be conſidered as voting againſt him, and treating him with diſreſpect; but if any man had had the guilt and folly to poiſon the mind with ſuch an inſinuation, he truſted to his good ſenſe to diſtinguiſh his friends; he would truſt to his good ſenſe to determine, whether they were his friends, who wiſhed to guard the imperial rights of the Britiſh crown, or they who would ſtake them upon the momentary and impotent triumph of an Engliſh party. What matter to the prince, whether he received royal authority by bill or by addreſs? Was there a man who would preſume to libel him, and to aſſert, that the ſucceſs of that meaſure would be a triumph to him?

There was a feature in the proceeding which, independent of every other objection to it, did in his mind make it highly reprehenſible, and that was, that he conſidered it as a formal appeal from the parliament of England to that of Ireland. Reſpecting the parties, who made that appeal he ſhould ſay nothing: but although there might be much dignity on their part in receiving the appeal, he could not ſee any ſtrong ſymptoms of wiſdom in it; becauſe by ſo doing he ſhould conceive we muſt inevitably ſow the ſeeds of jealouſy and diſunion between the parliaments of the two countries; and though he did not by any means deſire of the parliament of that country implicitly

plicitly to follow the parliament of England, he ſhould ſuppoſe it rather a wiſe maxim for Ireland always to concur with the parliament of Great Britain, unleſs for very ſtrong reaſons indeed they were obliged to differ from it. If it were to be a point of Iriſh dignity to differ with the parliament of England to ſhow their independence, he very much feared that ſober men in that country, who had eſtates to loſe, would ſoon become ſick of independence. The fact was, that conſtituted as it was, the government of that country, never could go on, unleſs they followed Great Britain implicitly in all regulations of imperial policy. The independence of their parliament was their freedom; their dependence on the crown of England was their ſecurity for that freedom; and gentlemen, who profeſſed themſelves, that night, advocates for the independence of the Iriſh crown, were advocates for its ſeparation from England.

They ſhould agree with England in three points:—one king, one law, one religion. They ſhould keep theſe great objects ſteadily in view, and act like wiſe men, if they made the Prince of Wales their regent, and granted him the plenitude of power, in God's name let it be done by bill; otherwiſe he ſaw ſuch danger, that he deprecated the meaſure propoſed. He called upon the country gentlemen of Ireland; that that was not a time to think of every twopenny grievance, every paltry diſappointment ſuſtained at the caſtle of Dublin; if any man had been aggrieved by the viceroy, and choſe to compoſe a philippic on the occaſion, let him give it on the debate of a turnpike bill, where it would not be ſo diſgraceful to the man who uttered it, and to thoſe who would not liſten to him, as it would be on the preſent occaſion. He abominated the idea of reſtraining the prince regent in the power of making peers in that country, or in limiting him in the power of making grants on the narrow principles of ſuſpicion and diſtruſt. That was a queſtion, which reſted upon very different ground in that country from that on which it had been taken up in England; and if gentlemen could reconcile to themſelves a precedent for adopting in that country, a different form of executive government from that eſtabliſhed in England, he had not the ſmalleſt apprehenſion that the powers, which might be committed to the Prince of Wales by the parliament of Ireland would be abuſed by him.

The ſecretary of ſtate ſaid he lamented, that he was under the neceſſity of differing from thoſe gentlemen, with whom he commonly acted, as to the mode ſuggeſted by them, of appointing a regent: he thought it ſhould be done

done by an addreſs, and that it could not be done by an act of parliament, though he agreed that an act of parliament might be proper to give the forms of law to the appointment of the two houſes of parliament; but this was proper only becauſe judges looked into the ſtatute book, and not into the journals of parliament, for their direction in expounding the law; but he affirmed, that the lords and commons of Ireland, whether aſſembled in parliament or in convention, were fully competent to ſupply every deficiency in the ſupreme executive, from whatever cauſe ſuch deficiency might ariſe.

A very long and violent debate enſued, the whole weight of which on one ſide fell upon the Attorney-General, who diſplayed extraordinary firmneſs and talent in oppoſing ſo powerful and confident a majority. Juſt before the cloſe of the debate, Mr. Grattan endeavoured to recall the minds of gentlemen to the then poſture of it. They had gained ground in the argument; the limitations were not defended: they were not, it was true, given up; they were alledged to be intended, and acknowledged to be indefenſible; propoſed, ſcouted, and adhered to; and in the contempt, into which that part of the plan of the caſtle had fallen, the vile inſinuations of intended prodigality, and perverted bounty, (inſinuations maliciouſly whiſpered againſt a great perſonage) had alſo fallen, and remained in the contempt they deſerved. So far the plan ſtood condemned in the opinion of its principal ſupporters. Much perſonal ſatyre and invective paſſed from both ſides: and although it may be truly aſſerted, that no majority in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons had ever coſt ſo little to the country, it can not be diſſembled that moſt, who had quitted their ranks on this occaſion to vote for the addreſs, ſpeculated more confidently upon the future proſpects under a new adminiſtration, than upon the chances of retaining the terms of their former engagements. About three o'clock the queſtion having been put upon the reſolution, it was carried without a diviſion. During this debate ſome riots happened in the purlieus of the houſe, ſaid to have been committed by gentlemen of the College on ſome of the police men: ſeveral perſons with arms having aſſailed the door-keepers, conſtables, &c. However the gentlemen of the College were acquitted of the charge by ſome of the members, who quitted the debate to enquire into the cauſe of the rioting.

On the 16th of the month the Houſe of Lords met according to their laſt adjournment, when a motion was made for a further adjournment, (it being

now

now the primary object of government to extend the Chapter of Accidents by gaining time) but was rejected. The Earl of Charlemont then moved for the addreſs to the prince in the words of that, which had been voted in the commons, which with ſome amendment was carried by a majority of 19*. The addreſs as amended, was as follows:

To His Royal Highneſs GEORGE Prince of WALES.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament aſſembled.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS.

" WE, his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the " lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons of Ireland in parliament " aſſembled, beg leave to approach your royal highneſs with hearts full of the " moſt loyal and affectionate attachment to the perſon and government of " your royal father, to expreſs the deepeſt and moſt grateful ſenſe of the " numerous bleſſings which we have enjoyed under that illuſtrious houſe, " whoſe acceſſion to the throne of theſe realms has eſtabliſhed civil and con- " ſtitutional liberty, upon a baſis which we truſt will never be ſhaken; and " at the ſame time to condole with your royal highneſs upon the grievous " malady with which it has pleaſed Heaven to afflicted the beſt of ſovereigns.

" We have, however, the conſolation of reflecting, that this ſevere cala- " mity hath not been viſited upon us until the virtues of your royal high- " neſs have been ſo matured, as to enable your royal highneſs to diſcharge " the duties of an important truſt, for the performance whereof, the eyes of " all his majeſty's ſubjects of both kingdoms are directed to your royal " highneſs.

" We therefore beg leave humbly to requeſt, that your royal highneſs will " be pleaſed to take upon you the government of this realm during the con- " tinuation of his majeſty's preſent indiſpoſition, and no longer; and under " the ſtile and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on behalf " his majeſty, to exerciſe and adminiſter according to the laws and conſtitu- " tion of this kingdom, all regal powers, juriſdiction, and prerogatives to " the crown and government thereof belonging."

* 6 Lords Jour. p. 233. The contents, with the proxies, being 45, and the non-contents 26, a proteſt was entered by moſt of the minority, which ſee in Appendix, No. LXXX. Proteſts are often the moſt authentic documents of the grounds upon which particular meaſures are ſupported or oppoſed.

On

On the next day (17th) a meſſage was received by the commons from the lords, that they had concurred with the commons in their addreſs with the amendment, which the attorney-general endeavoured to convert to the purpoſe of delay, by propoſing a conference upon it with the lords, and even by objecting to ſome grammatical inaccuracies in the wording of the amendment. It was however inſiſted upon by Mr. Ponſonby and others, that as the lords had agreed to the addreſs upon the ſame principles as the commons, no delay ſhould be permitted; the queſtion therefore having been put upon the lords amendment, it was carried unanimouſly. On the 19th both houſes waited upon the lord lieutenant with their addreſs, and requeſted him to tranſmit it to his royal highneſs. With this requeſt his excellency refuſed to comply; returning for anſwer, that under the impreſſions he felt of his official duty, and of the oath he had taken, he did not conſider himſelf warranted to lay before the prince an addreſs, purporting to inveſt his royal highneſs with powers to take upon him the government of that realm, before he ſhould be enabled by law ſo to do; and therefore was obliged to decline tranſmitting their addreſs to Great Britain.

Upon the return of the commons to their own houſe, and the anſwer of the lord lieutenant being reported to them, Mr. Grattan obſerved, that in a caſe ſo extremely new, it would be highly improper to proceed with hurry or precipitation; the houſe was called upon to act with dignity, firmneſs, and deciſion; and therefore, that due time might be had for deliberation, he would move the queſtion of adjournment; which was put and carried without oppoſition.

On the day following Mr. Fitzherbert moved, that the lord lieutenant's anſwer ſhould be entered on the journals.

Mr. Grattan ſaid, he was ſatisfied to let the anſwer be entered on the journals, in order to make way for ſome reſolutions, which he intended to propoſe, as neceſſary to carry the intention of the two houſes into effect, and as a vindication of their honor and conſtitutional conduct.

The anſwer being entered on the journals, Mr. Grattan moved, "that his "excellency the lord lieutenant having thought proper to decline to tranſ- "mit to his Royal Highneſs George Prince of Wales, the addreſs of both "houſes of parliament, a competent number of members be appointed by "this houſe, to preſent the ſaid addreſs to his royal highneſs."

This

*This motion brought on a very warm debate, in which the attorney-general travelled again over the whole of his ground, but with no more effect than before: Mr. Grattan's motion was carried by a majority of 130 againſt 74.

Then Mr. Grattan moved, " that Mr. Conolly ſhould attend the lords " with the ſaid reſolution, and acquaint them, that the commons requeſted " them to appoint members of their own body to join with the members of " the commons in preſenting the ſaid addreſs."

This alſo paſſed without any diviſion; and Mr. Conolly went up to the lords accordingly.

The meſſage received in reply was, that the lords had concurred in the reſolution of the commons, and had appointed his Grace the Duke of Leinſter and the Earl of Charlemont to join with ſuch members as the commons ſhould appoint to preſent the addreſs of both houſes to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales.

Mr. Grattan then moved, " that the Right Honorable Thomas Conolly, " the Right Honorable J. O'Neil, the Right Honorable W. B. Ponſonby, " and J. Stewart, Eſq. ſhould be appointed commiſſioners on the part of the " commons for the purpoſe of preſenting the addreſs to his Royal Highneſs " the Prince of Wales," and they were appointed unanimouſly.

Theſe motions having paſſed, Mr. Grattan then moved, " that the two " houſes of parliament had diſcharged an indiſpenſable duty, in providing for " the third eſtate of the Iriſh conſtitution (rendered incomplete through the " king's incapacity) by appointing the Prince of Wales regent of Ireland."

Mr. Grattan afterwards moved, " that it be reſolved, that his excellency " the lord lieutenant's anſwer to both houſes of parliament, requeſting him " to tranſmit their addreſs to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, is ill " adviſed, contains an unwarrantable and unconſtitutional cenſure on the pro- " ceedings of both houſes of parliament, and attempts to queſtion the undoubt- " ed rights and privileges of the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons " of Ireland." To which Sir Frederick Flood, though he had voted for the addreſs, objected, believing, that whilſt his excellency acted erroneouſly, he ſtill acted up to the beſt of his judgment: and the attorney-general mov-

* 9 Par. Deb. p. 128. On this occaſion Mr. Grattan would not ſpeak, alleging after a diviſion, that it was a time *for acting, not ſpeaking*, 153. A liſt of the majority and minority may be ſeen in the Appendix, No. LXXXI.

ed the following amendment, " although that houſe could not know the " impreſſions of official duty, nor the obligation of the oath under which his " excellency felt himſelf obliged to act, and although his Royal Highneſs the " Prince of Wales were not yet inveſted with the powers of regent in Great " Britain." On the diviſion, 78 were for Mr. Fitzgibbon's amendment, and 119 againſt it.

The motion was oppoſed principally on the ground of its being conſidered as the foundation of a vote of cenſure on the lord lieutenant; and after a long debate, the houſe divided; for the queſtion 130, againſt it 71.

Captain Burgh alſo propoſed as an amendment, to add the following words to the original reſolution, " in as much as the ſaid lords and commons had " proceeded to appoint his royal highneſs, &c. illegally and unconſtitution- " ally," which amendment was negatived without a diviſion.

On the 25th Mr. Monk Maſon reported from the committee of ſupply, that on 25th of March, 1788, the debt of the nation was 2,240,204*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*; and when the reſolution was read, that provided for the national debt, the annuities, and eſtabliſhments, Mr. Grattan moved an amendment by inſerting the words " two months, ending on the 25th of May, 1789." Upon this occaſion, Mr. Brownlow, obſerved (as the fact was) that he was no party man, neither had he any ends to anſwer contrary to the welfare of the country, yet he thought it right to proceed with caution; and as it had been been ſhewn that they had not time to inveſtigate the accounts, that, in his mind, was ſufficient ground for the amendment.

The lord lieutenant had thought proper to refuſe tranſmitting the addreſs of the two houſes to the Prince of Wales; this had given cauſe for ſome difference and animadverſion between his excellency and the two houſes; the truth was, his excellency was at variance with the two houſes, and it behoved them to take care of themſelves. He ſhould never forget the affair of Lord Townſhend, who prorogued the parliament, and proteſted againſt their proceedings, for the commons exerciſing a right of originating bills of ſupply; a right in which lay the very eſſence of all their privileges. What Lord Townſhend had done, Lord Buckingham might do, if they paſſed the ſupply for a year; nay he might, and perhaps would diſſolve them, and then how could they look at their conſtituents, who would naturally ſay, you have deſerved all this; for when we put our purſe in your hands, you very fooliſhly let go the ſtrings.

Mr. Griffith conſidered the two houſes committed againſt, and in a ſtate of warfare

warfare with the chief governor, and he could expect nothing leſs than a diſſolution of parliament if the ſupplies were once granted for a year.

The attorney-general admitted, that (Mr. Brownlow) had fairly and openly avowed his reaſon for ſupporting a ſhort money bill; it was to hinder the lord lieutenant from exerciſing an undoubted right of proroguing or diſſolving parliament. He recollected the event referred to by the right honorable gentleman. He recollected Lord Townſhend's proroguing the parliament; and he recollected when next they met, they voted him an addreſs of thanks, which addreſs coſt the nation half a million of money. He hoped to God he ſhould never again ſee ſuch effects from party. He hoped to God he ſhould never again ſee half a million of the people's money employed to procure an addreſs from their repreſentatives; he had ever endeavoured to defend the people, and ever ſhould oppoſe meaſures, which might lead to an addreſs that would coſt them half a million.*

The

* This debate upon Mr. Grattan's motion for a ſhort money bill, moſt intimately affects a point of modern Iriſh hiſtory beyond any other neceſſary for the annaliſt to aſcertain. No man can be ignorant of the loud and frequent clamour that has been raiſed, particularly within theſe laſt 20 years, againſt the corruption and venality of the Iriſh government and parliament, to the account of which, many have laid an uniform ſyſtem of oppreſſion, coercion, and cruelty that have occaſioned, rather than checked the late outrages and calamities of the nation. Whilſt others have founded the neceſſity of union in the incorrigible inveteracy of theſe very evils. It will be impoſſible to form a right judgment upon this leading point, until certain facts are admitted or diſproved. The author's duty is to ſupply his reader with the beſt evidence the nature of the caſe admits of. The ſingular coincidence of a falling and riſing power acting at one time upon a body of 300 men, at no time famed for rigid inflexibility of principle, a majority made up chiefly of deſerters from habits of caſe and conveniency, to a promiſing ſtandard of lucrative principle, a race of ingratitude for paſt and avidity for future favors, certainly produced an unprecedented opportunity for extracting truths, which might otherwiſe have lain for centuries ſmothered under the concordatum of intereſt, ſecrecy and combination. The Iriſh parliamentary debates taken, collected, and arranged by Mr. Giffard, are the chief reſource a ſtranger has for matter upon the latter hiſtory of Ireland from the year 1781. If any bias can be ſuppoſed to have affected his pen, it will be concluded to have been on the part of government. This gentleman in the outſet of volunteering was ſo conſpicuouſly prominent in the cauſe of freedom, as to have attracted the notice and acquired the confidence, eſteem, and intimacy of the Duke of Leinſter: at that time his family was larger than his means, and the favors of his grace were more flattering than lucrative. His talents which were above mediocrity were noticed by government, and he was engaged at a handſome ſalary to report for the caſtle, and upon trial of his ability and fidelity to his employers was rewarded by a place in the cuſtoms. We have before remarked, that Lord Townſhend had, at a very heavy expence to the nation broken up an ariſtocracy, that before his time had monopolized the whole power of the

The committee of the two houſes of parliament arrived in London on the 25th of February, 1789, and the day following preſented their addreſs to the Prince of Wales at Carlton-houſe. As the convaleſcent ſtate of his majeſty's health was at that time apparent, his royal highneſs, after returning his warmeſt thanks for the addreſs, and expreſſing the ſatisfaction he received from the proof it afforded of their loyal and affectionate attachment to the perſon and government of the king, acquainted them with the fortunate change that had taken place. Within a few days, he hoped, that the joyful event of his majeſty's reſuming his government, would enable him to give them a final anſwer, and make it only neceſſary for him to repeat thoſe ſentiments of gra-

commons, and regularly bargained for terms with every new lieutenant for managing the Houſe of Commons. Mr. Fitzgibbon (and no man knew better), now admitted, *that this manœuvre coſt the nation upwards of half a million*: that is, that he had paid or granted ſo much to purchaſe that majority in parliament, by which he governed to the end of his adminiſtration. We further learn from Mr. Giffard's report of this debate, that Mr. Buſhe obſerved, from what his right honorable friend (Mr. Fitzgibbon), had ſaid, he almoſt imagined he intended to vote on the other ſide: for when he had ſaid, that one prorogation and addreſs had coſt the nation half a million, he did not ſuppoſe he would run the riſk of another. That prorogation had taken place for want of a ſhort money-bill, which was the beſt reaſon againſt granting a long one on the preſent occaſion: and as that prorogation coſt half a million, as every article had riſen, perhaps it would not be unreaſonable to ſuppoſe a prorogation at the preſent day might coſt a whole million, which expence might be cut off by a ſhort money-bill. It is to be obſerved, that Mr. Buſhe had ſome time before quitted the ranks of patriotiſm, and accepted a place under government. I find in another report of this debate, " that Mr. George Ponſonby roſe to expreſs his indignation at the idea of placing parliament in the power of the viceroy: he ſaid, that it had already been ſtated, that a ſimilar meaſure had on a former occaſion, loſt that country half a million of money, by which a corrupt parliament had been laid proſtrate at the feet of the viceroy. Were they that Houſe of Commons? Would half a million, or a whole million, tempt them to ſwerve from the duty to their country," (*Dublin Evening Packet, 25th February*, 1789). Of this avowal, or boaſt or taunt, or threat of parliamentary venality from the mouth of the attorney-general, we have this further evidence from Mr. Grattan, (in his anſwer to Lord Clare's ſpeech, Dub. 1800. p. 18). " *Half a million, or more, was expended ſome years ago to break an oppoſition; the ſame, or a greater ſum may be neceſſary now*: ſo ſaid the principal ſervant of the crown. The houſe heard him: I heard him: he ſaid it ſtanding on his legs to an aſtoniſhed and an indignant nation; and he ſaid it in the moſt extenſive ſenſe of bribery and corruption. The threat was proceeded on; the peerage was ſold; the caitiffs of corruption were every where; in the lobby, in the ſtreet, on the ſteps, and at the door of every parliamentary leader, whoſe threſholds were worn by the members of the then adminiſtration, offering titles to ſome, amneſty to others, and corruption to all."

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titude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which he felt indelibly imprinted on his heart.*

On the 24th of February, his majeſty's diſorder had taken ſo favourable a turn, that the chancellor informed the Britiſh Houſe of Peers, that he had on that day attended his majeſty by his expreſs command, and had found him perfectly recovered. On the 2d of March, the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland communicated to the houſe the letter which he had received from the delegates, with the Prince's anſwer to their addreſs, which were ordered to be entered on the journals. The happy turn in his majeſty's health worked a very happy change in the marſhalling of the Houſe of Commons. As the late gloomy proſpect of a change in the Iriſh adminiſtration, had driven many gentlemen to the oppoſition benches, Mr. Grattan was willing to avail himſelf of the earlieſt fruits of their converſion: accordingly, on the 3d of March, 1789, he offered to the houſe a reſolution which he thought abſolutely neceſſary, from a tranſaction that had lately taken place. He thought it neceſſary to call the attention of the houſe to certain principles, which the gentlemen, with whom he had generally the honour to coincide, conſidered as the

* The following was the anſwer of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" THE addreſs from the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons of " Ireland, which you have preſented to me, demands my warmeſt and earlieſt thanks. If any " thing could add to the eſteem and affection I have for the people of Ireland, it would be the loyal " and affectionate attachment to the perſon and government of the king, my father, manifeſted in " the addreſs of the two houſes.

" What they have done, and their manner of doing it, is a new proof of their undiminiſhed " duty to his majeſty, of their uniform attachment to the houſe of Brunſwick, and their conſtant " attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connexion between the kingdoms of Great Britain " and Ireland, ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary to the proſperity, the happineſs, and the liberties of both.

" If, in conveying my grateful ſentiments on their conduct, in relation to the king, my father, " and to the inſeperable intereſt of the two kingdoms, I find it impoſſible to expreſs adequately my " feelings on what relates to myſelf, I truſt you will not be the leſs diſpoſed to believe, that I have " an underſtanding to comprehend the value of what they have done, a heart that muſt remember, " and principles that will not ſuffer me to abuſe their confidence.

" But the fortunate change which has taken place in the circumſtance, which gave occaſion to " the addreſs agreed to by the lords and commons of Ireland, induces me to delay, for a few days, " giving a final anſwer; truſting, that the joyful event of his majeſty's reſuming the perſonal exer- " ciſe of his royal authority, may then render it only neceſſary for me to repeat thoſe ſentiments of " gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which I feel indelibly imprinted " on my heart."

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indiſpenſable condition, without which no government could expect their ſupport, and which the preſent government had reſiſted.

The firſt was a reform of the police: at preſent the inſtitution could only be conſidered as a ſcheme of patronage to the Caſtle, and corruption to the city; a ſcheme which had failed to anſwer the end of preſerving public peace, but had fully ſucceeded in extending the influence of the Caſtle.*

It had been thrown out on a former occaſion, when he had intimated his intention of reforming the police, that the bill to be propoſed would be as bad as that at preſent exiſting; but that aſſertion was not founded in truth. The bill, which he would introduce, was intended to reſcue the corporation of the city out of the court, and to make them reſponſible to the public for their conduct; to reſtore the peace and liberty of the city; and to guard againſt any abuſe of power in thoſe, to whom the guardianſhip of that peace and liberty ſhould be committed. This bill had in the laſt ſeſſion been ſtated as neceſſary, but had been reſiſted by Lord Buckingham's government; but it ſhould now be ſoon introduced.

Another principle much deſired, was to reſtrain the abuſe of penſions by a bill ſimilar to that of Great Britain. That principle, he ſaid, Lord Buckingham had reſiſted, and his reſiſtance to it was one great cauſe of his oppoſing his government. To this he would add another principle, the reſtraining revenue officers from voting at elections: this, he obſerved, was a principle of the Britiſh parliament, and it was certainly more neceſſary in Ireland, from what had lately taken place, where, by a certain union of family intereſts, countries had become boroughs, and thoſe boroughs had become private property.

But the principle to which he begged to call the immediate attention of the houſe was, that of preventing the great offices of the ſtate from being given to abſentees: that was a principle admitted by all to be founded in national right, purchaſed by liberal compenſation, and every departure from it muſt be conſidered as a ſlight to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, who certainly

* In this debate, Mr. Curran perceiving, that the oppoſite ſide of the houſe regained their ſpirits and deſerters, complimented the prime ſerjeant on the recovery of his tongue: what the diſtreſs and depreſſion of his friend and patron had not been able to produce, his return to proſperity had effected: the learned member was no longer tongue tied; mute during his diſgrace, he was clamorous on his elevation. 9 *Parl. Debates, p.* 265.

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were better entitled to the places of honor and truſt in their own country, than any abſentee could poſſibly be; but beſides the ſlight ſhewn to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, by beſtowing places of honor, of profit, and of truſt on abſentees, the draft of money from this country, the inſtitution of deputies (a ſecond eſtabliſhment unneceſſary, were the principals to reſide), the double influence ariſing from this raiſed the abuſe into an enormous grievance.

He ſaid, after the nation had recovered its liberty, one of the firſt objects was to bring home the great offices of the ſtate: theſe had been taken away in an unjuſt manner, and in violation of native right, when the country was under oppreſſion. He did not mean to enter into a queſtion, whether too much was paid for bringing home great employments; he would not diſpute the price, as it was the purchaſe of a principle; but the principle being once eſtabliſhed, that it was wiſe and honorable in the nation to purchaſe home the great offices of the ſtate; and this having been actually reduced to practice in inſtances of the chancellorſhip of the exchequer, the vice-treaſurerſhip, the clerk of the crown and hanaper, &c. it followed as a neceſſary conſequence, that the granting away again great places to abſentees, muſt be highly improper, and a groſs violation of the principle purchaſed by the nation.

He then adverted to the reverſionary patent granted to Mr. Grenville. Of that gentleman's merits in his own country he would ſay nothing: they could be no reaſon for granting him a great employment in Ireland, where it was moſt certain he never would reſide; and therefore in condeming the grant, no one had a right to argue, that it was condemned as a grant to the lord-lieutenant's brother, but as a grant to a perſon that muſt neceſſarily be an abſentee; it muſt be condemned as a ſlight, and an affront to the native reſident nobility and gentry of Ireland.

He aſked the houſe, were they ready to ſubmit to ſuch an inſult? Were they ready to ſubmit to have the principle, which they had purchaſed violated? Were they ready to return to that ſtate of degradation and contempt, from which the ſpirit of the nation had ſo lately emancipated itſelf? If they were not, they would not heſitate to come to a reſolution, aſſerting the principles, which they had purchaſed. He would ſubmit ſuch a reſolution, worded in the moſt guarded manner, not attacking the prerogative of the crown to grant, but condemning the advice, by which the crown was miſled to abuſe that prerogative. He then moved the following reſolution:

" *Reſolved,*

" *Reſolved*, That recommendations for the purpoſe of granting the great " offices of this kingdom, or the reverſion of great offices to abſentees, are " improvident and prejudicial, eſpecially now as great annual charges have " been incurred by making compenſation to abſentees for reſigning their offi- " ces, that thoſe offices might be granted to reſidents."

After a very violent perſonal altercation between Mr. Parſons and Mr. Grattan,* the latter gentleman reſumed his argument, and ſaid, that giving away

* Scarcely had Mr. Grattan concluded his ſpeech, than Mr. Parſons roſe to ſpeak; when he was interrupted by Mr. Grattan, who ſaid, that if the honorable gentleman roſe to ſecond his motion, he would withdraw it. Upon which Mr. Parſons inſtantly launched out into a moſt infuriated Philippic againſt Mr. Grattan, and his whole political conduct. To this Mr. Grattan made the following reply: 9 *Parl. Debates, p.* 257.

" Sir, the ſpeech of the honorable member has been ſo diſorderly and extraordinary, that the " houſe will permit me to make an immediate reply. He talks of ſimple repeal, he does not un- " derſtand that queſtion; he does not know whether that meaſure was right or wrong. He ſpeaks " of renunciation; of that he is equally ignorant. The merits or demerits of either queſtion, or " of both queſtions, ſurpaſs his capacity. He has arraigned my conduct, but his obſervations are " as feeble as they are virulent. The member is a melancholy proof, that a man may be ſcurrilous, " who has not capacity to be ſevere. He ſpeaks of the public grant of 50,000*l.*; and he ſays, I got " that for bungling, what the patentee was ſo fortunate to complete. He ſays ſo, but why he " ſhould ſay ſo, or on what grounds he talks, he is totally unable to explain; he repeats a ſentence " which he has heard, but the force or meaning, or foundation for the ſentence, the member can- " not ſet forth; the jingle of a period touches his ear; and he repeats it, and he knows not why. " The calumny urged againſt me by the member, is not his own. (*Dublin Even. Packet.*) Mr. " Higgins has ſaid it better than the honorable gentleman; the Freeman's Journal has ſtated it " better, and with much more ingenuity than the honorable gentleman: but Mr. Higgins is a " liar; the Freeman's Journal is a liar; it is not unparliamentary to ſay, that the authority from " which the gentleman draws his argument, is a liar, a public pitiful liar! He ſaid, he did not " mean that the honorable gentleman was a liar, but that the paper, from which he had borrowed " his authority, was a liar, a poſitive liar!" Here Mr. Parſons roſe and ſtepped towards Mr. Grattan, made uſe of ſome words, which, for the honor of parliament, are not repeated. Mr. Grattan ſat down. The houſe immediately called out, " cuſtody! cuſtody!" and the ſpeaker ordered the galleries to be cleared: it was near two hours before order was completely reſtored.

The character of this Mr. Higgins, who died laſt year poſſeſſed of a fortune of about 40,000*l.* is highly illuſtrative of the ſyſtem, which generated, foſtered, and pampered this ſpecies of reptile more frequently known in Ireland, than elſewhere: *ex unô diſce plures.*

This man was known by the appellation of the *Sham Eſquire*: he was a ſingular inſtance of what may be done in life by ſtrict attention to private ends, without regard to the means, which ſo often retard the advancement of men of principle. Born of obſcure parents, he roſe through the ſucceſ-

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away the great offices of this kingdom to abſentees, was taking away the property of this country, and carrying it abroad. He aſked, what claim had Mr.

five ſtations of errand-boy, ſhoe-black, and waiter in a porter's houſe, to an attorney's clerk, in which ſituation his talents were not confined to the deſk. His maſter's pleaſures found an attentive miniſter in him, and he found additional profits in his maſter's pleaſures. He ſoon began to look for money and connexions, and fixed his mind on the daughter of a very reſpectable and opulent citizen in Dublin, who was a Catholic: he procured an introduction to the family through a prieſt, whom he deceived, in declaring himſelf the only ſon of a gentleman of 3000*l.* a year; the nephew of a counſellor, and a member of the Iriſh parliament, whoſe preſumptive heir, as having no children, he alſo was. He feigned a wiſh to conform to the Catholic religion, in which he had been chriſtened, though educated a Proteſtant, thinking thereby to ingratiate himſelf with the family, and was received into the Catholic church. The impoſture was ſoon detected, and Mr. Higgins confined to gaol, where he improved the only real knowledge he ever poſſeſſed, which was the loweſt art of crown law. He afterwards became an attorney. He then attended gaming tables and brothels. He drew great advantages by lending money to the unfortunate adventurers, and managing to defend or keep off proſecutions from the infamous ſupporters of thoſe receptacles of iniquity. In his ſpeculations towards advancement, he conſidered the command of a newſpaper as an eſſential weapon both offenſive and defenſive. To attain this very neceſſary article, he inſinuated himſelf into the acquaintance and confidence of the proprietor of a print, then in ſome degree of eſtimation, the Freeman's Journal. This gentleman was in very embarraſſed circumſtances. Mr. Higgins lent him 50*l.* and watching his opportunity when he thought his diſtreſs at the height, ſuddenly arreſted him for the money: to procure his liberty, he was glad to transfer to his creditors the property of the paper for one fourth of its value.

This paper had hitherto been prominently conſpicuous on the patriotic ſide of the queſtion, and was therefore the more ſaleable a commodity in the hands of this new proprietor. He made his terms with the caſtle; and from that time forward his paper was the moſt ſubſervient to, and therefore the moſt favoured by the miniſter. This man had the addreſs, by coarſe flattery and aſſumed arrogance, to worm himſelf into the intimacy of ſeveral perſons of rank, fortune, and conſequence in the country, who demeaned themſelves by their obſequiouſneſs to his art, or ſold themſelves to him for his unqualified enterpriſe in maligning their enemies, or bearing them out of difficulties or diſgrace. This man, ready for every job for which he ſhould be paid, under ſome natural ſuſpicions that the return of the Marquis of Buckingham to aſſume the vice-regency of Ireland would not be attended by any particular demonſtrations of joy, had hired a mob to wait his arrival, and had ſupplied a proper number of them with ſilken cords and harneſs to draw him in his carriage to the Caſtle, under the faſtidious deceit of mercenary popularity and triumph. The opinion of Lord Chief Baron Yelverton upon this notorious character, ſeals the ſtamp of it to poſterity. In Eaſter term, upon counſel having reminded his lordſhip in court, that the printer of the Freeman's Journal awaited the judgement of the court for a libellous paragraph on that court: the chief baron ſpoke thus to the counſel.

"If you had not mentioned the affair, the court would not have condeſcended to recollect its

Mr. Orde for the penſion of ſeventeen hundred pounds a year he had got on this eſtabliſhment? What claim could any ſecretary have for either penſion or employment? If the principle be admitted, that the giving away offices to abſentees is injurious to the kingdom, then his motion could not be reſiſted.

The attorney general ſaid, he ſhould be extremely glad to ſee the whole patronage of the crown in Ireland beſtowed upon the members of both houſes of parliament, and he had no doubt if things went on a little longer in the train, in which for ſome time they had been, that object would be obtained.

A very warm debate enſued, in which Mr. Corry and ſome other gentlemen admitted the principle of the reſolution, although they oppoſed its paſſing, becauſe it was a cenſure on the Marquis of Buckingham. To get rid of the queſtion, an adjournment was moved and carried by a majority of 115 againſt 106. Thus early had the old majority began to fall back into their former ranks. Still the ſuperiority of votes bore no proportion to 200 and upwards, of which the former full majorities conſiſted. Mr. Grattan accordingly on the following day (4th of March) moved for leave to bring in *a bill for the better ſecuring the freedom of election for members to ſerve in parliament, by diſabling certain officers employed in the collection or management of his majeſty's revenue from giving their votes at ſuch election.* Mr. Beresford gave immediate notice, that he ſhould oppoſe the bill through every ſtage, though he would not oppoſe the motion: and on the ſecond reading of the bill the attorney general ſpoke thus:* "Sir, I ſay, that at this time ſuch an act would "be peculiarly ungracious: and there is another reaſon why I will not enter "into a meaſure, which properly modified might be uſeful at another time; "there is, I am well aſſured, at this moment, exiſting, an aſſociation under "hand and ſeal, to oppoſe the king's government, and to ſupport the old Iriſh "ariſtocracy; I would wiſh therefore to wait for a cooler moment, when "gentlemen ſhall grow aſhamed of ſuch a meaſure."

"inſignificance, but would have paſſed it by as it has done every other paragraph, whether of "praiſe or cenſure, that has appeared in that paper with the moſt ſupreme contempt. Let the "fellow return to his maſter's employment; let his maſter exalt favorite characters; and if there "be any mean enough to take pleaſure in his adulation, let him continue to ſpit his venom againſt "every thing that is praiſe-worthy, honorable, or dignified in human nature. Let him not pre-"ſume to meddle with the courts of juſtice, leſt, forgetting his baſeneſs and inſignificance, they "ſhould at ſome time condeſcend to inflict a merited puniſhment upon him."

* 9 Gif. Parl. Deb. p. 278.

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A warm debate enſued, which turned much upon the perſonal character of the lord lieutenant, and the indelicacy of attempting to cramp the royal prerogative in the particular moment of his majeſty's recovery. At the cloſe of it Mr. George Ponſonby ſaid, that a charge had been brought againſt an odious and offenſive ariſtocracy. He would only ſay, that any aſſertion, ſtating faction to be at the bottom of the preſent buſineſs, was not founded in truth. For his own part, he releaſed the right honorable ſecretary from every tie of honorable ſecreſy, and called upon him to ſay, if he had ever made a refuſal of favor a ground of oppoſition to government. He called upon the treaſury bench one by one, to declare in the ſame manner. [Here he pauſed for an anſwer; none having been given] he ſaid, that after that he hoped he ſhould hear no more random charges of faction and party. On this diviſion there were for the attorney general's motion to poſtpone the bill to the 1ſt of May only 98, againſt it 130.

In the progreſs of the penſion bill, it was ſingular, that the attorney general ſhould oppoſe it, upon popular and patriotic grounds: the bill, ſaid the attorney general, went to eſtabliſh by law, firſt a penſion liſt at the diſcretion of the miniſter, amounting to 80,000*l.* ſecondly, to leave a diſcretion with the two houſes to addreſs for whatever they might think proper as a further charge; and thirdly, to legalize the appropriation of the ſurplus of the hereditary duties to the purpoſes of penſions, which would put into the hands of the crown the immenſe ſum of 260,000*l.* per ann. beyond the control of the commons, and muſt ultimately deſtroy the liberties of the country, by throwing into the hands of the miniſter a power to bias every election.

Mr. ſecretary Fitzherbert, in anſwer to the attorney general, ſaid there was not a free country on the globe, in which a ſtrong government was more requiſite than in Ireland. By the tendency of the right honorable gentleman's arguments it appeared, he had property in that country; he however expreſſed ſome ſurpriſe at the different ground of argument he then adopted, on the ſubject of the bill, from what he had uſed the night before. Then he conſidered the meaſure as flying in the face of government; as robbing the crown of its prerogatives; as ſetting the liberality and curbing the neceſſary influence of the ſovereign: he now held it forward, as placing an extraordinary power and influence in the crown; taking it in this light, he thought

* 9 Parl. Deb. p. 300.

the bill was the greateſt compliment that parliament could pay to the ſovereign. For his part, he could not ſee that dangerous tendency, which the right honorable gentleman had annexed to the meaſure of the bill, for in reality, it only gave his majeſty a control over a part of that revenue, which was ſubject to both houſes of parliament; and therefore if his majeſty abuſed that power of control, it was in the power of parliament to counteract that abuſe, by refuſing to provide; this argument cut up by the roots the doctrine of the learned gentleman. He ſaid, the meaſure did not go to meddle with the king's prerogative, but merely to ſet bounds to the ſyſtem of expenditure, and prevent the ruin of the country.

He then took a view of the increaſe of the penſion liſt, from the adminiſtration of Lord Eſſex, in the reign of Charles the Second, when it was only 3500*l.* a year, to the preſent, when it was rated at 103,000*l.* and hoped, if ſuch moderation prevailed in ſuch a reign as that of Charles the Second, a meaſure of limitation when it was 100,000*l.* more, would not be rejected in the reign of George the Third.

King Charles the Second, at his reſtoration, availed himſelf of the unſettled ſtate of that country, by making a bargain with his ſubjects diſgraceful to the monarch, and injurious to the liberties of the people. In exchange for tranquillity and ſettlement, he ſtipulated for an hereditary revenue. From this polluted ſource the diſuſe of parliaments, and the increaſe of penſions originally flowed; the latter at firſt in a ſmall current. In 1669, the amount of thoſe grants was but 3214*l.* and 10,000*l.* yearly having been propoſed by the king as the limitation of grants, his repreſentative, Lord Eſſex, objected to the largeneſs of the amount, and expreſſed his apprehenſions, that their enormity might be a reaſon for not granting a ſupply to his majeſty. He approved of a propoſal, that they ſhould be kept in a ſeparate liſt, to the end, that if there ſhould be any deficiency in the public revenue, it ſhould fall on penſions in the firſt place; and in 1678, the Duke of Ormond received inſtructions from the king to that purpoſe. It appeared then, that the limitation, and the amount of penſions was an idea entertained on the part of the crown, and that the ſum of 10,000*l.* yearly was, in the laſt century, thought an exceſſive charge. During this century, thoſe grants had been the perpetual occaſion of conteſts. In 1703, the committee of ſupply reſolved, and the houſe agreed, that no leſs than nineteen of them were unneceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment; and in 1707, ſeveral of them were voted

voted to be ſtruck off, and that no penſion ſhould be continued, except to a perſon reſident in the kingdom. In the year 1717, the lord lieutenant, in his ſpeech from the throne, informed both houſes of parliament, that his majeſty had thought fit to leſſen the civil liſt on the head of penſions, and had directed ſuch rules to be obſerved as might annually abate the expence upon them. By the influx of wealth into the kingdom, ariſing from imports occaſioned by a falſe credit, which had ariſen after the peace in the year 1748, there was a large ſurplus in the treaſury, which occaſioned a conteſt in the year 1753, between the crown and the Houſe of Commons. The miniſters inſiſted, that the ſurplus could not be applied by parliament without the previous conſent of his majeſty, and that difference having occaſioned an extraordinary prorogation of parliament, the removal from office of ſome of the principal men in the country, and great additional expence to the public by replacing them, for the ſake of tranquillity, profuſion was for a time connived at, penſions were laviſhly beſtowed, and the commons were ſtill more forward than government in that political extravagance. But in 1757, they unanimouſly voted the increaſe of penſions to be a grievance, and the houſe with its ſpeaker laid that, with ſeveral other ſtrong reſolutions on the ſubject, before the lord lieutenant, who, with whatever reluctance, was at length obliged to tranſmit thoſe reſolutions to be laid before his majeſty. At that period, when the increaſe of thoſe grants was unanimouſly impeached, they had amounted in the two preceding years to no greater a ſum than 89481*l.* In the following ſeſſion of 1759, they had increaſed to 106,285*l.* in the two years, and yet on a motion that the reſolutions of the preceding ſeſſion had the deſired effect, with a view to give a negative to it, but twenty-five members could be found for putting that queſtion. In the beginning of a new reign in 1761, the houſe was contented with an implied diſapprobation by reſolving, that thoſe grants exceeded the whole charge of the reſt of the civil eſtabliſhment. In the following ſeſſion of 1763, the national diſcontent on this ſubject became ſo general, that the lord lieutenant found it neceſſary to deſire the attendance of the principal members of both houſes at the caſtle, and there to make a ſolemn declaration, to a very numerous aſſembly of lords and commons, in his majeſty's name, that penſions for years or lives ſhould not in future be granted unleſs on the moſt extraordinary occaſions. Since that period various modes of redreſs had been attempted by motions for addreſſes to the crown and for retrenchments. For ſome years paſt the preſent meaſure

meaſure had been introduced, but clogged with extraneous matter, which would then be omitted. From that ſhort hiſtory it appeared, that the increaſe of penſions had been condemned by government, and reprobated by the Houſe of Commons; they had been the conſtant ſource of national contention, in which it had appeared, that neither lords lieutenants, nor even the Houſe of Commons were to be always truſted with that power. What followed then? Regulate it by law. Such a law would be a great national acquiſition. When the country gentleman ſhould be aſked by his conſtituents what has the country gained by the law, he would anſwer, "Penſions had ariſen "from little more than 3000*l.* yearly, to the enormous amount of 103,000*l.* "yearly. They were then limited to 80,000*l.* with exceptions, of which every "honeſt man would approve. They had ſtopped the proud waves of prerogative, and ſaid, hitherto ſhalt thou go and no farther; they had prevented "the diſcredit of the nation by having a charge on the people originate by "a king's letter, ſigned by three lords of the Engliſh treaſury, perſons unknown to the conſtitution of Ireland. They had for ever prevented the "return of that diſgraceful day, when the ſervants of the crown ſat in ſad "dejection, with their eyes fixed on the ground, without a word to ſay in "favor of adminiſtration, except this wretched apology, it was not done by "this lord lieutenant, you cannot ſay that we did it. And finally, they had "paid a juſt tribute of regard and affection to their beloved princes of the "illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick."

He then adverted to a paper, which had been very improperly introduced into the debate, and very unjuſtly made the topic of the moſt ſevere animadverſion. He had never ſeen the paper itſelf, but he had heard a copy of it read. He would inform the committee what the objects were, and what they were not. The objects were to ſupport the only proper and conſtitutional mode of appointing a regent for that kingdom, and ſuch other meaſures as ſhould be the neceſſary conſequence of that proceeding; to reſiſt an attack intended to be made by adminiſtration againſt the vitals of the conſtitution, by letting in the third eſtate of another kingdom to legiſlate for Ireland; to reſiſt thoſe dangerous principles advanced by the advocates of that meaſure, and which were neceſſary to be maintained for its defence, namely, that the royal aſſent to Iriſh acts of parliament was given under the authority of the monarch of England, and not under the authority of the monarch of Ireland, and that the ſtatute regent of England could reſcind the appointment

of

of a lord lieutenant of Ireland by the ſtatute regent of that kingdom. The firſt extinguiſhed the monarchy of Ireland, and the ſecond enabled the regent of England to repel the force of the Iriſh ſtatute. To reſiſt thoſe fatal innovations, to preſerve the deareſt rights of their ſovereign by defending his great conſtitutional power of aſſenting to bills, to prevent the extinction of the crown, and to preſerve the independence of the legiſlature of Ireland, ſeveral lords and gentlemen of the firſt rank and conſequence united to ſupport the former, and to reſiſt the latter meaſures, and to ſupport ſuch honorable men as concurred with them in that conduct, and in the defence of the conſtitution. Having mentioned what the objects of that paper were, he would ſtate what they were not. They were not to oppoſe any government, or any chief governor; they were not to preſcribe to his majeſty what chief governor he ſhould continue, or whom he ſhould appoint or not appoint to that high office. There was no ſuch preſumption in the minds of thoſe gentlemen. Their union was defenſive: to defend the conſtitution. He would further declare, that it was no object of that union to obtain office, honor, or power for any man. If ever there were an honorable and conſtitutional engagement, that was one; if ever there were a great national party, without an atom of faction in it, that was one; and yet how unworthily had it been treated? One gentleman had called it a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate; another, the revival of the old ariſtocracy of Ireland; a third had termed it a diſgrace to the kingdom, an illegal combination, and had politely put them in mind of the journeymen pinmakers, who were found guilty of a charge of that nature, and whipped at a cart's tail. Thoſe ſhameful aſperſions were induſtriouſly circulated in the public prints of both kingdoms. It was not his cuſtom to uſe harſh language. He would content himſelf with ſaying, that it was a natural progreſs for thoſe men, who ſtrove to degrade the conſtitution of their country to proceed to debaſe and vilify the firſt men in it; men who would be the pride and ornament of any kingdom in Europe. In talking of the royal aſſent, he aſſirmed, that it was the undoubted right of the King of Ireland to give it by himſelf or his commiſſioners in full parliament; that it was alſo the unqueſtionable right of the ſubject to have the royal aſſent given in parliament. He thought that nothing but a poſitive expreſs ſtatute could deprive the ſubject of that right, and he knew of no ſtatute. There was nothing to that purpoſe in Chief Baron Yelverton's act; a law which did great honor to its author. In reſpect to paſſing bills it had three objects; 1ſt. Their

paſſing

paſſing both houſes before they were tranſmitted; 2d. To compel the lord lieutenant and privy council to tranſmit them; 3d. To prevent the alteration of them any where after they had left the two houſes. Theſe three objects had been obtained for the country by a ſhort, clear, and deciſive act; and to the man, who had obtained thoſe great conſtitutional improvements he thought the kingdom highly indebted.

On the 14th of March the ſpeaker and the Houſe of Commons attended his excellency to the Houſe of Peers, where he made the following ſpeech to both houſes.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"WITH the moſt heartfelt ſatisfaction I take the earlieſt "opportunity to inform you, in obedience to the king's command, that it "has pleaſed the Divine Providence to remove from him the ſevere indiſpo- "ſition, with which he has been afflicted; and that by the bleſſing of Al- "mighty God he is now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of "his kingdoms, and perſonally to exerciſe his royal authority."

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have ſubmitted to his majeſty's conſideration the ſurplus, which you "have already granted for the immediate exigencies of the public ſervice, "and the performance of the national engagements; and I am commanded "by his majeſty to expreſs his perfect confidence in your readineſs to make "ſuch further proviſion, as ſhall be neceſſary for the uſual ſupport of his ma- "jeſty's government."

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have it particularly in charge from his majeſty to aſſure you, that the "proſperity of his faithful and loyal people of Ireland, from whom his ma- "jeſty has repeatedly received the ſtrongeſt proofs of affectionate attachment "to his ſacred perſon, will ever be near to his heart; and that his majeſty is "fully perſuaded, that your zeal for the public welfare will enable him to "promote, by every wiſe and ſalutary meaſure, the intereſts of this kingdom.

"I cannot conclude this communication to you without expreſſing my "fulleſt conviction, that his majeſty's faithful parliament of Ireland does not "yield to any of his ſubjects in ſincere and devout acknowledgments to Al- "mighty God, for the reſtoration of his majeſty's health, and in fervent "prayers, that a long continuance of that bleſſing may ſecure to his people

"the

" the happineſs, which they have conſtantly enjoyed under his majeſty's mild " and auſpicious government."

Mr. Grattan having expreſſed his moſt heartfelt ſatisfaction in the joyful tidings of the happy recovery of their beloved ſovereign, congratulated the houſe, that the ſpeech from the throne was ſo worded, and the addreſs ſo properly moved and ſeconded as to call for the moſt cordial unanimity. It was accordingly reſolved, that the ſpeaker of the houſe ſhould attend his excellency with the addreſs* to be laid before his majeſty.

When Mr. Conolly on the 20th of March communicated to the Houſe of Commons his royal highneſs's anſwer to the addreſs of both houſes of parliament, Lord Henry Fitzgerald moved, that an addreſs of thanks ſhould be preſented to his royal highneſs for his gracious anſwer; to which the attorney general objected, as a meaſure unprecedented: but it having been urged by

* 9 Parl. Deb. p. 318.

" To the KING's Moſt Excellent MAJESTY.

" The humble Addreſs of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in Parliament aſſembled.

" MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

" WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Ireland, " in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to lay before your majeſty our aſſurances of the ſincere and " cordial ſatisfaction, with which we are penetrated on being informed from the throne, by your " majeſty's command, that it has pleaſed the Divine Providence to remove from your majeſty the " ſevere indiſpoſition with which you have been afflicted, and that by the bleſſing of Almighty " God you are now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of your kingdoms, and per- " ſonally to exerciſe your royal authority.

" We aſſure your majeſty, that we ſhall juſtify the confidence you entertain, that we ſhall cheer- " fully proceed in making ſuch proviſion as may be neceſſary for the honorable ſupport of your ma- " jeſty's government.

" We ſhould be dead to every generous feeling, ſhould we omit to acknowledge your majeſty's " unceaſing ſolicitude for the intereſts of Ireland, or to ſecond, by every ſalutary effort, your be- " nevolent wiſhes for the welfare of your people.

" The numerous bleſſings derived to this kingdom from your majeſty's auſpicious reign, are " deeply imprinted in our boſoms, and ſenſible as we are of the ineſtimable value of theſe benefits, " we beg leave to repeat to your majeſty, upon this joyful occaſion, our moſt ſincere profeſſions " of reſpect and attachment to your royal perſon, family, and government.

" We conclude theſe our fervent congratulations with devout acknowledgments to the Almighty " for this ſignal inſtance of his goodneſs, in reſtoring our beloved monarch to the prayers of an af- " flicted people and our gratitude for ſuch a mark of the divine favor; is only equalled by the ar- " dency of our wiſhes for the continuance of your majeſty's health, and that your majeſty may " enjoy that invaluable bleſſing during a long and happy reign."

the whole houſe, he explained, that he was ever tenacious of the forms of the houſe; and no man more anxious than himſelf to teſtify his reſpect to the prince. It was carried unanimouſly. On the next day Lord Henry Fitzgerald reported from the committee appointed to draw up the addreſs of thanks to the Prince of Wales for his gracious anſwer, that they had drawn up an *addreſs accordingly.

The

* " To His Royal Highneſs GEORGE, Prince of WALES.

" The humble Addreſs of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in Parliament aſſembled.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

" WE, his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Ireland in " parliament aſſembled, beg leave to offer to your royal highneſs our warmeſt thanks for your an- " ſwer to our addreſs.

" With hearts overflowing with the livelieſt joy, we congratulate with your royal highneſs upon " the happy event of the king's recovery, and the conſequent reaſſumption of the exerciſe of his " auſpicious government; an event highly pleaſing to the ſubjects of the whole empire, but pecu- " liarly grateful to a nation ſo highly indebted to their moſt excellent ſovereign during the whole " courſe of his reign; and we rejoice in the reflection, that the father of his people is bleſſed with " a ſon, who is likely, in the fulneſs of time, to continue to his majeſty's loyal and affectionate " ſubjects of Ireland the bleſſings of his government.

" Thoroughly conſcious that nothing can add more to that eſteem which your royal highneſs " has been pleaſed to expreſs for the two houſes of parliament, than their loyal and affectionate " attachment to the perſon and government of the king, we will ſteadily perſevere in thoſe princi- " ples of duty, loyalty, and affection, which have ſo happily recommended them to the favourable " opinion of your royal highneſs.

" We feel the higheſt ſatisfaction in finding that what we have done, and our manner of doing " it, have received your approbation, and that your royal highneſs is pleaſed to conſider our con- " duct as a proof of our undiminiſhed duty to his majeſty, our uniform attachment to the Houſe of " Brunſwick, and our conſtant care and attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connexion " between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, which we conſider as indiſpenſably neceſ- " ſary to the proſperity, the happineſs and liberties of both; and we beg leave to aſſure your royal " highneſs, that from thoſe principles we ſhall never depart.

" We are happy to find that your royal highneſs conſiders our juſt attention to his majeſty's " royal family, and the proviſion made by us for preſerving the authority of the crown in its " conſtitutional energy, as the moſt unequivocal proofs which could be given of our affectionate " loyalty to the beſt of ſovereigns, at the melancholy period when, by an afflicting diſpenſation of " Providence, his government had ſuffered an intermiſſion, and his illuſtrious houſe was deprived " of its great and natural protector.

" We have the juſteſt reliance on the moderation of the views, and the purity of the intentions of " your royal highneſs, and we have the fulleſt convictions in our minds, that any truſt which could " have the moſt diſtant tendency to relax that provident vigilance and public jealouſy, which

" ought

The ſpeaker undertook to tranſmit the addreſs to Lord Southampton; and then Mr. Secretary Fitzherbert moved to adjourn to the 13th of April. During this interval Mr. Hobart was appointed to ſucceed Mr. Fitzherbert as ſecretary. When the houſe met, according to adjournment, Mr. Secretary Hobart informed the houſe, that he was commanded by his excellency the lord lieutenant to acquaint them, that his majeſty had been pleaſed to return the following moſt gracious anſwer to the addreſs of the houſe:

" GEORGE R.

" HIS majeſty thanks his faithful commons for their " loyal and affectionate addreſs, and for their aſſurances of the ſincere and " cordial ſatisfaction which they feel on the interpoſition of Divine Provi- " dence in removing from him the ſevere indiſpoſition, with which he has " been afflicted.

" Nothing can be more ſatisfactory to his majeſty, than the diſpoſition " expreſſed by the Houſe of Commons, chearfully to proceed in making " ſuch proviſions as are neceſſary for the honorable ſupport of his majeſty's " government.

" He receives with the greateſt pleaſure the acknowledgements of the " Houſe of Commons, of their ſenſe of the ſolicitude which his majeſty can

" ought to watch over the exerciſe of power, would not have been acceptable to the exalted ſenti- " ments of your royal highneſs, whoſe underſtanding and principles are rendered more valuable by " the generous and affectionate heart which animates their dictates.

" We can with the greateſt truth moſt ſolemnly aſſure your royal highneſs, that it is the ardent " wiſh of the parliament and people of Ireland to continue to cultivate the harmony and inſeparable " intereſts of the two kingdoms, firmly convinced, that in their mutual perfect freedom they will " find the cloſeſt, as well as the happieſt bond of their connexion; and we offer our warmeſt ac- " knowledgements to your royal highneſs for your recommendation to us to perſevere in ſuch a " conduct, and conſider your royal highneſs's recommendation, ſo worthy the high ſtation in which " you are placed, as an additional proof of your attention to the welfare of both countries.

" We aſſure your royal highneſs, that if any thing could add to the exultation of our minds at " the happy event of the recovery of our moſt beloved ſovereign, it would be the pleaſure, which " we feel in reflecting, that the heir to his majeſty's crown inherits the virtues of his royal father; " virtues, which every part of your royal highneſs's conduct, during the late melancholy and trying " occaſion, has placed in the moſt illuſtrious point of view; and the repeated marks of graciouſneſs " and condeſcenſion, with which your royal highneſs has been pleaſed to honor the two houſes of " parliament, muſt ever remain impreſſed in the moſt indelible characters of affection and gratitude " on the hearts of the people of Ireland."

" never ceaſe to entertain for the intereſts of Ireland, as well as their profeſ-
" ſions of reſpect and attachment to his perſon, family and government.

" G. R."

It was ordered to be entered on the journals, and an addreſs of thanks was voted. On the 15th, Mr. Grattan preſented to the houſe, according to order, a bill for the better ſecuring the freedom of elections of members to ſerve in parliament, by diſabling certain officers employed in the collection or management of his majeſty's revenues from giving their votes at ſuch elections; which was received and read the firſt time, and then Mr. Secretary Hobart informed the houſe, that he was directed by his excellency the lord lieutenant, to deliver the following meſſage to the houſe:

" NUGENT BUCKINGHAM.

" HIS majeſty having appointed Thurſday the 23d of this
" inſtant April, to be obſerved as a day of public thankſgiving to Almighty
" God, for that ſignal interpoſition of his good providence, which hath re-
" moved from his majeſty the late illneſs, with which he had been afflicted;
" and a proclamation having been iſſued by the lord lieutenant and the privy
" council of this kingdom for the ſolemn obſervance of that day, I intend to
" go to the cathedral of Chriſt Church to attend divine ſervice upon that
" occaſion, and have given the neceſſary orders for providing convenient
" places in the ſaid cathedral for the members of this houſe.

" N. B."

On the 21ſt of April ſeveral petitions from revenue officers and others were preſented to the houſe againſt the bill then pending, which intended to deprive them of their elective franchiſe, upon which a very long and warm debate enſued. In vain were all arguments drawn from reaſon, law, and conſtitution urged by the ſupporters of the bill; in vain was the example of England ſet forth in pointed relevancy to that kingdom; in vain was it preſſed upon the houſe, that the bill under their conſideration, nearly in the ſame words, had paſſed that houſe with the entire conſent of moſt of the members, who were now taught to exclaim againſt it, as an attack upon the rights of the people; that ſuch a bill, with the conſent and approbation of its preſent moſt vehement opponents, had paſſed the commons, had been tranſmitted under the great ſeal of Ireland, and returned under the great ſeal of England; which, though loſt in the lords, had not been rejected upon its merits; but had ſhared the fate of the miniſtry, which had eſpouſed it: that the people had

had then loſt a good miniſtry and a good bill. The ferment occaſioned in the commons by the late alarm had now nearly ſubſided: the re-eſtabliſhment of the old ſyſtem, and the diſappearance of any immediate change in adminiſtration, had brought back moſt of the fugitives to their ſtation, and upon the diviſion there were found only 93 for the committal of the bill, and 148 againſt it.

On the 25th of April, Sir Henry Cavendiſh, chairman of the committee on the police accounts, delivered in their report,* upon which they had come to two reſolutions: 1ſt, That it had appeared to them, that the police eſtabliſhment had been attended with unneceſſary patronage, waſte and diſſipation. 2d, That it was their opinion, that the peace and protection of the city of Dublin might be more effectually maintained at a leſs expence, and that the preſent ſyſtem of the police eſtabliſhment ought to be changed. And when the ſpeaker put the queſtion to agree to the firſt reſolution, the attorney-general objected. The right honorable gentleman called upon the houſe to agree to a report founded on evidence from partial inveſtigation, that was *ex parte* garbled or ſelected. He was ſtrongly rebuked by Mr. Grattan, with the indecency of imputing to a moſt reſpectable committee, after a laborious inveſtigation, the foul charge of garbling and ſelecting the evidence. A violent and intemperate debate enſued, in which nothing new occurred, but the ingenuity of dreſſing up former arguments: both ſides inſiſting that experience confirmed their ſupport of or oppoſition to the original meaſure: this had ever been a favorite object with government, and was vehemently ſupported by a majority of 132, againſt 78; and the report at the motion of the attorney-general was rejected.† The houſe having by this time been nearly marſhalled into their former ranks, Mr. Grattan thought it uſeleſs to divide them on the ſecond reading of the place bill, on the 30th of April; it was negatived without a diviſion. The only ſubject particularly intereſting

* 9 Par. Deb. p. 394. This report which is ſingularly curious, is to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. LXXXII.

† 9 Par. Deb. p. 424. When this debate was over and the diviſion ſettled, Mr. Conolly ſaid the gentlemen were perfectly conſiſtent, in ſupporting a ruinous and expenſive ſyſtem of patronage, that they themſelves had inſtituted, and that they were alſo conſiſtent in now endeavouring to ſtigmatize the men, who had brought their dark, corrupt, ſyſtem to light; men, who for honor, probity, and integrity, could not be excelled in his majeſty's dominions. But he deſired gentlemen not to exult; their exultation would be but of a ſhort duration, as the law complained of muſt, from its enormity, ere long fall to the ground.

to

to the hiſtory of Ireland, which came before parliament during the remainder of that ſeſſion, was the ſubject of tithes: Mr. Grattan having preſented to the houſe according to order, a bill to appoint commiſſioners for the purpoſe of enquiring into the ſtate of tithes in the different provinces of that kingdom, and to report a plan for aſcertaining the ſame: he followed up his motion with a very elaborate, inſtructive, and eloquent ſpeech* upon this important national object. The houſe adjourned from the 8th to the 25th of May, on which day the lord lieutenant prorogued the parliament, and made a ſpeech of a general nature, without a word of reference to any of the extraordinary circumſtances of the ſeſſion.

Certain it is, that no viceroy ever enjoyed a ſmaller ſhare of popularity in Ireland, than the Marquis of Buckingham. Either the natural reſerve or the hauteur of his character made him perſonally diſreliſhed, even by his friends and ſupporters. In order to raiſe an appearance at leaſt of popularity, his creatures procured (not without ſome difficulty) an addreſs from the county of Weſtmeath, in which the bulk of his lady's property lay, and which ſuperabounds with the name of Nugent. The example, however, was not followed up by other counties. The reſtoration of his majeſty's health inſtantly brought back a majority of the late deſerters to their ranks. But the viceroy's refuſal to tranſmit the addreſs of parliament was indignantly reſented by thoſe members of any independence or principle, who had joined in it. A moſt determined oppoſition was the conſequence. The imperious mind of the viceroy once more triumphant in the return of his numbers to their poſts, was ſtill exaſperated that the great popular leaders, chiefs of the clans and poſſeſſors of the natural intereſt of the country were reſtive to his dictates, and knit by a common principle into a cloſer and more formidable oppoſition, than he had hitherto experienced. His excellency lamented, that in ſpite of his avowed principles of œconomy, he was now compelled to reſort to Lord Townſhend's ruinous ſyſtem of purchaſing votes by retail, in order to break through this new combination of an Iriſh ariſtocracy. No bounds, no reſerve, no decency, were kept in this new canvaſs for parliamentary influence: the market became overt, and the prices of boroughs, and pieces of boroughs, of votes and titles, and peerages were brought to as regular a ſtandard, as bullion at the mint. Not a peerage, not an honor, not a place, not a pen-

* It may be ſeen in the Appendix, No. LXXXIII. 9 Par. Deb. p. 464.

ſion

ſion was diſpoſed of but immediately by government for parliamentary intereſt, influence, or engagements, varying by gradation from the price of a cloſe borough to a vote upon a ſingle queſtion. Every place, office or emolument, that could be reſumed by government, were granted out upon new terms for future ſervices. The Duke of Leinſter, Mr. G. Ponſonby, Mr. Fitzherbert, and every perſon holding place, office, or penſion at pleaſure, were diſplaced or deprived for having joined in the addreſs to the Prince of Wales. A creation of eight peerages took place, and numerous new appointments were made. It was objected to the Marquis of Buckingham's adminiſtration, that notwithſtanding his boaſted profeſſions of œconomizing for the nation, he had encreaſed the penſion liſt by 5000*l.* per annum, that by his ſplitting places, reviving dormant unneceſſary employments, and encreaſing ſalaries, he had burthened the nation with the additional perpetuity of 2800*l.* per annum, and had chiefly ſelected his own family connections and other ſtrangers, ſome of low and mean degree, for the objects of his bounty, to the excluſion of well meaning and well qualified natives. Moſt certain it is, that the Marquis of Buckingham generally diſliked the Iriſh, and was diſliked by them.

The leaders of oppoſition had found it adviſeable, as has been obſerved, in order to conſolidate their force into a common centre of union, to eſtabliſh a new political ſociety under the denomination of the Whig Club: an inſtitution highly obnoxious to the caſtle: they adopted the ſame principles, were clad in the ſame uniform of blue and buff, and profeſſedly acted in concert with the Whig Club of England. At the head of this club were the Duke of Leinſter, the Earl of Charlemont, Mr. Conolly, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Forbes, both the Meſſieurs Ponſonby, Mr. Curran, and a number of leading members of oppoſition in both houſes. It was a rendezvous and round of cabinet dinners for the oppoſition. Here were planned and arranged all the meaſures for attack on the miniſtry. Each member had his meaſure or his queſtion in turn: the plans of debate and manœuvre were preconcerted, and to each was aſſigned that ſhare of the attack he was moſt competent to maintain. This club aided by the aſſiſtance of ſome of the popular newſpapers, continued to announce its days of dining, to proclaim its ſentiments in the ſhape of reſolutions, or announce them obliquely in the ſhape of anonymous paragraphs. Their ſpeeches generally retailed with point, virulence and acrimony, always turned upon the prolific chapter of government and parliamentary

mentary abuſes, were calculated to work upon the paſſions more than to guide the ſober reaſon of the multitude.* Such in truth has generally been the

* It has of late years unfortunately been ſo prevailing a rage on both ſides of the leading political queſtions, to attribute to their antagoniſts falſe motives, views, and grounds for their conduct, that the hiſtorian, who ſupports the principles of either, will be naturally diſcredited by thoſe readers, who happen to differ from him in opinion: it is not his duty to adjudge the conduct of the actors in thoſe ſcenes, which he has undertaken to retail and faithfully to repreſent. The late Earl of Clare in his ſpeech for the union (p. 59.) has left the following portrait of the Whig Club of Ireland. "The better to effectuate the great national objects of a limitation of the penſion liſt, "an excluſion of penſioners from the Houſe of Commons, a reſtriction of placemen, who ſhould "ſit there, and a reſponſibility for the receipt and iſſue of the public treaſury, a Whig Club was "announced in a manifeſto, ſigned and counterſigned, charging the Britiſh government, as James I. "has ſince been charged, with a deliberate and ſyſtematic intention of ſapping the liberties, and "ſubverting the parliament of Ireland. All perſons of congenial character and ſentiment were "invited to range under the Whig banner, for the eſtabliſhment and protection of the Iriſh conſti-"tution, on the model of the Revolution 1688; and under this banner was ranged ſuch a motley "collection of congenial characters, as never before were aſſembled for the reformation of the "ſtate. Mr. Napper Tandy was received by acclamation, as a ſtateſman too important and illuſ-"trious to be committed to the hazard of a ballot. Mr. Hamilton Rowan alſo repaired to the "Whig banner. Unfortunately, the political career of theſe gentlemen has been arreſted: Mr. "Tandy's by attainder of felony, and an attainder of treaſon; Mr. Hamilton Rowan's by an at-"tainder of treaſon. The Whig ſecretary, if he does not ſtand in the ſame predicament, is now a pri-"ſoner at the mercy of the crown, on his own admiſſion of his treaſons; and if I do not miſtake, "the whole ſociety of Iriſh Whigs have been admitted, *ad eundem*, by their Whig brethren of "England. In the fury of political reſentment, ſome noblemen and gentlemen of the firſt rank "in this country ſtooped to aſſociate with the refuſe of the community, men whoſe principles "they thus held in abhorrence, and whoſe manners and deportment muſt always have excited their "diſguſt."

Mr. Grattan has left the following ſketch of it. "The work complains of the Whig Club. "The miniſter was the author of it. His doctrines and his half million were the authors of it. "But clubs of this kind are only preſerved by violence. That violence did happen. An attack "was made on the rights of the city, a doctrine was promulgated, that the common council had "no right to put a negative on the lord mayor, choſen by the board of aldermen, except the board "itſelf ſhould aſſent to the negative put on its own choice, this doctrine was advanced by the court, "to ſecure the election of the mayor to itſelf; in the courſe of the conteſt, a miniſter involved "himſelf in a perſonal altercation with the citizens: with Mr. Tandy, he had carried on a long "war, and with various ſucceſs; he was now involved in an altercation more general, in the "compaſs of his wrath, he paid his compliments to the Whig Club, and that club advanced the "ſhield of a free people over the rights of the city, and humbled a miniſter in the preſence of "thoſe citizens, whoſe privileges he had invaded, and whoſe perſons he had calumniated."

The

the ſyſtem of taking an ungenerous advantage of the Iriſh character. A people of quick impulſe, ardent ſympathy, and inconſiderate reſolution, was always ready to anticipate rather than check any plan, that ſummoned their action or intrepidity.

The public thankſgiving for the king's recovery was attended with every ſolemnity, that the nature of the caſe would admit, on the 23d of April, 1789, in the cathedral of Chriſt's Church: and on different days, particular ſervices were performed in every church and chapel throughout the nation. A moſt ſolemn high maſs was performed, with a new grand *Te Deum*, compoſed on the occaſion by the celebrated Giordani, in the Roman Catholic chapel of Francis-ſtreet. And as a happy inſtance of the increaſing liberality of the times, ſeveral of the firſt Proteſtant nobility and gentry aſſiſted at it.* On the 5th of May, a moſt ſuperb gala was given at the caſtle in commemoration

The conteſt between the miniſter and Mr. Tandy, to which Mr. Grattan referred, was as follows: Mr. Tandy at the head of a party of the common council, oppoſed the election of one Alderman James to this office of lord mayor for the enſuing year, though the choice were almoſt a matter of courſe in the order, if not magiſtrates ſeniority. Mr. Tandy's oppoſition was founded upon a charge of his being the ſlave and creature of the caſtle. After a long conteſt which laſted all night, Mr. Tandy ſucceeded in the rejection of Alderman James, and in the choice of Alderman Howiſon in his room. This produced an appeal to the lord lieutenant and privy council, to whoſe ultimate approbation the choice of the chief magiſtrate was ſubject. Lord Fitzgibbon (then lately promoted to the ſeals) preſided as chancellor. Mr. Tandy and his choſen alderman attended, with Meſſrs. Ponſonby and Curran, as their council. Alderman James had the Recorder and Dr. Duignan. The matter was ſolemnly argued. The council chamber was thrown open as a public court, and extremely crowded with citizens. Several perſonal aſperities paſſed between the chancellor and Mr. Curran: and ſome coarſe ſatire was attempted by Dr. Duignan againſt the ſcowling eyes, and haggard looks, ſallow complexion, and factious principles of Mr. Tandy. The caſtle looking upon Alderman James as the victim of their cauſe, ſtrongly eſpouſed his intereſt: but the law laid down by Mr. Ponſonby, was ſo clearly deciſive, that all that was attempted, was to ſend the parties back to a new election, which was again decided in favor of Alderman Howiſon, which was finally confirmed by the lord lieutenant in council. This event gave triumph and exultation to Mr. Tandy as a patriot, a ſecond Lucas, and he afterwards commanded a ſtrong influence in the common council.

* The Catholics, who had received more favors from his preſent gracious majeſty, than from all his predeceſſors collectively, ſince Henry II. were gratefully ſenſible of the favor of God in reſtoring the health of their beloved ſovereign, and were prominently conſpicuous in returning their ſolemn thanks to the Deity. So illuſtrious an aſſemblage had never met in a Catholic place of worſhip in that kingdom ſince the reformation. Beſides the principal part of their own nobility and gentry, there

memoration of the happy recovery of his majeſty: but none of thoſe gentlemen were invited to partake of it, who had voted for the addreſs. A marked ſign of reprobation was put on their heads: and ſo ſtrongly was the ſpirit of party kept up, that in the liſt of toaſts drank after dinner at the caſtle, the Prince of Wales and Duke of York were purpoſely omitted.* The extraordinary zeal and exertions of the attorney-general on this late as well as former occaſions in ſupport of government, were rewarded with the great ſeal of Ireland, which had become vacant by the death of Lord Lifford: and he became the firſt Iriſh chancellor appointed by England.

The Marquis of Buckingham was little ſatisfied with his ſituation in Ireland: for although he had regained a majority in parliament, he never more experienced any ſhare of that popularity, which was ſincerely ſhewn to him on his firſt acceptance of the viceroyalty in Lord Shelburne's adminiſtration: the ſpirit of party ran ſo high, and the chief governor grew daily ſo unpopular,

were preſent on the occaſion the Duke of Leinſter, the Earls and Counteſſes of Belvedere, Arran and Portarlington, Counteſſes of Carhampton and Ely, Lords Tyrone, Valentia and Delvin, Mr. D. La Touche and family, Mr. Grattan, Major Doyle, Mrs. Jeffries, Mrs. Trant, and ſeveral other perſons of the firſt diſtinction.

* Immediately after the health of the king and queen had been drank, that of Mr. Pitt, as *the friend of Ireland*, was given with three times three. Theſe minute circumſtances are noticed, becauſe in Ireland no ſmall importance is annexed to ſuch feſtive ceremonials, as it has been obſerved 1 vol. p. 310. The ſyſtem of creating diſunion amongſt the different branches of the royal family, was not confined to Ireland. England gave the example. Even the unfortunate affair between the Duke of York and Colonel Lennox afforded freſh matter for family jealouſy and difference. The delay of introducing his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Clarence into the Houſe of Lords aroſe from that execrable ſpirit of diſunion. That young prince, who graced his exalted rank by a cloſe attention to his profeſſional duties, ſuperadded to his native and acquired endowments, a characteriſtical warmth of family affection and domeſtic ſympathy. It was propoſed that his royal highneſs ſhould be introduced to the Houſe of Lords by the Duke of Richmond. He modeſtly and naturally obſerved, that he had two brothers in the houſe. It was notwithſtanding urged, that he muſt be introduced by the Dukes of Richmond and Chandos. His royal highneſs finding his two brothers proſcribed replied, that he had two uncles in the houſe, by whom he wiſhed to be introduced: this was not admiſſible: the Duke of Richmond was ſtill inſiſted upon, and his royal highneſs declined the ceremony, till a ſort of compromiſe was agreed to by ſubſtituting the Duke of Montague for the Duke of Richmond.

To theſe marked attempts at mortifying and humiliating the Prince of Wales, Mr. Grattan alluded in a ſpeech upon this viceroy's adminiſtration in the following words, (10 Par. Deb. 16.) "ſome of "thoſe members having committed in Ireland exceſſes far beyond thoſe which falſehood preſumed "to prophecy, to diſparage the ſecond perſonage in theſe dominions."

that

that to avoid perſonal outrage, in the month of June he ſecretly took ſhipping* for England, and never more returned to Ireland. On the 30th of June, 1789, the new chancellor Lord Fitzgibbon and Mr. Foſter the ſpeaker were ſworn in lords juſtices. After ſo much party difference and diſſention in the capital, it was not to be expected, that the peace and tranquillity of the provinces ſhould be encreaſed. The wretched and reſtleſs poor in Munſter began once more to break out into new diſturbances. Whilſt they expected redreſs, the country remained quiet: but after the riſing of the parliament and the failure of Mr. Grattan's motion for an inveſtigation of their grievances, the diſturbances recommenced, and it was found neceſſary to encreaſe the military force in thoſe diſtricts, that manifeſted the moſt diſpoſition to riot.

The unhappy differences of the *Peep of Day Boys* and *Defenders* ſo far from being compoſed or ſettled had conſiderably increaſed, both in extent and rancour ſince the laſt year: and it is a lamentable truth, that their enmity was fomented by many of the ſuperior orders, for the diabolical purpoſe of breaking up the union of the Proteſtants and Catholics, which had been effected by ſerving together as volunteers, and was one of the effects of that ſyſtem, which the government appeared moſt to dread. Reports were induſtriouſly ſet afloat, and greedily credited by moſt Proteſtants of the county of Armagh, who long had been pre-eminent amongſt their brethren for their zealous antipathy to Popery, that if Catholics, who had obtained arms, and learned the uſe of them during the war, were permitted to retain them, they would ſoon be uſed in erecting Popery on the ruins of the Proteſtant religion. Where the flame of fanaticiſm once takes, it is ſcarcely to be extinguiſhed but by extermination. The defenders had long and frequently complained, that all their efforts to procure legal redreſs againſt the outrages committed upon them by the *Peep of Day Boys* were unavailing: that their oppreſſors appeared to be rather countenanced, than checked by the civil

* His excellency took ſhipping from Mr. Lee's elegant villa at the Black Rock. It was obſerved by Mr. Charles O'Neale, in a debate 10 P. D. p. 118, that if he had not taken a back-ſtairs departure from that kingdom, he would in all probability have been greeted on his retreat in a very different manner from what he had been on his arrival in Ireland.

power; and that the neceſſity of the caſe had driven them into *counter-combinations to defend their lives and properties againſt theſe uncontrolled marauders.

* The form of the oath and rules of the defenders, ſaid to have been found and ſent to government by the Dean of Raphoe during the adminiſtration of Lord Buckingham, ſhews how far they were at this time organized.

THE OATH.

I A. B. of my own free will and accord, do ſwear to be true to one another, will aſſiſt one another abroad and at home, and there are none to be admitted without the conſent of the committee appointed by the ſaid body; and they muſt in all things be under ſubjection to the ſaid committee in all things that are lawful, and not otherwiſe; and all words and ſigns to be kept ſecret from all that are not concerned or forfeit this oath, and we are to meet once a month where the committee thinks proper, and we are to ſpend what is agreeable to the company; and any perſon giving a lawful reaſon for his abſence, he is not to be under cenſure; and all perſons entering muſt be under all rules and regulations appointed by the ſaid committee; and as in our former oath we are bound to his majeſty King George III. and his ſucceſſors to the crown, ſo for this preſent year 1789, we promiſe faithfully the ſame obedience, and alſo while we live ſubject to the ſame government.

*Rules to be obſerved.*

1ſt. There is no defender to ſtrike one another upon any account; or if they do, to be excluded the company as long as the committee thinks proper.

2d. There is no perſon to come to the monthly meeting drunk; or if they do, to pay ſixpence, and to be excluded for three months.

3d. There is no perſon on any account to ſwear or ſpeak loud in the company, and for every oath they are to pay what the committee thinks proper.

4th. There is no perſon that formerly belonged to another body (that is to ſay, a ſtrange body) to be accepted without a line from the body he formerly belonged to.

5th. There is no perſon to let any one know who belongs to their body, but theſe who went under the obligation.

6th. There is no body of men to go to a challenge without leave of three of the committee at leaſt.

7th. There is no body to get a copy of theſe without the leave of the grand maſter appointed by the general year's meeting, or deputies appointed by the ſaid grand maſter, or his committee.

8th. Let no perſon know no words or ſigns without being concerned, and they are not empowered to give or make known by either words or ſigns or tokens any that may hereafter come forth, or make it known to any company or body but ourſelves, or our body.

9th. There is no defender to make himſelf known as a defender after being excluded, under fear of perjury; and each man continuing ſix months from this day muſt find a gun and bayonet, with other neceſſary accoutrements, or be excluded at the option of the committee.

Given under our hands, from the Grange committee to the committee of Barrickarnan, body of defenders No. 1, for the county of Louth.

We,

marauders. Whilſt theſe petty, but fatal internal hoſtilities were confined chiefly to the county of Armagh, it appears, that the defenders had generally remained paſſive according to their firſt inſtitution and appellation; and that they only became aggreſſors, when they afterwards were compelled to emigrate from their country. Their hoſtility was now at its height: government ſent down two troops to quell them, but above fifty on both ſides had been killed in an affray before the horſe arrived. Tranquillity laſted, whilſt the troops remained. But it was impoſſible, that a large aſſemblage of men, void of education, prudence, or control, ſhould long remain together without miſchief.

A very important change had taken place within the laſt ten years in the political ſentiments of the Iriſh nation. The American conteſt for liberty had rouſed Ireland to think more practically and firmly upon her own civil rights: the fatal miſconduct of the Britiſh miniſtry of that day had made them an armed people, and they ſhortly after became an independent nation. The fruition of recently acquired poſſeſſions is ever keener than the enjoyment of thoſe, which have attended us from the cradle. The late civil advantages, which had been acquired either by aſſertion or conceſſion were firm ſteps to the Iriſh to aſcend to the perfect level of that conſtitutional freedom, which was the boaſt of Great Britain, but from which it ſtill appeared her policy to exclude her ſiſter kingdom. The moſt complete legiſlative independence, that could either be demanded or admitted, never would deſtroy the ſubordination of the Iriſh cabinet and adminiſtration. Hence the baneful ſource of Iriſh infelicity, and the imperious neceſſity of an incorporate union, in order to eradicate every fibre, from which the moſt puny ſucker of that deleterious ſyſtem could revive. Notwithſtanding all the declarations, repeals, and renunciations on our part, it was phyſically impoſ-

We, the committee of No. 18, do certify the bearer, Michael Moor, that he has gone through the rules and obligations of a brother defender; and at his requeſt he deſires to be diſcharged that he may join your body.

Given under our hands, at Dumbanagher, this 24th day of April, 1789.

EDWARD BRADLEY,
OWEN BRADLEY,
PATRICK LEES,
DANIEL M'GOVERAN, Sec.

N. B. Michael Moor's certificate was ſigned by fifty-one members in addition to the above, who were preſent, and members of Lodge 18.

ſible,

ſible, that Great Britain ſhould ever have conſidered the independence of the two kingdoms as perfectly reciprocal: and it appears, that in proportion to the efforts of Ireland to eſtabliſh that reciprocity, was the jealous preponderance of Great Britain exerted to defeat it. Lord Buckingham's adminiſtration was an eventful æra in the latter hiſtory of Ireland. The declaration of American independence, and its ſucceſsful progreſs to ſtability, had not a little contributed to that ſtupendous revolution of France, which had hitherto exhibited a fair and plauſible appearance to moſt lovers of civil freedom: theſe examples ſtimulated the youthful vigor of regenerated Ireland to perfect their work, which they conſidered as left undone, whilſt Great Britain enjoyed a conſtitutional advantage, of which Ireland was bereft. The conteſt between the Marquis of Buckingham and the parliament had disjointed and looſened the pre-exiſting parties, and the recovery of the ſovereign had hitherto only brought back to their ranks thoſe, who openly profeſſed to give their ſervices for pay. A more numerous and formidable oppoſition had ariſen out of the queſtion upon the regency, than the caſtle ever more expected to experience. The nation was generally with the minority, which compriſed all the great popular intereſts of the kingdom: a race was run between thoſe, who commanded any means of ſtrengthening their reſpective parties both in and out of parliament: on one ſide patronage and influence were extended through the revenue, through the police and every other conduit, which was connected with the caſtle: on the other ſide the ſpirit of 1782 was revived in the volunteer corps, the Whig club encouraged, and the unpopularity of the late adminiſtration exhibited through the nation in the livelieſt colors.

Though the Earl of Weſtmoreland ſucceeded the Marquis of Buckingham in the government of Ireland, yet it was obſerved by ſeveral of the oppoſition members, that it was but a continuance of the former adminiſtration, under a leſs unpopular head:* the ſecretary and moſt other ſervants of the crown were continued in office. He met the parliament on the 21ſt of January, 1790, and his ſpeech turned merely on the common topics. The whole of this ſeſſion was but a ſeries of fruitleſs conteſts for the great points, which the patriots contended they were entitled to by the conſtitution, and

* So Major Doyle expreſſed himſelf, 10 Parl. Deb. p. 233. "The ſame meaſures were continued by the preſent viceroy, as if ſome malicious device had ſhot into him the ſpirit of his departed predeceſſor, and that the caſtle of Dublin was only the reflected ſhadows of the palace of Stowe."

had

had pledged themſelves to their country to perſevere in preſſing upon the government, until they ſhould be granted.

On the ſecond day of the ſeſſion, as the addreſs was moved for, *Mr. Grattan, though he did not mean to oppoſe the addreſs, felt it incumbent upon him to avail himſelf of the earlieſt opportunity in the ſeſſion to mark his diſapprobation of the meaſures of the late adminiſtration, and to prove to the full conviction of that houſe, that they had been *ill governed*. He then went into a detail of thoſe grievances, which the country had to lay at the door of the Marquis of Buckingham: he firſt touched on the increaſe of the penſion liſt,† and then of the encreaſed expence in the ordnance department,

* 10 Parl. Deb. p. 7.

† This being mere matter of account, I extract it from the papers laid before parliament. Append. to the 13th vol. Journ. Com. p. 271.

*A Liſt of all Penſions placed on the Civil Eſtabliſhment during the Period of the Marquis of Buckingham's Adminiſtration, with an Account of the total Amount thereof.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Fitzherbert Richards, Eſq. | 400 |
| James Cavendiſh, Eſq. | 150 |
| Harriet Cavendiſh | 150 |
| Lionel, Lord Viſcount Strangford | 400 |
| Robert Thornton, Eſq. | 300 |
| Right Honorable Thomas Orde | 1700 |
| Duke of Glouceſter | 4000 |
| Georgina, Viſcounteſs Boyne | 500 |
| Lady Catherine Marlay | 300 |
| Honorable Roſe Browne | 300 |
| Walter Taylor | 300 |
| Francis D'Ivernois | 300 |
| David Jebb, Eſq. | 300 |
| Lady Catherine Toole | 200 |
| Thomas Coughlan, additional | 200 |
| William, Viſcount Chetwynd, additional | 200 |
| Charles, Viſcount Ranelagh, and Sarah, Viſcounteſs Ranelagh, his wife, and ſurvivor | 400 |
| Lucia Agar, Viſcounteſs Clifden, and Emily Anne Agar her daughter, and ſurvivor | 300 |
| Sir Henry Mannix, Bart. | 500 |
| Sir Richard Johnſtone, Bart. and William Johnſtone, Eſq. his ſon, and ſurvivor | 800 |
| Sarah Hernon | 70 |
| Elizabeth Hernon | 70 |
| Henry Loftus, Eſq. | 300 |
| Diana Loftus | 300 |
| William Colville, Eſq. | 600 |
| | 13,040 |

the

the latter of which he made amount to 1500*l.* beſides 600*l.* penſion to an officer* on the ſtaff. Then after having amplified in detail upon every act of the

* When he came to reflect on the extent of official abuſes, which the Marquis of Buckingham undertook to reform and correct, great praiſe muſt be given to the reſolution of any man, that would undertake the invidious though neceſſary function. Mr. Corry, whom he appointed ſurveyor of the ordnance, gave the following detail of his lordſhip's conduct in the outſet of his reformation of that department. 10 Parl. Deb. p. 230. The firſt the public knew of the faults of the officers of the ordnance board, was the taking poſſeſſion of their offices; but how different was this appearance from the real fact? It is cuſtomary for the ordnance board on the arrival of a new lord lieutenant, to make to him a return of the ſtores and ammunition in the arſenals and magazines of the kingdom. This return had been made to Lord Buckingham when he was firſt here lord lieutenant in 1782; a like return was made to him upon his ſecond coming. Lord Buckingham was too much in the habit of examining papers, not to obſerve by the difference between thoſe two returns, that ſome extraordinary peculation muſt have taken place; this was enough to direct his attention to the ſubject; but ſo far from proceeding with precipitation, he examined a variety of papers, which took up a great part of his time, from January to Auguſt, and having fully diſcovered the peculation, he wrote a letter to the perſons concerned, deſiring them to call a board, and, if poſſible, explain and juſtify their conduct. They did call a board, and thus their guilt being fully proved, Lord Buckingham, well knowing the ſcene of forgery that was then acting, like a wiſe and vigorous minded man, took, as it were by ſtorm, the different offices; if he had not, his fame would indeed be gibbeted, and not as now, without foundation. Within twelve hours from the time Lord Buckingham took poſſeſſion of the ordnance office, an attempt was made to rob it.

It was natural, after the diſcovery of peculation, to examine whether there was any radical defect in the conſtitution of the department; it was found there was none, it was eſtabliſhed in wiſdom. What then was to be done? Not to alter the conſtitution of the department, but to put men of character and reſponſibility into the ſeveral offices.

As to the nobleman at the head of the ordnance, the ſlighteſt glance of ſuſpicion never fell upon him, his ill health made him ſo frequently abſent, that it was impoſſible for him to ſcrutinize as Lord Buckingham did. The great misfortune of the office was, that ſeveral officers were abſent, and thoſe who attended in general, were under the control of the perſon who was chiefly guilty. Of that perſon, who in private life, was a man extremely amiable, who has expiated his crime with his life, and to whom, if we cannot extend pardon, yet we cannot refuſe pity, I would not ſpeak at all, if not compelled; but being called upon, I muſt ſpeak as truth demands and juſtice requires. That perſon came from Woolwich a private artificer, he was made a ſurveyor of the ordnance, with

| | |
|---|---|
| a ſalary of | 450*l.* |
| Fair perquiſites | 150 |
| Comptroller of the elaboratory | 150 |
| For a clerk | 40 |
| | 790 |

Yet

the late viceroy, he ſummed up his charges in the following impreſſive manner.* "Such has been the conduct of your reformer. This was the man; "you remember his entry into the capital, trampling on the hearſe of the "Duke of Rutland, and ſeated in a triumphal car, drawn by public credu- "lity; on one ſide fallacious hope, and on the other many-mouthed profeſ- "ſion; a figure with two faces, one turned to the treaſury, and the other "preſented to the people; and with a double tongue, ſpeaking contradic- "tory languages.

"This miniſter alights; juſtice looks up to him with empty hopes, and pe- "culation faints with idle alarms; he finds the city a prey to an unconſtitu- "tional police; he continues it; he finds the country overburthened with "a ſhameful penſion liſt; he increaſes it; he finds the Houſe of Commons "ſwarming with placemen; he multiplies them; he finds the ſalary of the "ſecretary increaſed to prevent a penſion; he grants a penſion; he finds the "kingdom drained by abſentee employments, and by compenſations to buy "them home; he gives the beſt reverſion in the country to an abſentee, his "brother! He finds the government at different times had diſgraced itſelf by "creating ſinecures, to gratify corrupt affection; he makes two commiſ- "ſioners of the rolls, and gives one of them to another brother; he finds "the ſecond council to the commiſſioners put down becauſe uſeleſs; he re- "vives it; he finds the boards of accounts and ſtamps annexed by public "compact; he divides them; he finds the boards of cuſtoms and exciſe "united by public compact; he divides them; he finds three reſolutions, "declaring, that ſeven commiſſioners are ſufficient; he makes nine; he "finds the country has ſuffered by ſome peculations in the ordnance; he

Yet he was not ſatisfied with this, but threatened he would go back to England, to prevent which he was made a commiſſioner of barracks, 400*l.*

Now as to the peculation, inſtead of 6 or 8000*l.* look at the documents, and you will ſee, that in the ſpace of time, which Lord Buckingham examined, about ten years, the defalcation on muſquets and bayonets was upwards of 20,000*l.* In the article of gunpowder iſſued, but not accounted for, 9000*l.* defalcation in gunpowder 26,000*l.* The exceſs of the profit on gunpowder in four years, bought from Iriſh manufactures, over what it might be bought for from Engliſh, 17,000*l.* Beſides theſe diſcoveries Lord Buckingham has diſcovered how 800*l.* a year may, and will in future be ſaved to the nation in the iſſue of powder to the ſeveral regiments; yet theſe are things that gentlemen affect to make light of; and blame Lord Buckingham, where he had ſo much merit.

* 10 Parl. Deb. p. 15.

" increaſes the ſalaries of offices, and gives the places to members; to mem-
" bers of parliament."

The next attack upon the miniſter was made on the 1ſt of February, when Mr. Grattan, after having deſired ſeveral reſolutions to be read from the Journals once more, went over his old ground, and in a ſtupendous ſtream of oratory* arraigned the whole ſyſtem of the late adminiſtration, ſo ſtedfaſtly ſupported

* In ſpeaking of the undue influence of the crown, and the non-reſponſibility of the Iriſh miniſter, he thus expreſſed himſelf (10 Parl. Deb. p. 61). " The advocates for undue influence, who " have appeared in England, have admitted it to be a defect, but a defect that would mix with the " conſtitution: the miniſters of Ireland have made that defect the only engine of their govern-" ment; our miniſters have picked up from the Britiſh conſtitution nothing but the moſt corrupt " part of her practice, and that they have carried into the moſt daring exceſſes. No conſtitutional " bills to heal: no popular bills to pacify. The currency, the pure poiſon unmixed, unquenched, " unqualified; or if qualified, tempered only with revenge. On this principle did the miniſters " take into their venal and vindictive hand the table of proſcriptions, on this principle did they " remove, not becauſe the place was unneceſſary; they have made unneceſſary offices; on this " principle did they deprive, not becauſe the penſion liſt was overburthened; they have augmented " that liſt, but becauſe the placemen ſo removed and the penſioner ſo deprived had voted againſt " the will of the miniſter, in queſtions wherein that miniſter was pronounced to be unconſtitu-" tional, and convicted to be corrupt. On the ſame principle did the miniſtry try the paltry arts " of diviſion, holding out the ariſtocracy to the people, as the old accomplice of the miniſters, and " to the country gentlemen, as the monopolizers of emoluments, as if by the ſpoil of the ariſto-" cracy the miniſter could bribe away the independency of the country gentlemen, and rob the " people of that ſmall, but reſpectable ſupport, and ſink that body into the herd of the caſtle. On " the ſame principle did the miniſter attack the dignity of the peerage, by the ſale of honors, and " the dignity of this houſe, by the application of the money to purchaſe for the ſervants of the " caſtle ſeats in the aſſembly of the people. On the ſame principle did they attack the purity of this " houſe, by the multiplication of office, and diviſion of eſtabliſhment.

" I will not ſay the miniſters went into the open ſtreet with cockades in their hats, and drums in " their hands; but I do ſay they were as public, and had as openly broken terms with decorum, " as if they had ſo openly paraded in College Green, with their buſineſs lettered on their forehead.

" Such has been their practice, and ſuch practice has been defended! Merciful Heaven, de-" fended! We have been taught to believe the Iriſh viceroy is not to be affected in his ſituation " by the ſenſe of the people of this country.

" Here you will ſtop to conſider and demand why all this? Why this attack on Ireland? The " miniſter will tell you what cauſed, but I will tell you what contributed. It was impunity, im-" punity. You have no adequate reſponſibility in Ireland, and politicians laugh at the ſword of " juſtice, which falls ſhort of their heads, and only precipitates on their reputations. Sir, this " has never yet exerciſed herſelf in the way of vindictive juſtice, in the caſe of Strafford, ſhe was

" but

ſupported by the preſent. He then moved, " That the reſolutions of this " houſe againſt increaſing the number of the commiſſioners of the revenue and " dividing of the boards, be laid before his majeſty, with an humble addreſs, " that his majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to order to be laid before us the " particulars of the repreſentations in conſequence of which two new com- " miſſioners of the cuſtoms had been added, notwithſtanding the reſolutions " of this houſe; and alſo that his majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to com- " municate to his faithful commons, the names of the perſons concerned in " recommending that meaſure."

Mr. Conolly ſeconded the motion, and indignantly confeſſed he was aſhamed of himſelf, when he ſaw his name inrolled in an aſſembly, that could firſt cenſure, and then ſupport the Marquis of Buckingham; and if he could judge by the complexion of the houſe, was ſtill determined to ſanction his proceedings: he remarked, that the two additional commiſſioners were not only added to the original number, in deſpite of the reſolutions of that houſe, but they were added for the purpoſes of corruption, coercion, and revenge.

The motion was vehemently oppoſed by Mr. John Beresford, the head commiſſioner of the cuſtoms, and more ably by Sir Hercules Langriſhe,* who had

" but an humble aſſiſtant, and yet in this country we have had victims, the ariſtocracy at different " times has been a victim, the whole people of Ireland for almoſt an entire century were a vic- " tim; but miniſters in all the criminal ſucceſſions—here is a chaſm, a blank in your hiſtory. Sir, " you have in Ireland no axe, therefore no good miniſter. Sir, it is the misfortune of this coun- " try, that the principles of her conſtitution have not yet become entirely the maxims of all thoſe, " who take the lead in her government. They have no public mind, their maxims are provincial, " and this miſconception of our ſituation is not a little aſſiſted by a prudent ſenſe of their own " intereſt. They know that Ireland does not puniſh: they ſee that the Britiſh court does reward. " This will explain why the Iriſh court prefers a ſtrong corrupt government to a good ſound con- " ſtitution."

* This gentleman in the courſe of his argument palliated though he did not deny the ſubſtance of the charges made by the oppoſition. He ſpoke a very intelligible language. " As to the occaſional " expences of the preſent time, as particularly alluded to, I ſhall only ſay, I hope I never was " either the preceptor or pupil of corruption, nor the advocate of prodigality. I am ſure I never " ſhared in the one in order to practiſe or palliate the other; yet with every conviction on my " mind of the duty of government to obſerve œconomy, I muſt ſay, that critical occaſions ſome- " times occur, in which the moſt pure and perfect miniſter can ſcarcely adhere to it. I am afraid " that the recollection of thoſe who hear me cannot furniſh an inſtance of ſtrong diſſenſions be-

had been longer employed in the collection of the revenue, than any other member of that houſe. He entered into an elaborate diſquiſition of the origin, nature, union, and diviſion of the boards of exciſe and cuſtoms, and limitation of the number of commiſſioners under different ſtatutes, and ſtrongly contended for the total diſſimilarity beeween the periods of 1771 and 1790. The Attorney General and ſome few other members alſo oppoſed the motion. The debate was carried on with great violence till towards two o'clock in the morning, when upon a diviſion there appeared 80 for and 135 againſt the motion.

The next effort of the oppoſition was Mr. Curran's motion, "Than an "humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, praying that he would "order to be laid before that houſe, the particulars of the cauſes, conſidera- "tion, and repreſentations, in conſequence of which the boards of ſtamps "and accounts had been divided, with an increaſe of ſalary to the officers;

"tween the crown and the parliament, in which, through the progreſs of accommodation, ſome "public expence has not been incurred. Theſe ideas may not, perhaps, be juſtified on abſtract "reaſoning; but from the nature and habits of man, the fact is unavoidable; and if it be un- "avoidable, I think it is pardonable; and I believe it is unavoidable, becauſe it never was avoided. "No! whilſt human affairs are adminiſtered by human creatures, human paſſions will interpoſe, "and the governors and governed will act under their impulſe; but it is the purpoſe and the prin- "ciple, the motive and the magnitude that decide the venality of the action, and that a critical "emergency may vindicate occaſional expence from ſyſtematical prodigality. I know very well "nothing can juſtify corruption; the conſtitution that recognizes influence in the crown, re- "jects corruption, and though I admit that influence may appear, I utterly deny that corruption "does. I appeal to the experience of ſome years, if, on great and intereſting occaſions, there "has ever been wanting a ſufficient ſhare of public virtue to aſſert the rights and maintain the "intereſts of this country; neither do I think it very prudent to ſuggeſt contrary notions to the "people, whoſe peace and proſperity depend on their obedience to the laws they have made. They "will not be fond to drink of the ſtream, if you tell them the ſource, from which it flows is cor- "rupted; ſuffer them to feel that they are happy, that they are free, that they are maſters of their "property, and ſecure in their perſons, and that it is unneceſſary for them to feel the parallel, or "follow the example of a neighbouring people that has been referred to; a people, who have been "long bending under ſlavery and oppreſſion, and are now engaged in a bold effort to obtain what "they peaceably and perfectly enjoy already. They contended for equal laws and aſcertained "rights; they had them. They fought for liberty; they enjoyed it; and long might they enjoy "that firſt of human bleſſings, unimpaired by power on one hand, and undiſturbed by groundleſs "ſuſpicions on the other; and long might the parental vigilance of the right honorable member "ſuperintend and protect it; let his conſtitutional jealouſy be ever awake, let it be ſcrupulous, but "let it be temperate, let it be ſevere, but let it be practicable."

"alſo,

" alſo, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to communicate to that houſe " the names of the perſons who recommended that meaſure."

He prefaced his motion with a ſpeech of much point and ability. The board of accounts had been inſtituted in Lord Townſhend's adminiſtration; it came forward in a manner rather inauſpicious, it was queſtioned in parliament, and was decided in the houſe by the majority of the five members who had received places under it; born in corruption, it could only ſucceed by venality! It continued an uſeleſs board, until the granting of the ſtamp duties in Lord Harcourt's time; the management of the ſtamps was then committed to it, and a ſolemn compact was made, that the taxes ſhould not be jobbed, but that both departments ſhould be executed by one board; ſo it continued, till it was thought neceſſary to encreaſe the ſalaries of the commiſſioners in the Marquis of Buckingham's famous adminiſtration, but then nothing was holden ſacred.

He brought forward that motion, not as a queſtion of finance, not as a queſtion of regulation, but as a penal enquiry, and the people would now ſee, whether they were to hope for help within theſe walls. He roſe in an aſſembly of three hundred perſons, one hundred of whom had places or penſions; in an aſſembly, one-third of whom had their ears ſealed againſt the complaints of the people, and their eyes intently turned to their own intereſt; he roſe before the whiſperers of the treaſury, the bargainers and the runners of the caſtle: he addreſſed an audience, before whom was holden forth the doctrine, that the crown ought to uſe its influence on the members of that houſe.

He roſe to try when the ſluices of corruption had been let looſe upon them, whether there were any means left to ſtem that torrent.

The debate broke out into great intemperance from both ſides: the diviſion upon the motion was 81 in ſupport, and 141 againſt it.*

Whatever

* In the courſe of this debate, a miniſterial member (Mr. Moore) had made and repeated his declaration, that againſt a deſperate party, combined to ſeize the crown, he, if he were a member, would think himſelf juſtified in employing all the influence of the crown, for the crown's protection. But the attorney-general thought it prudent to rebut the imputation made at his concurrence in this opinion. 10 Par. Deb. p. 123. " Sir, ſaid he, I never did inſinuate in any way " that we ſhould obtain majorities by corruption: ſuch a ſentiment never entered into my mind. I " truſt, Sir, that on my own account, I need not make this declaration; to thoſe who know me,

" it

Whatever may have been the merits or demerits of the police bill, certain it is, that it was moſt vehemently ſupported and oppoſed by the contending parties, with more than ordinary expreſſions and means of recommendation and reprobation. In order to give more ſanction to the meaſure, his majeſty was adviſed to mark his perſonal approbation of their efforts to uphold and improve that ſyſtem of policy, in his anſwer* to the addreſs of the commons, ſelecting as it were this alone out of ſeveral objects comprized in the addreſs.

†On the 11th of February, a freſh attack was made upon the miniſtry, who acted during the whole ſeſſion upon the defenſive. Mr. Forbes called the attention of the houſe to ſome particular branches of the public expenditure, in order to prepare the minds of gentlemen for the conſideration of the two meaſures, a place bill and a penſion bill, which he propoſed to introduce in the courſe of ſome few days. He then expatiated at large upon every topic that had been agitated during the courſe of the ſeſſion, and concluded with the following motion. "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his ma-"jeſty, ſtating, that having taken into our conſideration the income and "expenditure of the nation, we find ourſelves obliged to lay before him "certain abuſes and miſapplications of a conſiderable portion of the public "revenues; that the liſt of penſions on the 21ſt of January, 1789, appears "to have increaſed to the ſum of 101,000*l.* excluſive of the military pen-"ſions, which amount to 6,500*l.* a ſum nearly equal to half the charges of

"it is unneceſſary; but I think it neceſſary to explain, that no ſuch declaration was made on the "part of government, otherwiſe I know, that it would be put into the newſpapers, and be in-"duſtriouſly propagated through the country, that government had broached ſuch doctrines, doc-"trines, which I believe, the gentlemen with whom I act, reject and abhor."

* 10 Par. Deb. p. 185.

The KING's Anſwer to the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons.

"GEORGE R.

"His majeſty has received with great ſatisfaction, the dutiful and loyal addreſs "of his faithful commons; the aſſurances of their attachment to his majeſty's perſon, family and "government, and the diſpoſition which they expreſs to provide for the exigencies of the public "ſervice, and to uphold and improve that ſyſtem of policy, which has been attended with ſuch "beneficial conſequences to his majeſty's faithful ſubjects in Ireland, are highly pleaſing to his "majeſty.

"G. R."

† 10 Par. Deb. p. 190.

"the

" the civil eſtabliſhment; that the penſions placed on the civil and military " eſtabliſhments ſince the 24th of February, 1784, excluſive of thoſe grant- " ed in lieu or exchange of former penſions, amounted to 29,800*l.*; 12,313*l.* " of which have been placed on the eſtabliſhment ſince December, 1787; " that the amount of penſions on the civil eſtabliſhment has increaſed ſince " the 25th of March, 1784, in the ſum of 16,000*l.*; that many of thoſe " penſions have been granted to members of this houſe, during the pleaſure " of the crown, in violation of the principles of the conſtitution, and honor " of the Houſe of Commons; that a number of new and additional ſalaries, " in the nature of penſions, had of late been annexed, not only to old of- " fices, which had become obſolete and uſeleſs, but alſo to leſſer offices, moſt- " ly ſinecure, or hitherto conſidered of ſo inſignificant a nature, as to entitle " the holders of ſuch offices to very ſmall ſalaries; that an addition of 300*l.* " per annum, has been lately granted to the ſalary of the cuſtomer of Kin- " ſale, to commence from the 29th of September, 1789; and a further ad- " dition of 200*l.* payable on a contingency, both for the life of the preſent " poſſeſſor; an office which has been for years conſidered as uſeleſs and ob- " ſolete, to which no duty whatſoever is annexed, nor any attendance re- " quired; that an addition of 400*l.* per annum has been lately granted to " the ſalary of comptroller of the pipe, though 53*l.* 10*s.* has for years been " conſidered as an adequate compenſation for the diſcharge of the duties of " that office. That an addition of 150*l.* per annum has alſo been lately " granted to the barrack-maſter of Dublin. That the perſons to whom " thoſe additional ſalaries have been granted, are all members of this houſe. " Humbly beſeeching his majeſty graciouſly to interpoſe, to reſtrain the pro- " greſs of a ſyſtem of expence, which muſt ſoon induce a neceſſity of reſort- " ing to new loans, and of impoſing new taxes."

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Conolly. Each debate grew warmer, than the preceding. Many coarſe perſonalities were ſubſtituted for argument. The oppoſition not only upbraided the gentlemen of the treaſury benches with being bought and hired to vote againſt their own convictions and the welfare of their country, but they taunted them with the want of ability and talent, as well as of honor and honeſty. This was highly reſented by the attorney-general, who ſtrongly charged his opponents with imperious, turbulence, and overbearing, for no other purpoſe than to attain that power, which they could not behold enjoyed

by

by others without envy. To which Mr. Forbes replied: he ſaid, that he was not aſhamed to declare, that he preferred the man, who contended for power rather than place; he was not aſhamed to confeſs, that he wiſhed for and ambitioned the poſſeſſion of power, which might enable him and his friends to effectuate beneficial meaſures for the country, and obtain a penſion, place, and a reſponſibility bill, and other ſalutary meaſures, in ſupport of which, gentlemen, with whom he had the honor of co-operating, had publicly and ſolemnly pledged themſelves. He ſaid, he ſhould ever prefer men who contended for ſuch a power of ſerving their country, to a ſet of men who, regardleſs of principles, characters, and meaſures, were the indiſcriminate ſupporters of any and every deſcription of men, whom an unforeſeen occurrence of circumſtances, the confuſion of times, or the coalition of parties, might enable to take poſſeſſion of the government.

* On this occaſion the oppoſition encreaſed: there being upon the diviſion 92 for the addreſs, againſt 136, that oppoſed it.

The

* In the courſe of this debate, Mr. Monk Maſon in defending the penſion given to Mr. Orde as an uſual thing, undertook to prove to the houſe, by an hiſtorical detail of the ſecretaryships, that ſo far from ſuch grants being unprecedented, he ſhould clearly prove to the houſe, that with the ſingle exception of Mr. Fitzherbert, (that amiable man, whoſe departure from this country they all regretted) the ſecretary of every permanent adminiſtration, for theſe laſt forty years, had been invariably rewarded for his ſervices in that ſtation, at the expence of that kingdom: he had no doubt, that the practice was of more ancient date, but ſhould confine himſelf to that period, which had fallen within his own experience.

He ſhould therefore begin with the year 1749, in the adminiſtration of Lord Harrington, whoſe ſecretary, Mr. Weſton, obtained as his reward, the office of alnager, for a term of years.

Mr. Weſton was ſucceeded by Lord George Sackville, the ſon and ſecretary of the Duke of Dorſet, who was appointed clerk of the council.

Lord George was ſucceeded by General Conway, the late clerk of the hanaper.

General Conway was ſucceeded by Mr. Rigby, the late maſter of the rolls.

Mr. Rigby was ſucceeded by Mr. Gerard Hamilton, whoſe office of chancellor of the exchequer, they had purchaſed from him, at the expence of a penſion of 2,500*l.* a year for a number of lives.

Mr. Hamilton was ſucceeded by Lord Beauchamp, who, if he were not miſinformed, derived ſome conſiderable emoluments from that country, though not in his own name.

Lord Beauchamp was ſucceeded by Lord Frederick Campbell, a nobleman of too high rank to deſire any reward from that country, for the ſhort time he reſided in it; but his ſucceſſor under the ſame adminiſtration (Lord Macartney) was rewarded for his ſervices, by the government of the Caſtle of Toom, with a ſalary of 1500*l.* a year.

Lord Macartney was ſucceeded by the right honorable gentleman on the ſecond bench, who derived

No character of an individual ever was more material to the intereſts of a kingdom, than that of Mr. Grattan to thoſe of Ireland. Of the unrivalled powers of his mind, there never were two opinions. If theſe ſheets have fairly (though faintly) recorded his exertions in favor of his country, up to the year 1782, it is preſumed, that the judgment of the whole Britiſh empire upon his public conduct up to that period, will be in ſtrict uniſon with that of his country, which then rewarded his fidelity and talents with a patriotic donation of 50,000*l.* From that great epoch in Iriſh hiſtory, no character has ever been more variouſly repreſented than that of Mr. Grattan. A man covered with the moſt honorable trophies of a grateful country, muſt in the jarring conflicts of political convulſions ſtand expoſed to the ſhafts of ambition, fear, jealouſy, envy and revenge. The ſpirit of party roſe to an unprecedented height under Lord Buckingham's adminiſtration, and Mr. Grattan uniformly oppoſed the principles and meaſures of that ſyſtem. One part of the nation ſupported and looked up to him with enthuſiaſm as the grateful and faithful ſervant, the true friend and ableſt advocate of his

rived ſome advantages from his ſervices in that ſtation; though perhaps, not adequate either to his own merit, or Mr. Maſon's good wiſhes.

The right honorable gentleman was ſucceeded by Sir Richard Heron, who held an employment in the port of Cork, worth 800*l.* a year.

From the time of Lord Buckinghamſhire, till the arrival of the Duke of Rutland, the government of that country was continually changing; their ſecretaries were merely birds of paſſage; but Mr. Orde, who obtained the penſion in queſtion, as a reward for his ſervices, which he well deſerved, reſided in that kingdom for three years, in times of difficulty and confuſion; devoting the whole of his attention, and even ſacrificing his health, to an anxious deſire, not only of promoting the preſent welfare of that country, but that of the riſing generation alſo.

A very ſhort, but ſingularly emphatical ſpeech of Mr. O'Neil in this debate ought not to paſs unnoticed. "10 Par. Deb. p. 210. He thought it wholly unneceſſary for gentlemen on the "other ſide, to adduce a ſingle argument upon any queſtion, while they had an omnipotent num- "ber of 140 to ſupport them. On the ſubject of influence, the denial of it, he ſaid, was ridicu- "lous, as there was not a lady then ſitting at tea in Dublin, who, if ſhe were told that there were "120 men in that houſe, compoſed of placemen and penſioners, would not be able to ſay how the "queſtion would be decided, as well as the tellers on the diviſion. He ſaid the very firſt act in "every ſeſſion of parliament, which was the bill of ſupply, went to raiſe the intereſt for a million "and a half of money for miniſters to divide amongſt themſelves. I do ſay, and I ſay it prophetically," continued he, "that the people will reſiſt it. The members of this houſe bear but a ſmall "proportion to the people at large. There are gentlemen outſide thoſe doors, of as good educa- "tion and of as much judgment of the relative duties of repreſentation, as any man within doors, "and matters are evidently ripening, and will ſhortly come to a criſis."

country. The other part (the leſs numerous and the more opulent) conſidered and repreſented him as a factious ingrate, a ſecret and dangerous enemy, and little ſhort of an avowed traitor to his king and country. As he headed the moſt determined oppoſition ever made againſt the Iriſh government, his conduct has been ſcrutinized with cenſorious ſcrupuloſity. He was the founder and promoter of the Whig Club of Ireland: and from his propoſal, did the members pledge themſelves to each other, not to accept offices under any adminiſtration, that would not ſupport, until they obtained for the people, a penſion bill, a place bill, a reſponſibility bill, and a bill to prevent the revenue officers from voting at elections. In this debate upon Mr. Forbes's motion, Mr. Grattan in reply to ſome obſervations made from the treaſury bench on the ſubject of party, diſtinctly diſcloſed the objects, which he and his friends profeſſed to have in view.*

The

* 10 Par. Deb. p. 216. We have been called, ſaid he, the tail of a Britiſh faction: by whom? By thoſe, or the followers of thoſe, who owe their livelihood, or their firſt elevation to what they call that Britiſh faction: by thoſe who have received 1, 2, or 3000*l.* a year from that Britiſh faction; whoſe numerous families have been fed by that Britiſh faction; or whoſe introduction into political life was firſt due, and the conſequences, therefore, in ſome degree, to be attributed to that Britiſh faction. There is not one gentleman in the preſent Iriſh adminiſtration who is really confidential, that is not bounden by the cloſeſt relationſhip or the greateſt political pecuniary obligations to that Britiſh faction; nor is there any one of them or of thoſe, who act under them, that would not be the humble ſervant of that Britiſh faction, if the keys of the treaſury were once more in their hands; nor is there any one of them, who would not, and does not now, for his private intereſt, perſonally and privately court that Britiſh faction. When ſuch men revile that body, and inſtigate their friends, and followers and retainers, to revile that body, ſuch men do not acquit themſelves of the charge of party, but convict themſelves of the baſeſt ingratitude and vileſt adulation; they prove themſelves willing to offer their wretched incenſe to whomſoever ſhall be in power; to thoſe from whom they now receive wages, and therefore fawn on, at the expence of thoſe, from whom they did receive wages, from whom they are ready to receive wages, but from whom, at this particular moment, they receive wages no longer; and therefore ſuch men are not above party, but ſo very mercenary and menial as to be below faction. Juſt ſo, the coachman who drives the miniſter; he ſerves ſecretary after ſecretary, he is handed down from maſter to maſter, and he enquires not into the principles of any, but receives wages from all; and his juſtification is, that he is a ſervant: but ſhould he, ſervant as he is, like ſome of you, revile theſe maſters who have paid him, then he would be a faithleſs hireling, and not an honeſt ſervant.

Sir, I will tell gentlemen, what deſcription of party is beneficial; a party united on public principle, by the bond of certain ſpecific public meaſures, which meaſures cannot be carried by individuals, and can only ſucceed by party.

I will

The next plan of attack fell to the lot of Mr. George Ponſonby, who after he had gone over the old courſe of popular grievances, finiſhed with this obſervation, that as they had declared from the oppoſite benches, that they would avow and defend every meaſure of Lord Buckingham, there was little hope of his ſucceeding in his motion, though he had obſerved that the tranſcendant abilities of Mr. Grattan had, on the laſt debate, encreaſed the number of thoſe, who voted on their ſide of the houſe. His motion was: " To repreſent to his majeſty, that his faithful commons having taken into " conſideration the growth of public expence in the laſt year, could not but " obſerve many new and encreaſed ſalaries, annexed to offices granted to " members of this houſe, no fewer in number than fourteen; that ſo rapid " an increaſe of places, together with the number of additional penſions,

I will ſtate ſome of ours, a penſion bill, a place bill, a repeal of the preſent Dublin police bill, a reſponſibility bill, that is, a bill requiring the acts of the executive power to be ſigned by certain officers reſident in Ireland, who ſhall be with their lives and fortunes, reſponſible to this kingdom in the meaſures and expences of government; alſo a bill to preſerve the freedom of election, by diſqualifying revenue officers; and further a total demolition of the new charges created by the Marquis of Buckingham. Theſe are ſome of the meaſures which we, if we ſhould have power, are pledged to the public to carry into ſpecific execution. I read them the rather, becauſe *litera ſcripta manet*, the public hears and will record.

Theſe are ſome of our meaſures: I now turn to adminiſtration, and call upon them to ſtate their meaſures; what bills for the public good? State them; come forth; I pauſe to give them time to conſider. Well, what are they? Not one public, conſtitutional, or wiſe regulation, there they ſit under the public eye; a blank, gutted, excavated, and eviſcerated of any one ſingle, conſtitutional, or œconomic bill, principle or project for the good of the community.

Sir, I will give theſe gentlemen of adminiſtration, on this topic of party, the greateſt advantage they can in their ſituation receive. I will draw a veil over the paſt, and forget the ſpecific ſervices which we have performed, and thoſe which we are pledged to perform for the good of the country. I will alſo forget the injuries, which they and their abettors have at different times inflicted, and are this hour inflicting on the community; let us ſtart as it were anew, ſet name againſt name, and we will beat them down by character.

I have ſubmitted a deſcription of a party which I conceive to be a public benefit. I will ſtate to you a deſcription of a party which I conceive to be the public curſe; if party it can be called, which is worſe than a faction, and nothing more than an impudent phalanx of political mercenaries, coming from their little reſpective offices to vote for their bribe and vapour for their character, who have neither the principles of patriotiſm, nor ambition, nor party, nor honor: who are governed not by deliberation, but diſcipline; and licking the hands that feed, and worſhipping the patron that bribes them. Degraded men, diſgraceful tribe! When they vote for meaſures, they are venal; when ſuch men talk againſt party, they are impudent.

" could not but alarm the houſe; and though they never could entertain a " doubt of his majeſty's affection and regard for his loyal kingdom of Ire- " land, yet they feared, that his majeſty's ſervants might, by miſinforma- " tion, ſo far have abuſed his majeſty's confidence, as to have adviſed ſuch " meaſures for the purpoſe of increaſing influence."

Mr. Grattan ſeconded the motion; which after a warm debate till one o'clock, was negatived by a majority of 146, againſt 87.

Not only the actual oppoſition given to the ſyſtem of government by Mr. Grattan was diſpleaſing to them, but the perſeverance and powerful talents, with which he now kept up an aggreſſive warfare, rendered him perſonally obnoxious in proportion as he became formidable to his opponents. On no occaſion during the ſeſſion did he preſs the miniſters more cloſely, than on the 20th of February, when he opened upon them a new battery, for which they had not been prepared. He roſe unexpectedly in the houſe, and without any preface thus accoſted the chair.

* " SIR,

" WE perſiſt to combat the project to govern this country by corruption. " We have hitherto contended againſt thoſe parts of the ſyſtem, which pro- " ceeded to undermine the conſtitution, without an apparent breach of the " law, and therefore, might impoſe on the public as a government by law; " ſuch was the addition of two unneceſſary commiſſioners; ſuch were " the unneceſſary ſalaries for four officers of the ſtamps; ſuch were the addi- " tional ſalaries to four officers of the ordnance; ſuch, in ſhort, the crea- " tion of fourteen new parliamentary places, and of eight or nine parlia- " mentary penſions, in the courſe of leſs than twelve months. Theſe mea- " ſures import their own criminality, and beſpeak on the part of his ma- " jeſty's miniſters, a deſign to govern this country by ſapping the founda- " tion of her liberty. They called upon us to diſallow them, they called " upon us to withdraw our confidence from the miniſters by whom they were " impoſed; but they went no further. They did not appear to be accom- " panied with any overt act, whereby the criminal deſigns of their authors " could be ſubſtantiated by evidence enough to puniſh their perſons; they " were good reaſons for diſmiſſing the miniſters for ever from his majeſty's " councils, but not grounds for perſonal puniſhment.

* 10 Par. Deb. p. 264.

" But

" But there is another part of this project, wherein his majeſty's miniſters " have not only attempted to undermine the conſtitution, but have actually " broken the laws; for that part of the project, we conceive his majeſty's " miniſters to be impeachable. Sir, the ſale of honors is an impeachable of- " fence; the crime ſpeaks itſelf. But to take the point out of doubt, I will " ſtate to you a caſe; the Duke of Buckingham, in the reign of Charles I. " was impeached on thirteen articles, and the ninth article was the ſale of " honors; the very crime, of which the miniſters of Ireland have been guilty. " He was impeached for the ſale of a peerage to Lord Roberts for 10,000*l.*

" The Houſe of Commons in ſupport of the impeachment, ſtated the " heinouſneſs of perverting the ancient and honorable way of obtaining " titles of honor. They urged the crime of taking away from the crown, " the fair and frugal way of rewarding great and deſerving ſervants. They " ſtated the crime of ſhuffling promiſcuouſly and confuſedly together, thoſe " of inferior alloy, with thoſe of the pureſt and moſt generous metal. They " urged, that it was a prodigious ſcandal to the nation, and that for ſuch " offence, precedent there was none, and then they call for juſtice on the " head of that man, who by making honor ſaleable, had rendered it con- " temptible.

" But there is a circumſtance in the offence of the Iriſh miniſtry, which " is not to be found in the caſe of the Duke of Buckingham; they have ap- " plied the money ariſing from the ſale to model the Houſe of Commons; " this is another impeachable offence; that miniſter who ſells the honors of " one houſe to model the repreſentation of the other, is impeachable for the " laſt offence as well as the firſt; he makes a wicked, and ſcandalous, and " illegal uſe of the prerogative of the crown, in order to deſtroy the privi- " leges of parliament. He makes the two houſes of parliament auxiliary, not " to ſupport, but to contaminate one another. Thus he is a conſpirator againſt " the legiſlation; attacking it in both houſes of parliament, and poiſoning " the two great ſources of the law. But this practice corrupts alſo the diſ- " penſation of juſtice as well as the fountains of the law; the ſale of a peer- " age, is the ſale of a judicial employment of the higheſt judicial ſituation; " a ſituation, whoſe province it is to correct the errors of all other courts; " ſuch a ſale goes againſt the common law, and againſt the ſpirit of every " ſtatute made on the ſubject.

" I ſay the preſent miniſters of this country cannot govern Ireland, they

" cannot

" cannot govern Ireland for England; I do not call corruption government, " not the carrying a queſtion at the loſs of their money and character. They " have then procured for Britiſh government, neither character ſufficient to " command reſpect, nor revenue ſufficient to pay the eſtabliſhment; but " then they have gotten other ſtrength, they have gotten the ſupport and " good will of the nation. No, the loſs of the nation's good will is ſyno- " nymous with the loſs of reputation.

" The independent country gentlemen never can ſupport a miniſter who " practiſes extravagance and profeſſes corruption; ſupporting ſuch a minif- " ter they would be country gentlemen no longer, they would be the ſer- " vants of the caſtle out of livery. They muſt ſee and deſpiſe the pitiful " policy of buying the country gentlemen, by an offer to wrap them up in " the old caſt-clothes of the ariſtocracy. A clumſey covering and a thin diſ- " guiſe, never the object of your reſpect, frequently the ſubject of your de- " riſion; the country gentleman muſt recollect how ſeldom he can procure " even an audience from that bench, except when he artificially deſerts his " cauſe and his country. Place him on his native hills, and he is a protec- " tion againſt the ſtorm; tranſplant him to the hot-bed of the caſtle, he de- " generates and becomes a weed.

" As to the ariſtocracy, I will not ſay you have alienated every member " of that body; but I do ſay, you have alienated as great, as reſpectable, " and as formidable a part of that body, as ever ſtood in the phalanx of " oppoſition; and you have not only given them every perſonal provocation, " but every public topic, and every public provocation to raiſe on their ſide, " the intereſt, the feelings, and the voice of the community. You have " not, however, left yourſelves without ſome part of the ariſtocracy of the " country, but that part you have endeavoured to leave without any kind " of reputation, by directing againſt the ariſtocracy of Ireland in general, " the whiſper of your caſtle, and the ſcurrility of your preſs, reducing all " men to the level of your own reputations. Thus, the reſult of your pro- " ject has been to render Britiſh government in this country, as feeble and " contemptible, as the tendency of your project is to render the Iriſh con- " ſtitution corrupt and dependant. For the ſake of both nations, therefore, " we oppoſe it; but how defeat this project? Certainly not by a plan of " ſelf-defence. It is a maxim of war, that the body that is ever attacked, " and only defends, muſt finally be ſubdued, it is then on a principle of

" ſelf-

" ſelf-preſervation, that we reſort to the good old method of impeachment. " We have long diſputed about this penſion and that place, until inch by " inch we are driven into our trenches by a victorious enemy. It is now " neceſſary to change our ſyſtem of action, and to come forth with the " power of the conſtitution to puniſh the enemies thereof. We call this " houſe, whoſe foundation the miniſter now undermines, to witneſs that we " are compelled to this, and that theſe men have, by a multiplication and " repetition of plunder, prodigality, corruption, inſult, outrage and miſde- " meanours, brought forth at laſt the reluctant juſtice of the nation. The " great influences, which the philoſopher tells you are neceſſary to bind to- " gether the moral ſyſtem are wanting here. The influence of opinion, of " future and ſublunary puniſhment: the two firſt the miniſter diſregards; be " it our province to introduce into this region the laſt, that his majeſty's " miniſters may be ſenſible there is a vindictive juſtice, and that there is in " this country a power competent to inflict that juſtice upon them. Gentle- " men come over to this country for a livelihood, and they find ſervants " who, like themſelves, look to government for nothing but a livelihood, " and this alliance, that does not include an idea of public care or duty, " they call an adminiſtration; but it is our taſk to interrupt this venal com- " merce by impeachment. Had the people of England only condemned " ſhip money, they had done nothing. No, they brought forth to public " puniſhment the projectors, they exhibited the malefactor at the bar of the " nation. The injuries you have ſuffered, demand a ſpectacle of that kind; a " ſtate offender kneeling at the bar of the lords, and impeached in the name, " and on the behalf of the commons of this realm. I therefore move you,

" That a ſelect committee be appointed to inquire, in the moſt ſolemn " manner, whether the late or preſent adminiſtration have entered into any " corrupt agreement with any perſon or perſons, to recommend ſuch perſon " or perſons to his majeſty as fit and proper to be by him made peers of this " realm, in conſideration of ſuch perſon or perſons giving certain ſums of " money to be laid out in procuring the return of members to ſerve in par- " liament, contrary to the rights of the people, inconſiſtent with the inde- " pendence of parliament, and in violation of the fundamental laws of the " land."

This very ſevere and pointed attack was reſiſted by the chancellor of the exchequer for want of evidence to ground any ſpecific charge upon: ſimple aſſertion

aſſertion and common fame were totally inſufficient: therefore, to the crime alleged, they pleaded not guilty, and put themſelves upon their country to be judged by their actions. The prime ſerjeant found the motion of ſo extraordinary a nature, of ſuch alarming magnitude and novelty, and introduced in ſo ſtrange a manner, that no man could, conſiſtently with the principles of juſtice, or the dictates of his conſcience accede to it. When the attention of the houſe was beſpoken for that day, gentlemen, according to the uſual courſe of parliamentary proceedings, requeſted to know the intended ſubject of debate: all information was withholden, and a general reference made to the former debates. If the miniſter in either country ſhould introduce a propoſition of ſo much novelty without a previous information, there would be ſtronger ground than common fame to ſuſpect an intention to ſurprize the houſe: if the meaſure be ſo ſelf-evident, why had it been kept back, and introduced after five days preparation, with a reference to ſeveral authorities to ſupport its propriety? And among others, one from the inauſpicious reign of Charles I.: a reign, in which the other houſe of parliament was voted uſeleſs, and which terminated in the ſacrifice of the king to hypocriſy and faction. If any better authority could be produced, the honorable member would have recurred to it: but even that precedent, as cited, did not go ſo far as to ſay, that the Houſe of Commons of that day, inſtituted a committee to fiſh for evidence, whereon to ground an accuſation: a ſpecies of proceeding, in his judgment, inadmiſſible.

A very ſevere debate enſued, about the cloſe of which, Mr. Grattan roſe to reply; he was indignant, that it ſhould have been ſaid in debate, that the facts reſted upon his ſimple aſſertion. "Will you," ſaid he, "reſt it on that? "Will you maintain it is only a ſimple aſſertion? I do not aſſert only, that, "I have heard it commonly ſaid, and ſpecially ſtated, the ſums, the per- "ſons, the circumſtances; but I ſaid I never heard it out of theſe walls de- "nied. It is a crime as generally known, and as publicly reported, as any "thing, which is not yet reduced to ſpecial conviction; it is a crime we "offer to prove; we come here to arraign the miniſters of the crown. I "will read the charges which I make againſt them." He then read the following paper.

"We charge them publicly, in the face of their country, with making "corrupt agreements for the ſale of peerages, for doing which, we ſay they "are impeachable; we charge them with corrupt agreements for the diſ-

"poſal

" poſal of the money ariſing from the ſale, to purchaſe for the ſervants of " the caſtle, ſeats in the aſſembly of the people; for doing which we ſay " they are impeachable; we charge them with committing theſe offences, " not in one, nor in two, but in many inſtances, for which complication of " offences, we ſay they are impeachable; guilty of a ſyſtematic endeavour " to undermine the conſtitution in violation of the laws of the land. We " pledge ourſelves to convict them. We dare them to go into an enquiry. " We do not affect to treat them as other than public malefactors. We ſpeak " to them in a ſtile of the moſt mortifying and humiliating defiance. We " pronounce them to be public criminals. Will they dare to deny the " charge? I call upon, and dare the oſtenſible member to riſe in his place, " and ſay on his honor, that he does not believe ſuch corrupt agreements " have taken place. I wait for a ſpecific anſwer." After ſome pauſe, Mr. Secretary Hobart replied, that if he could think the right honorable gentleman had any right to aſk him the queſtion he had propoſed, and were he alone concerned in it, he ſhould find no manner of difficulty in anſwering him; but as it was a queſtion, which related to the exerciſe of his majeſty's undoubted prerogative, it would ill become him, upon the inveſtigation of an individual, to ſay what were the reaſons, which had induced his majeſty to beſtow upon any perſon thoſe honors, which the crown alone could conſtitutionally confer. As to the charge that had been made, he could not avoid expreſſing ſome ſurprize, that gentlemen were not ſufficiently alarmed by common fame at the end of Lord Northington's adminiſtration, to bring forward ſuch a charge then. Common fame certainly did then report, that peerages had been notoriouſly granted in return for ſeats in the Commons Houſe of parliament; yet the right honorable gentleman and his friends were in the confidence of that adminiſtration, and muſt be preſumed to be informed of the fact. On which, Mr. Conolly remarked, that his right honorable friend had aſked a plain, unequivocal, direct queſtion, and the houſe was to judge whether he had received an intelligible and ſatisfactory anſwer. The diviſion was 144 againſt, and 88 for the motion.

Another ſtrong attack was made on the ſyſtem of the new police, in a very heated debate, that aroſe upon the order of the day (24th February) for going into a committee on the bill to continue an act paſſed in the 27th year of his preſent majeſty, intituled," An act for the better execution of the law and " preſervation of the peace within counties at large."

* When Mr. Forbes moved the place bill to be read a ſecond time, he ſhortly obſerved, that to expatiate on the neceſſity of the bill before the houſe would be idle, when it was recollected, that no leſs than one hundred and four perſons, holding places or penſions, were members of that houſe. If authority were neceſſary to juſtify the bill, authority was not wanting; for more than fourſcore years Great Britain had experienced its beneficial effects; it was a principle annexed as part of the conditions of placing on the throne the family of Brunſwick; it was a principle interwoven with the revolution, and conſidered as eſſential to the preſervation of the people's liberty; and if theſe reaſons were not ſufficiently ſtrong, he would add one more: ſince the laſt ſeſſion of the Iriſh parliament, no leſs than fourteen new places had been created, and beſtowed upon members of that Houſe of Commons.

The chancellor of the exchequer expected the honorable gentleman would have urged ſome new or ſtrong argument for adopting ſo ſtrong a meaſure as a total change in the principles of their government. The honorable gentleman had ſaid, that they had the example of England before them; but in England tenfold precaution was neceſſary, becauſe in England the patronage of the crown was ten times greater than it was in that country.

The heat of this debate exceeded that of any one of the ſeſſion†, and the oppoſition was the largeſt, viz. 96 againſt 143.

Another

* 10 Par. Deb. p. 329.

† In this debate Mr. Grattan held the following ſtrong language. 10 Par. Deb. 340. "Sir, I "cannot avoid obſerving, that in this day's debate, gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe have "adopted a certain tone of power, I preſume in conſequence of a very indecent and diſorderly "interpoſition on the part of one, who does not belong to this houſe, though he has lately inter-"fered in its proceedings. Sir, I am not uninformed to what length that perſon went within "theſe walls, even during the debates of this houſe; it ſeems to me ſomewhat ſtrange, that gen-"tlemen on the other ſide ſhould dwell ſo much on the neceſſity of parliamentary decorum, when "they have been evidently ſpirited up by an interpoſition, which in itſelf was the groſſeſt violation "of parliamentary decency. Sir, I have been told it was ſaid, that I ſhould have been ſtopped, "ſhould have been expelled the commons, ſhould have been delivered up to the bar of the lords "for the expreſſions delivered that day.

"I will repeat what I ſaid on that day: I ſaid that his majeſty's miniſters had ſold the peerages, "for which offence they were impeachable. I ſaid they had applied the money for the purpoſe of "purchaſing ſeats in the Houſe of Commons for the ſervants or followers of the caſtle, for which "offence I ſaid they were impeachable. I ſaid they had done this, not in one or two, but in ſe-

"veral

Another very long and intereſting debate took place upon the legality of iſſuing FIATS for levying unaſcertained damages. One Magee*, the printer of a paper, whilſt under a criminal proſecution at the ſuit of Mr. Higgins, was confined to gaol upon different *fiats*, ſigned by Lord Clonmel, to the amount of 7800*l.* He had petitioned parliament: a committee had been appointed, and Mr. George Ponſonby moved, "that it was the opinion of the "committee, that the iſſuing writs from courts of juſtice in actions of ſlan-"der or defamation, where the ſum of damages could not be fairly aſcer-"tained, and holding perſons to ſpecial bail in exceſſive ſums thereon, is "illegal and ſubverſive of the liberty of the ſubject." The motion, however, was loſt by a majority of 125 againſt 91.

Similar diviſions after long and heated debates, determined the fate of the reſponſibility and penſion bills. In the debate of the preceding evening, the

"veral inſtances, for which complication of offences I ſaid his majeſty's miniſters were impeach-"able, as public malefactors, who had conſpired againſt the common weal, the independency of "parliament, and the fundamental laws of the land; and I offered, and dared them to put this "matter in a courſe of enquiry. I added, that I conſidered them as public malefactors, whom "we were ready to bring to juſtice. I repeat theſe charges now, and if any thing more ſevere "were on a former occaſion expreſſed, I beg to be reminded of it, and I will again repeat it. "Why do you not expel me now? Why not ſend me to the bar of the lords? Where is your ad-"viſer? Going out of the houſe I ſhall repeat my ſentiments, that his majeſty's miniſters are "guilty of impeachable offences; and advancing to the bar of the lords, I ſhall repeat thoſe ſenti-"ments, or if the tower is to be my habitation, I will there meditate the impeachment of theſe "miniſters, and return not to capitulate, but to puniſh. Sir, I think I know myſelf well enough "to ſay, that if called forth to ſuffer in a public cauſe, I will go farther than my proſecutors, both "in virtue and in danger."

* 10 Par. Deb. p. 863. One *fiat* for 4000*l.* was iſſued againſt him on the affidavit of Mr. Daly, the manager of the Dublin theatre, who ſwore, that certain malicious paragraphs had appeared in Magee's newſpaper, in conſequence of which he had ſuffered damages to the amount of 4000*l.*; particularly, that his four daughters and one ſon had ſuffered that loſs in their future proſpects in life by the repreſentations made in that paper that he gained a livelihood by gaming. Another *fiat* had iſſued for 800*l.* on an affidavit of one Brennan, who eſtimated his loſs at that ſum for having been accuſed of keeping a houſe of reception. A third iſſued for 1000*l.* on the affidavit of Miſs Fanny Tracey, (the reſiduary legatee of Mr. Higgins) who ſwore, that ſhe believed ſhe had ſuffered to the amount of that ſum by an inſinuation in that paper, that ſhe was better acquainted with a certain gentleman, than ſhe ought to be. And a fourth had iſſued for 1000*l.* on the affidavit of Mr. Higgins, that his character (quod vide, p. 256, vol. 2. in a note) had ſuffered to that amount, from certain malicious inſinuations contained in Magee's papers. Magee's caſe was taken up very warmly by the public, and this failure in parliamentary relief, in which he had been very ſanguine, tended to encreaſe the unpopularity of government.

gentlemen of the oppoſition had been called upon from the treaſury-bench, with an air of authority, to account for their very extraordinary conduct, during the whole of that ſeſſion of parliament. It certainly was an unpleaſant ſeſſion to the miniſter. On the 6th of March, Mr. Curran roſe to make his promiſed motion; which he prefaced with a long and animated ſpeech. In anſwer to the recent call from the oppoſite treaſury benches, he ſaid, on their conduct he was not afraid to appeal ſolemnly to the ſenſe of the people, at the eve of a political diſſolution, when the members of the houſe were about to be refunded to the great maſs of the people, and to give an account, whether they had been remiſs in their parliamentary vigilance, ſlumbered upon their poſts, or betrayed the paſſes of their conſtitution. He ſaid, gentlemen on his ſide of the houſe had been accuſed of invective: it was not their wiſh to ſhield, but ſcourge venality. He decried the invective, that could call a bluſh into the cheek of virtue or innocence; but the invective complained of, was the laſt reſource, which God had left to injured virtue, and he gloried in the name of being one of its diſpenſers. No man, he ſaid, could be blamed for want of character or talents; he blamed not miniſters for inability to defend, but for inclination to deſtroy. They had been charged with vindictiveneſs; but did they not, while trampling on the liberty of the preſs on one ſide, employ it for the purpoſes of vilification, miſrepreſentation, and ſcurrility on the other? He then called upon the country to witneſs, that he and the friends with whom he acted, were ſolemnly pledged to each other never to reſign the project, which he had held up againſt corruption; and though he might never again riſe in that houſe, though it might not be their fate to ſee the perfection of that conſtitution, which they hailed on its return to life, they would never relinquiſh their efforts in its ſupport. He had the ſatisfaction to reflect, that in thoſe countries where liberty was extinguiſhed, it had never given way, but when the corruption of the prince had combined with the vices of the people for its ſubverſion. But he thanked Heaven that country was bleſſed with a virtuous and patriotic prince, attached to the freedom and happineſs of his people, and the ſpirit of the people was yet unbroken: even in the capital, where corruption ſat like an *Incubus* upon the public heart, and ſucked the vital blood of the conſtitution, the indignation of the people was manifeſt againſt the conduct of their rulers. He called upon the repreſentatives of the people to join him in an addreſs to his majeſty; in a ſupplication to that king, whom

whom all revered, not as from an humble arm of the Britiſh empire, but as from a great and independent kingdom, to free them from thoſe meaſures, which rendered that country a ſcandal to the name of Britiſh liberty. He concluded his ſpeech by moving the following reſolution:

"*Reſolved*, That an humble addreſs be preſented to the king, to inform his majeſty, that having taken into conſideration the growth of expence and influence in that country, it appeared on a comparative view of the public charges of 1789, with thoſe of 1784, excluſive of the charges for bounties and parliamentary grants, and including the charges in collecting the revenue, that there had been in 1789, an increaſe of expence of 183,000*l.* That the civil liſt within that period, had increaſed 31,000*l.* of which the increaſe of the penſion liſt was 16,000*l.* beſides 14,000*l.* which had ceaſed, and was ſupplied within the ſame period; ſo that in the courſe of five years, not leſs than 30,000*l.* a year in penſions had been granted on the civil eſtabliſhment alone, beſides an encreaſe in military penſions, and in charges on other eſtabliſhments in the nature of penſions.

That the expence of collecting the revenues has, ſince Lady-day, 1784, increaſed 105,000*l.*

That the encreaſe of expence of collecting the hereditary, additional, and ſtamp duties, had encreaſed 73,000*l.* without including additions made ſince March, 1789, by adding two members of parliament to the revenue board, and making nine commiſſioners of revenue inſtead of ſeven, the number to which the commiſſioners were in 1773, reduced by public agreement; and alſo, without including new ſalaries, given in the perſons of five members of parliament, to ſtamp officers, for diſcharging a duty which was formerly annexed to the board of accounts by public agreement, and executed without any diſtinct ſalary, and without complaint.

That this encreaſe of 73,000*l.* could not be juſtified. That the new taxes, particularly thoſe on malt and tobacco, were no excuſe for ſuch an encreaſe, inaſmuch as the tax on malt produced not more than 27,000*l.* net, and that the late exciſe on tobacco was not attended with any encreaſe of revenue.

That that expence was the more cenſurable, becauſe the collection of the revenue was already loaded with many unneceſſary charges, particularly great ſalaries to officers of cuſtoms who did no duty, and with other ſinecure offices, which were in fact penſions, given to individuals for political conſiderations, without any view to the collection of the revenue.

That

That the encreaſe of the revenue ſince 1784, after paying drawbacks and bounties, appeared to be a ſum not leſs that 168,000*l.* but by the encreaſe of expence in collecting the ſame, was reduced to a net ſum of about 67,000*l.* ſo that after deducting the charge of 32,000*l.* for the poſt-office, his majeſty's government paid 73,000*l.* for getting net to the treaſury 67,000*l.*

That they were ſenſible of the bleſſings of his majeſty's reign, and the improving the ſtate of the agriculture and commerce of the country, but muſt conſider the ſame as the reſult of a free conſtitution, recovered under his majeſty's auſpices, and not of the ability or virtue of his preſent miniſters; on the contrary, that their plans of expence, if not immediately checked, would deprive them of thoſe bleſſings, inaſmuch as the public expence exceeded the public income in a ſum of not leſs than 70,000*l.* after allowing for a payment of 34,000*l.* made to government that year for New Geneva, which was a caſual reſource, and would not again recur; ſo that their annual expence then was in a courſe of exceeding their annual income in a ſum of more than 100,000*l.* notwithſtanding the new taxes.

That in the two laſt years, ending Lady-day, 1789, after ſtriking off fictitious charges, they had encreaſed the debt of the nation 113,000*l.* notwithſtanding a ſurplus of the loan duties in that period, to diminiſh the funded debt, and the continuation of thoſe new taxes, which were granted in confidence of preventing the accumulation of any debt whatſoever.

That this houſe having before them the returns of thoſe articles of revenue, in which the health and comforts of the people were particularly concerned, could not but obſerve, that the regulations affecting the breweries, appeared not only to have been fruitleſs, but in a great degree pernicious, inaſmuch as the inland exciſe on beer and ale, for three years previous to July, 1789, produced not leſs than 390,000*l.* whereas the ſaid exciſe for the three years, ending 1790, produced 266,000*l.* which was a falling off in the latter period of 124,000*l.* ſo that the breweries had been almoſt extinguiſhed by the preſent regulation, and inſtead of giving the people a wholeſome and neceſſary liquor, the regulations of his majeſty's miniſters had extracted a pernicious income from the ſale of ſpirits, at the expence of the morals and health of the lower claſs of the people.

That this houſe having taken into conſideration the growth of influence, begged leave to inform his majeſty, that within the laſt year, the new ſalaries and additional places created for members of that houſe, together with new

or

or revived offices for the ſame, amounted to a number not leſs than fourteen, and there was alſo a conſiderable number of penſions granted to members of that houſe or to their connexions, within the ſame period, and that the joint increaſe was ſo conſiderable, as to compreſiend a number which, when taken from one ſide and added to the other, was not leſs, than that majority, which had, in the courſe of that ſeſſion, uſually decided the great queſtions between the people and the miniſter.

That when they looked at the progreſs of influence within the laſt twenty years, they found, that the number of revived or new places and ſalaries created within that period, and then in the poſſeſſion of members of that houſe, was not leſs than forty, a number, which exceeded all the counties in Ireland, and that they could not but obſerve, that the number of placemen and penſioners, then members of that houſe, were not leſs than 108. That to that they were to add a number of perſons expecting both reverſions and honors; and that they could not avoid informing his majeſty, that they had but too ſtrong reaſon to apprehend, that the miniſters of the crown had groſsly abuſed the prerogative, by virtue of which his majeſty had been wont to confer honors on the ſubject, and they apprehended, that his miniſters had entered into various agreements for the purpoſe of procuring improper and corrupt returns into that houſe by the ſale of the honors of the other.

That they were moſt apprehenſive for the ſafety of their liberties; inaſmuch as the attempts of actual influence had been accompanied by poſitive declarations, and his majeſty's faithful commons had been informed, that in order to defeat a reſiſtance made in parliament to the will of the miniſter, certain great portions of public money had been expended, to which moſt alarming confeſſion they could annex no meaning other than that the government of that country formerly had, in breach of truſt, miſapplied the public treaſure under the names of place, penſion, or ſalary, to induce individuals to betray the community for ſuch corrupt conſiderations.

That even the particular ſums ſo expended had been ſpecified and confeſſed; and that ſuch corrupt and deſperate practice alarmed them the more, becauſe it had not tranſpired as a crime to be puniſhed, but had been openly avowed as an inſtrument of government to be again reſorted to.

That ſuch exerciſe of influence had not only been confeſſed, but defended on a principle moſt offenſive to the feelings, and derogatory from the condition of his majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland.

That

That when they fought the ſame ſecurities and proviſions for the liberties of the people, which Great Britain had adopted againſt the corrupt influence of the miniſter, they had been told, that ſuch proviſions, however proper in Great Britain, were not calculated for the meridian of Ireland; for that the government in that country ſhould be ſtronger than the government in Great Britain, and of courſe the influence and authority of the people of Ireland comparatively weaker in the balance of the conſtitution.

That ſuch wild and unconſtitutional diſtinction, conſtruing the people of Ireland out of the benefit of equal liberty, to introduce among them a ſuperior degree of corruption and profligacy, called forth from his majeſty's faithful commons of Ireland, the warmeſt proteſtations, and they did proteſt againſt it accordingly. And they further, did, in the name, and on behalf of the people of that realm, claim and challenge an equal inheritance in the bleſſings of the Britiſh conſtitution, and an equal right to ſecure thoſe bleſſings by every wiſe and ſalutary law.

That they begged leave further to inform his majeſty, that perſonal as well as political liberty was in danger; that the ſubject had been impriſoned againſt law, by being holden to arbitrary and exceſſive bail. The declaration of rights, calculated to ſecure him againſt ſuch oppreſſion, had been diſregarded and violated; the liberty of the preſs attacked, and the hopes of the nation in her grand inqueſt of correcting ſuch miſchiefs blaſted by the interpoſition of his majeſty's miniſters protecting from injury thoſe illegal and arbitrary proceedings, which they could not preſume to juſtify.

That they had ventured to lay the above particulars before his majeſty, moſt humbly imploring his majeſty's royal interpoſition, to guard their country againſt thoſe dangers, which then threatened the independence of parliament, and the liberties of the people."

This was the laſt attack made by the patriots during the ſeſſion: deſpairing of being able to carry any queſtion whatever againſt a majority, which had remained ſo ſteady in their ranks, they reſolved to perpetuate to poſterity the real grounds of their oppoſing the late ſyſtem of government, by recording them in the form of an addreſs on the journals of that houſe. The debate was kept up with heat and acrimony till 4 o'clock on the Sunday morning; when upon the queſtion of adjournment, the houſe divided 141 againſt 90.*

* 10 Parl. Deb. p. 421.

The

The parliament was prorogued on the 5th of April, 1790, and the viceroy informed them in his ſpeech from the throne, that as the important objects, which had engaged their attention during the ſeſſion, had been accompliſhed, he had great pleaſure in ſignifying his majeſty's approbation of the zeal they had ſhewn for the public intereſt; and the diſpatch, with which they had concluded the national buſineſs.

In vain had the patriotic ſide of the Houſe of Commons exerted their talents, and played all the powers of their batteries upon the miniſterial phalanx: although a majority had been long ſecured, additional force was found requiſite either to gain freſh proſelytes or ſtrengthen the wavering. A numerous creation of peers took place; and the parliamentary intereſt of the caſtle was thereby unqueſtionably increaſed. The very nature of the different queſtions, which had been preſſed upon the miniſters during the ſeſſion, neceſſarily engaged and rouſed the feelings of the people out of doors. The Whig club, which was moſt obnoxious to government, was regularly attended by the moſt popular characters: it increaſed in numbers, and attention to the ends of its inſtitutions. A northern Whig club was formed at Belfaſt, and Lord de Clifford placed in the chair. This gave freſh umbrage to the caſtle: and the newſpaper conteſts for and againſt the club exceeded all moderation. Moſt of the volunteer corps, which kept up any ſhare of their original ſpirit, identified themſelves in a manner with it, as their beloved General Lord Charlemont was a conſtant attendant. Beſides the late creation of peerages, the recent collation of ſo many places and penſions upon members of parliament, and the rejection of every popular motion made in the commons, which were felt or treated as public grievances affecting equally every part of the nation, a particular ground of diſcontent attached itſelf to the metropolis. The police bill was execrated by all, except thoſe, who received under it emolument, patronage or power. One of the grand objections againſt it, was, that it ſerved as an inſtrument for encreaſing the power of the caſtle in the corporation. It was therefore propoſed by ſome of the popular party, that a teſt ſhould be ſubſcribed by the mayor and aldermen not to accept of any place under the police; which they were ſo far from agreeing to, that they entered into an engagement, that no man ſhould be elected or eligible to the board of aldermen, who ſhould have ſigned any declaration or teſt whatever. The repeated failure of Mr. Alderman James in his election to the mayoralty by the exertions of Mr. Napper Tandy, who was at that

time very popular in the city, brought the mayor and aldermen and the common council to an open and violent rupture.

The different extraordinary movements on the Continent, gave riſe to ſtrong rumours of war: and the temper of the people of Ireland eagerly ſeized that opportunity of reviving and encreaſing the corps of volunteers. Several offers were made to government to raiſe regiments of Roman Catholics. The progreſs of the French revolution, which at this time was ſpoken of by many of the firſt ſtateſmen, politicians and philoſophers with ſympathy and admiration, became a favorite topic with the Iriſh: they had ſo recently obtained their own civil freedom and independence, that they were forward in ſympathizing with others in purſuit of a ſimilar object. The Belfaſt papers were conſpicuous for their panegyrics on the French ſtruggle againſt deſpotiſm, and their ardent efforts to attain a free conſtitution. That revolution had not yet exhibited any of thoſe ſymptoms, at which a fair advocate for liberty ſhould faulter. For ſome time the government of Ireland began to dread the pruriency of civil freedom throughout the kingdom, and particularly in the province of Ulſter. They ſought the corrective in coercion and ſeverity. Many then judged, that a lenient ſyſtem would be more efficient. In this year the Iriſh government gave a ſtrong illuſtration of the pliancy of the human mind to time and circumſtance. That ſympathy, which had induced Lord Buckingham to countenance, cheriſh and reward the emigrant democracy from Geneva, had now turned into diſguſt and horror. The ſecretary* openly announced the intention of government to abandon their intention to carry the project of a colony at New Geneva into execution. Fortunately for the country this ſudden change in the ſentiments of the caſtle turned out a ſaving of 33,000*l.* ſo much out of the 50,000*l.* having remained unapplied: it was carried to the credit of the nation.

Notwithſtanding the preſent prevalence of the popular political opinions out of parliament, the influence of the caſtle prevented any great change in the return of members to the new parliament. The diſſolution took place on the 8th of April, 1790, and the new parliament was ſummoned to meet at Dublin on the 20th of May, but before that time was further prorogued to the 10th of July, when it met for diſpatch of buſineſs.

During that ſhort ſeſſion, which laſted only to the 24th of the month, lit-

* 10 Parl. Deb. p. 137.

tle

tle occurred worthy of notice. When Mr. Secretary Hobart moved, that Mr. Foſter ſhould again take the chair in that aſſembly, Mr. Conolly moved as an amendment, that the name of the Right Honorable William Brabazon Ponſonby ſhould be inſerted: but the houſe did not divide, and Mr. Foſter was re-elected, accepted and complimented by the lord lieutenant; who then made the following ſpeech to both houſes.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I HAVE it in command from the king, to acquaint "you, that his majeſty ſome time ſince received information, that two veſſels "belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects, and navigated under the Britiſh flag, "and two others, the deſcription of which is not hitherto ſufficiently aſcer- "tained, had been captured at Nootka Sound, on the north-weſt coaſt of "America, by an officer commanding two Spaniſh ſhips of war; that the "cargoes of the Britiſh veſſels had been ſeized, and that their officers and "crews had been ſent as priſoners to a Spaniſh port. His majeſty in conſe- "quence of this tranſaction, and of the communications which had paſſed "on the ſubject between his majeſty and the court of Spain, directed his mi- "niſter at Madrid to claim ſuch full and adequate ſatisfaction, as the nature "of the caſe evidently required. And his majeſty having alſo received in- "formation, that conſiderable armaments were carrying on in the ports of "Spain, judged it indiſpenſably neceſſary to give orders for making ſuch "preparations as might put it in his majeſty's power to act with vigor and "effect in ſupport of the honor of his crown, and the intereſts of his people.

"His majeſty entertains the ſtrongeſt deſire for the maintenance of peace, "on juſt and honorable grounds, and he has directed me to aſſure you, that "no proper ſteps ſhall be omitted by him, which may conduce to this object: "but if unfortunately his majeſty's endeavours ſhould not be ſucceſsful, he "has the fulleſt reliance on the cordial and effectual ſupport of his par- "liament of Ireland, in the proſecution of ſuch meaſures as may eventually "become neceſſary for the honor of his crown, and for the protection of the "eſſential rights of all his ſubjects, and the common intereſts of the empire.

"Convinced that the ſame regard for his majeſty's royal perſon, family "and government, which have at all times diſtinguiſhed his ſubjects of this "kingdom, will be equally manifeſted upon this occaſion, I entertain no "doubt of my being authorized to convey to his majeſty, the fulleſt teſti- "mony of your attachment, loyalty and zeal."

When Sir Henry Cavendiſh, who had recently quitted the oppoſition, moved for the addreſs to the lord lieutenant, he complimented the nation upon their tranquillity and happineſs rather beyond what the exiſting circumſtances then warranted. He thought it unneceſſary to enter into any panegyric on the perſonal merit, or government of the viceroy: both were felt, and ſpoken of every where he went to: and the peace, happineſs, and tranquillity of the country, were the beſt proofs that its government was well adminiſtered.

Mr. G. Ponſonby congratulated the right honorable baronet on the ſudden diſcovery he had made in the merits of the preſent adminiſtration; and he lamented, that his own diſcernment did not allow him the happineſs of altering his opinions of adminiſtration under the auſpices of Lord Weſtmoreland's government.

If the addreſs moved, meant merely to convey the uſual empty compliments to his excellency for complying with his duty in communicating his majeſty's ſentiments to the houſe, he had no objection: but if it were intended to convey a tittle of approbation to thoſe meaſures, which the right honorable baronet and himſelf had ſo uniformly and ſo recently oppoſed together, he ſhould be againſt it. He declared he never would give his approbation nor his ſupport to the preſent or any other adminiſtration, but upon the condition of their acceding to the ſpecific meaſures, which he and his friends had formerly avowed on the cloſe of the laſt parliament.

The purpoſe of convening the parliament was to obtain a vote of credit: accordingly the chancellor of the Exchequer moved, *for a vote of credit for 200,000*l.* to be applied by the lord lieutenant towards the expence of government. Mr. G. Ponſonby, Mr. O'Hara, and Mr. Grattan objected to the generality of the application: they contended, that the application of the grant ſhould have been ſpecified: they all concurred in admitting the intereſt of the two countries as inſeparable; and Mr. Grattan reminded the houſe, that in the French war in 1778, there had paſſed a vote of credit for 300,000*l.* for putting the country in a ſtate of defence, and that in January, 1779, there was not a ſhilling in the Treaſury, and government was obliged to borrow 50,000*l.* from a private gentleman, to pay the army. After ſuch a precedent he wiſhed the motion to be ſpecific; to which the chancellor of the Exchequer aſſented.

* 11 Parl. Deb. p. 9.

On

On the 24th of the month his majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs of the commons was communicated to the houſe, which was ſtrongly expreſſive of his ſatisfaction at their determination to ſupport the honor of his crown, and the common intereſt of the empire, at that important criſis: the parliament was then prorogued, and did not meet for the diſpatch of buſineſs, till the 20th of January, 1791. In the Autumn, Mr. Secretary Hobart went over to England, as it was generally preſumed, to concert the plan of the next parliamentary campaign with the Britiſh cabinet. It was alſo rumoured, that the Iriſh government having in the wideſt plenitude adopted the principles and ſyſtem of Lord Buckingham's adminiſtration, the right honorable ſecretary had alſo much conſultation with that nobleman. Lord Weſtmoreland in the mean time was not inattentive to the means of acquiring popularity, the want of which in his predeceſſor he felt very ſtrongly operating upon his own government. In a country excurſion for nearly nine months he viſited moſt of the nobility through the kingdom: his excellency and his lady on all ſolemn occaſions appeared clad in Iriſh manufactures: and though apparently trifling, the permiſſion to repreſent the favorite Beggar's Opera, which had been prohibited during the ſevere government of Lord Buckingham, gained him no ſmall ſhare of public favor.

Lord Weſtmoreland's ſpeech from the throne, on the meeting of parliament on the 20th of January, 1791, contained nothing extraordinary beyond a communication, that the differences with the court of Spain had been brought to a happy termination. On the next day, when the addreſs which had been voted to the throne was read, Sir Richard Muſgrave objected to that paragraph of it, which expreſſed the thanks of the houſe for continuing their preſent adminiſtration; he lamented, that addreſſes paſſed and were generally conſidered mere matter of form and unmeaning adulation. An aſſent to that addreſs, would be a virtual ſanction to the laſt, and an expreſs approbation of the preſent adminiſtration; both of which he ſtrongly deprecated. He concluded a virulent ſpeech with a ſarcaſtic obſervation, that the happy ſelection of able and wiſe ſenators on the other ſide of the houſe ſo well arrayed and diſciplined, proved that there was wiſdom and energy at the helm. Mr. Grattan had on the preceding day diſſented from the correſponding paragraph in the addreſs to his excellency.

The buſineſs of this ſeſſion differed very little from that of the laſt before the diſſolution. The patriots appeared rather to have loſt, than acquired ſtrength.

ſtrength by the new election. Their number did not at any time during the courſe of this ſeſſion exceed fourſcore. But their reſolution to preſs all the queſtions, which they had brought forward in the laſt parliament appeared more violently determined than ever: inſomuch, that Mr. George Ponſonby in replying to Mr. Cook,* aſſured him, that the hope he had expreſſed of gentlemen on his ſide of the houſe not bringing forward thoſe meaſures, which they had done for ſome ſeſſions paſt, was a loſt hope, for that nothing but the hand of death or ſucceſs ſhould ever induce them to give up their purſuits. A ſingular parliamentary phenomenon ought to be noticed about the commencement of this ſeſſion. Mr. D. La Touche had moved, that it was the opinion of the houſe, that the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors was highly injurious to the health and morals of the people; which he intended to follow up with a motion, for a committee to take the ſubject into conſideration. Mr. Secretary Hobart and Mr. Grattan both inſtantly roſe to ſecond the motion. But the former having firſt caught the eye of the ſpeaker, the latter expreſſed his pleaſure to ſee the right honorable gentleman ſhew any activity in any caſe, where the country was to be benefited: he ſhould be always happy to give him the way; let the country receive the benefit, and his be the applauſe.

On the 3d of February Mr. George Ponſonby made his promiſed motion, which was ſeconded by Mr. Grattan to the following effect: that a ſelect committee be appointed, conſiſting of members of that houſe not holding any employment, or enjoying any penſion under the crown, to examine whether any, or what advantages have ariſen to this kingdom from the appointment of two additional commiſſioners of the revenue; from the ſeparation of the board of ſtamps and accounts; from the granting 500*l.* a year additional ſalary to the ſurveyor of the ordnance; 250*l.* a year additional ſalary to the principal ſtorekeeper of the ordnance; 250*l.* a year to the clerk of the ordnance; 200*l.* a year additional ſalary to the clerk of the delivery of the ordnance; 600*l.* a year penſion to General Hale, in lieu of his reſigning his employment of lieutenant general of the ordnance, in order to facilitate the ſucceſſion of the preſent poſſeſſor: 400*l.* a year additional ſalary to the clerk of the pipe; 400*l.* a year additional ſalary to the cuſtomer of Kinſale; and 150*l.* a year additional ſalary to the barrack maſter of Dublin; and that they do report their opinion thereon to the houſe.

* 11 Parl. Deb. p. 384.

This

This was met by a motion for adjournment; and after a long and warm conteſt, ended in the firſt diviſion of the ſeſſion; in which there were 72 againſt, and 132 for the adjournment. Immediately before the diviſion, Mr. G. Ponſonby remarked, that it was evident, the adminiſtration did not mean to meet the queſtions of difference between them by reaſoning and agreement, but by that very corruption and influence the minority were warring againſt, namely, *dead majorities*. On the 7th of February, Mr. Grattan moved a ſtring of reſolutions relative to the revenue, out of which he concluded, that upon a fair average ſince the year 1785, when the new taxes were granted, the increaſe of the revenue had given to government the annual increaſe of 153,000*l.* and that government had exceeded her own eſtimates, on the faith of which the new taxes had been granted, in the annual ſum of 115,000*l.*; from whence he eſtabliſhed theſe deductions; that the people had kept faith with government, and that government had broken faith with the people. The chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Monk Maſon, contended, that the ſtatements were unfairly made by Mr. Grattan: and that whatever increaſes had been made in the annual expenditure, were occaſioned by parliament, and not by government. The reſolutions were negatived without a diviſion.

*On the next day Mr. Grattan moved the following reſolutions:—"That "a ſelect committee be appointed to enquire in the moſt ſolemn manner, "whether the late or preſent adminiſtration have entered into any corrupt "agreement with any perſon or perſons, to recommend ſuch perſon or per- "ſons to his majeſty, for the purpoſe of being created peers of this kingdom, "in conſideration of their paying certain ſums of money, to be laid out in the "purchaſe of ſeats for members to ſerve in parliament, contrary to the rights "of the people, inconſiſtent with the independence of parliament, and in di- "rect violation of the fundamental laws of the land."

* In this debate, Mr. Denis Brown, a very ſtaunch ſupporter of the adminiſtration, amongſt other matters obſerved, (and no anſwer was attempted to be given to the obſervation) that when the gentlemen on the oppoſite ſide of the houſe were in confidence and acted with government under Lord Northington, a certain perſon was enobled, and returned two Caſtle ſecretaries into that houſe in part payment of his honor. How could thoſe virtuous gentlemen know of ſuch a tranſaction, and not follow it up with an impeachment? He defied contradiction: but wondered, that any men repreſenting peers in that houſe, or ſet in purchaſed ſeats, ſhould be ſo forward to agitate that queſtion. 11 Parl. Debates, p. 162.

It

It was ſeconded by Mr. Curran: much ſtrength of oratory was employed in ſupport of the motion; but it ſhared the uſual fate of rejection by a majority of 135 to 85. And in order to give all poſſible eclat to this charge of ſelling the peerage, and proſtituting the price thereof to the purchaſe of ſeats in the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Curran moved the following reſolution, in which he was ſeconded by Mr. Grattan, viz. "That a committe be appointed, conſiſting of members of both houſes of parliament, who do not hold any employment, or enjoy any penſion under the crown, to enquire in the moſt ſolemn manner, whether the late or preſent adminiſtration have directly or indirectly, entered into any corrupt agreement with any perſon or perſons, to recommend ſuch perſon or perſons to his majeſty, for the purpoſe of being created peers of this kingdom, in conſideration of their paying certain ſums of money, to be laid out in the purchaſe of ſeats for members to ſerve in parliament, contrary to the rights of the people, inconſiſtent with the independence of parliament, and in direct violation of the fundamental laws of the land."

The miniſterial members on all theſe occaſions loudly complained of the reiteration of the old charges even without new arguments to ſupport them; they ſtrongly inſiſted that no particular facts were alleged, much leſs proved; and that general fame, ſurmiſe and aſſertion, were no grounds for parliamentary impeachments, or any other ſolemn proceedings in that houſe. Mr. Grattan, before anſwering the objections advanced againſt the motion, adverted to the general dull and empty declamation uttered by the advocates of a corrupt government againſt the defenders of an injured people.

Four times had thoſe advocates told them, they had brought this grievance forth, as if grievances were only to be matter of public debate when they were matters of novelty; or as if grievances were trading queſtions for a party or a perſon to preſs, to ſell and to abandon; or as if they came thither to act farces to pleaſe the appetite of the public, and did not ſit there to perſevere in the redreſs of grievances, pledged as they were, and covenanted to the people on theſe important ſubjects. They had been told their political budget of grievances was ſmall. But the creation of divers peers for money to be laid out in the purchaſe of divers ſeats for miniſterial dependants, and the appointment of fifteen new parliamentary places or ſalaries admitted to be for the purpoſe of buying a majority, even if they were the only crimes of the government, compoſed no ſcanty political budget of corruption and iniquity.

Generally

Generally in theſe debates, the ſame arguments on both ſides were repeated with increaſed acrimony, and determined by the ſame diviſions.

Scarcely was any queſtion more vehemently debated during the ſeſſion, than Mr. Grattan's motion for an Iriſh Eaſt-India trade, which was, that the committee of trade ſhould enquire, whether any legiſlative proviſions were then exiſting, the continuance of which might prevent that country from receiving the full benefit of her free trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan. The motion was ſeconded by Mr. W. Brabazon Ponſonby. This was a favorite object of ſpeculation at this time with the moſt opulent of the Iriſh merchants: but government, it ſeems, wiſhed not to be drawn into a diſpute or conteſt with the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company. The whole queſtion was, whether, after having obtained a free trade, Ireland were to be reſtrained from the exerciſe of it in the Eaſtern hemiſphere, out of tenderneſs, deference, or fear of the Eaſt-India Company: for whom, Mr. Grattan obſerved, the Iriſh cabinet was then an agent. At three o'clock the queſtion was put, and loſt by a majority of 147 againſt 86.*

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* In this debate, Mr. Cook had complained of ſome illiberal reflections made upon him as an Engliſhman, which brought up Mr. Conolly. He was ſorry, he ſaid, ſuch illiberality could be ſuppoſed to prevail in that houſe, having experienced the greateſt attention and civility in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, where he had ſat above 22 years, whenever he troubled it upon Iriſh affairs, although he ſpoke in a very awkward and unintelligible manner. He ſaid, that there was no danger from the eloquence of an Iriſhman, a Burke, a Barry, or a Sheridan, that in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons any thing could be accompliſhed that could militate againſt the conſtitution or trade of England: nor could he ſuppoſe the eloquence of any Engliſhman there could injure that kingdom: it was of the Iriſh, and not of the Engliſhmen that he was afraid in that houſe. In the latter end of laſt parliament, a place bill, a penſion bill, a reſponſibility bill, had been refuſed to that kingdom, by a majority of Iriſhmen, although the kingdom of Great Britain had ſhewn by experience the neceſſity and uſe of ſuch laws; and he had in that houſe declared himſelf aſhamed of having his name enrolled in ſuch a ſociety. That if he could gueſs, by the complexion of the houſe that night, it would ſoon be guilty of a ſelf-denying ordinance in reſpect to its foreign trade, although the ſiſter country did not pretend to deny the right of that kingdom to trade uncontrolled to thoſe parts, where no Britiſh ſettlements were eſtabliſhed. If that were the caſe, as there was no other mode eſtabliſhed, by which a member could quit that houſe, he muſt wiſh to be called to its bar, and expelled. The Britiſh Houſe of Commons conſiſted of 558 members, 67 only of which were placemen, and no penſioners could ſit, nor placeman, unleſs originally choſen as ſuch, or upon getting a place, on being re-choſen. In their houſe, conſiſting of 300 members, 110 were placemen or penſioners. They had adopted the whole power of the privy council before the repeal of Poynings' law, and literally appeared to be determined not to let any law paſs that was not agree-

The police bill had been petitioned againſt by ſeveral public bodies; and on the 4th of March Mr. Grattan again introduced it to the conſideration of the houſe. After having proved by the experience of a number of years, that no inſtitution was more obnoxious to the citizens; that no inſtitution could be more extravagant; and that no inſtitution could be leſs productive of advantages to the public; it remained for the wiſdom of the houſe to correct the ſyſtem, which had neither anſwered the ends of public peace, of private protection, or of any neceſſary economy. He would therefore propoſe a reſolution, carrying on it no edge that could injure, no ſeverity that could offend any man; but which, without impoſing any humiliation, might be adopted, even by thoſe, who had originally voted for the police, or who had ſince ſupported it. He then moved,

" That the eſtabliſhment of the police in the city of Dublin, had been an " experiment attended with conſiderable expence, without producing ade- " quate advantages; and that it was then neceſſary to eſtabliſh a guard un- " der the direction of the different pariſhes, and ſubject to the ſuperintendance " of the lord mayor."

If that motion were not reſiſted, he ſhould follow it up with another, for leave to bring in a bill to give it effect. Mr. Maſon ſaid, he for one would certainly oppoſe it, as he thought it utterly unfounded. Immediately Mr. Grattan entered upon a moſt vehement invective againſt the meaſure.* The motion met with its former fate, having been rejected by 135 againſt 87.

The 15th of March was the day appointed for the ſecond reading of the bill " to diſable any perſon who ſhall have in his own name, or in the name of " any perſon or perſons in truſt for him, or for his benefit, any office or place " of profit whatſoever under the crown, created after a certain time, [the

able to the Engliſh miniſter or to the Engliſh merchant; and that therefore he was ſeriouſly in earneſt in his wiſh to be expelled from a ſociety that he conceived to be acting in direct contradiction to the conſtitution and trade of Ireland.

* 11 Parl. Debates, p. 263. Miniſters had, he ſaid, reſorted to a place army and a penſional magiſtracy: the one was to give boldneſs to corruption in parliament, and the other to give the miniſter's influence patronage in the city. Their means were, this police eſtabliſhment: the plan they did not entirely frame: they found it. A bill had ſhewn its face in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons for a moment, and had been turned out of the doors immediately: a ſcavenger would have found it in the ſtreets of London: the groping hands of the Iriſh miniſtry picked it up, and made it the law of the land.

" year

" year 1788] from being choſen a member of, or from ſitting or voting in the " preſent, or any future Houſe of Commons."

And when Mr. Forbes roſe to ſecond it, Mr. Maſon ſaid, that having oppoſed this bill every ſeſſion for thirty years, he would not weary the houſe with freſh arguments againſt it: his decided opinion was, that the influence of the crown was barely ſufficient to preſerve the conſtitution, and to prevent it from degenerating into the worſt of all poſſible governments, a democracy. Another gentleman on the ſame ſide of the houſe, thought government muſt have a majority to ſupport them in their neceſſary meaſures, and to extinguiſh the ſquibs that were thrown againſt them; and the cheaper that majority was procured, ſo much the better for the country: and being arraigned by Mr. G. Ponſonby for uſing ſuch unconſtitutional language, he repeated it, and added, if they had not, they muſt ceaſe to govern. The bill was loſt by a ſimilar majority. The diviſion of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons was not preciſely formed upon the principles which divided the parliament of Great Britain: for on this night, Mr. C. O'Neile, who was one of the moſt forward in the oppoſition in Ireland, paid many handſome compliments to Mr. Pitt, whom he believed to be as honeſt a miniſter as ever governed England: but he muſt ſay, that he preſcribed a very different mode of conduct to his deputies in that kingdom. Equally violent and equally unſucceſsful were the four remaining attacks made by the gentlemen of the oppoſition: viz. Mr. Grattan's motion for the encouragement of the reclaiming of barren land: on the firſt reading of the penſion bill: the ſecond reading of the reſponſibility bill; and Mr. G. Ponſonby's motion reſpecting *fiats* for levying unaſſeſſed damages upon the parties *affidavits* of their own imaginary loſſes.*

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* 11 Parl. Debates, p. 359. This motion was, " That it is the opinion of this committee, that " the Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench, in ordering a *capias ad reſpondendum* to iſſue " againſt John Maggee, on the affidavit of Richard Daly, marked 4000*l.* acted illegally."

Mr. G. Ponſonby entered into an able diſquiſition of the law of actions on tort, liquidated, and uncertain damages, which reſt with a jury, and ſpecial and exceſſive bail. The debate was very long, and not very intereſting to others than lawyers. The queſtion was of the higheſt conſequence to the liberty of the preſs and of the ſubject. It had been worked up more into a party queſtion, than probably it otherwiſe would have been, on account of the two perſons principally concerned, viz. Francis Higgins, the proprietor and conductor of a government newſpaper, and John Magee, the printer and editor of an oppoſition newſpaper. The motion was vehemently oppoſed by the attorney and ſolicitor general, and prime ſerjeant: and ultimately rejected by a majority of 125 againſt-

 65. The

The year 1791 brought the political fever, then raging on the continent to a criſis alarming to the Britiſh empire, and particularly to Ireland. No wonder, that a country, which had ſo lately obtained a conſtitution for itſelf, ſhould find extenſive ſubject for reflection upon the revolutions and new conſtitutions of France and Poland. The ſympathy, which ſeveral of the armed corps and other public bodies exultingly expreſſed with the aſſertors of civil freedom in thoſe countries, was obnoxious to government, and it became the ſyſtem of the caſtle to affix a marked ſtigma upon every perſon, who countenanced or ſpoke in favor of any meaſure, that bore the ſemblance of reform or revolution. Even the ardor for commemorating the æra of 1688, was attempted to be damped: the word *liberty* always carried with it ſuſpicion, often reprobation. As all the efforts and ſtruggles of the oppoſition in the late ſeſſions of parliament, were for the attainment of thoſe rights,

65. The leading facts upon which the motion was bottomed, were according to Mr. G. Ponſonby's ſtatement: that in that caſe, Magee, the printer, had moſt groſsly abuſed the noble lord himſelf in his paper; it was therefore incumbent on his lordſhip to proceed with the moſt guarded circumſpection, that no enemy might attribute his ſeverity to perſonal motives: his conduct ſhould have been ſuch as the law, in its ſtricteſt ſenſe, would warrant and juſtify. But what was his lordſhip's conduct? Inſtead of proceeding with that caution, and that diſregard to vulgar abuſe, which would have done him honor, he granted againſt Magee one fiat at the ſuit of Daly for 4000*l.* one fiat at the ſuit of Higgins for 2000*l.* one fiat at the ſuit of Tracy for 1000*l.* and one fiat at the ſuit of Brenan for 800*l.* making together a ſum of 7800*l.* and this at a time when the man was under a criminal information in his own court.

Magee after many delays and long impriſonment, was brought to trial upon Daly's fiat of 4000*l.* In this trial a variety of newſpapers and letters, not alleged in the original affidavit, were allowed to be read as evidence againſt him; yet after all, twelve honeſt men, upon their oaths, awarded Daly but 200*l.* damages, the twentieth part of the fiat for which he was thrown into jail. If any proof of the enormity of the proceedings was wanting, here it was: Magee had offered 500*l.* bail, which was refuſed, not by Lord Clonmel alone, but by the whole court: he did not, however, want to criminate the other judges, nor would this criminality juſtify the chief juſtice: no partnerſhip in wrong can produce innocence: he would therefore take no notice of them, but confine himſelf to the chief juſtice alone, and his charge againſt him was, that he had illegally deprived a freeman of his liberty.

This was no queſtion of party. He did not take it up as a meaſure of oppoſition; every man knew, that before he was fixed on that ſide of the houſe, he declared he would follow it up: therefore let it not be conſidered as a queſtion of party; the true motives, on which he urged it were ſtronger than any party motives could be; a regard for the laws and liberties of the country, a regard for the moſt invaluable bleſſings the ſubject could poſſeſs; perſonal liberty; a bleſſing, without which all earthly bleſſings were vain and uſeleſs.

which

which principally form the freedom of the Britiſh conſtitution, the aſſertors of them were branded with the now odious term of democrats, and holden out by government as factious diſturbers of the old conſtitution, with a view to introduce the new fangled principles of revolutionary doctrines. In proportion to the progreſs of the French revolution to thoſe ſcenes, which at laſt outraged humanity, were ſome efforts in favor of the moſt conſtitutional liberty reſiſted in parliament, as attempts to introduce a ſyſtem of French equality. Such was the general panic, ſuch the real or aſſumed execration of every thing, that had a tendency to democracy, that comparatively few of the higher orders through the kingdom retained, or avowed thoſe general whig principles, which two years before that man was not deemed loyal, who did not profeſs.

Mr. Burke by his book on the French revolution, publiſhed in the year 1790*, had worked a ſtupendous change in the public mind, and the few in the upper walks of life, who did not become his proſelytes, merely retaining

* The political change of the public mind about this period, was evidently productive of the moſt unprecedented ſyſtem of ſtrong and coercive meaſures, known ſince the Revolution within the Britiſh empire. A very decided majority both within and without the parliament of Great Britain favored that ſyſtem: in Ireland the people more generally reſiſted its introduction and influence than in Great Britain. Mr. Burke had the merit, if merit it were, of cauſing the great defection from the Whig Party: he and his friends, who went over to government on that occaſion, were the moſt forward and zealous in holding out the diwindled phalanx of oppoſition, as enemies to their country and conſtitution. The fervor of the new converts for proſelytizing their old aſſociates was unbounded; the old leaders of the court party triumphantly indulged in the eaſy decompoſition of their opponents: both concurred in ſtamping the few, who ſteadily retained their principles with all the odium, contempt and malevolence, that ingenuity could affix to the new terms, Jacobins and Democrats. From thenceforth a new and ſable tinge was thrown upon every attempt in parliament to urge any popular meaſure, that would lately have been conſidered patriotic and conſtitutional. It is not a little remarkable, that the firſt time Mr. Burke publicly avowed his new creed, and ſeceded from the oppoſition, was on the occaſion of Mr. Flood's motion in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons for enquiring into the ſtate of the popular repreſentation in parliament. Much as Mr. Burke had formerly inveighed againſt the want of confidence and ſympathy between the conſtituents and repreſentatives in Great Britain, yet evidently at this time they were perfectly identified, when compared with the relations of the people and the parliament in Ireland. That publication of Mr. Burke's gave occaſion to Mr. Payne's *Rights of Man*. A book fatally calculated to ſeduce and poiſon the minds of an iritable and empoveriſhed people, emerging from what they conſidered a ſtate of oppreſſion and ſlavery, into the poſſeſſion of a free conſtitution, to the right of which their title had been acknowledged, but of the enjoyment of which, they had as yet been inſenſible.

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their former principles, were aſtoniſhed to find their ranks thinned and their ſtandard deſerted by ſome of their moſt zealous leaders and ſupporters, who of courſe carried off with them the numerical ſtrength of the party.

The change of political ſentiment in Ireland did not keep pace with that in Great Britain. The defection from the ranks of oppoſition in parliament was comparatively trivial: and the general diſpoſition of the people to civil liberty appeared to be ſharpened by the encreaſe of coercion and intimidation. Some ill-minded and artful demagogues availed themſelves of the popular fever, which had never totally abated from the year 1782: the pernicious doctrines and concluſions of Mr. Payne, artfully mixed up with the moſt popular truiſms were circulated at the loweſt price, diſtributed *gratis*, and imbibed with inſatiable avidity: the caſtle-gates were trebly barred againſt conceſſion and indulgence: it was publiſhed, that every effort towards their attainment at a time ſo critically awful, would be deemed hoſtile, and a future bar, even to ſeaſonable application.

It may appear ſingular, that ſeveral years had now gone over, ſince Ireland had become independent in her legiſlature, and free in her trade; that the great body of the Iriſh people, who were ſtill oppreſſed with a grievous code of penal ſtatutes, ſhould have attempted no public meaſure to be admitted to the enjoyment of that conſtitution, which their countrymen ſo triumphantly boaſted of having aſſerted and obtained. The voice of the nation had been loud and unanimous for univerſal toleration, and indiſcriminate participation of civil rights by every Iriſhman. Publications were circulated upon the tendency of the Catholic religion, to render its followers loyal, dutiful, and peaceable ſubjects; paſtoral inſtructions were publiſhed by the Roman Catholic biſhops through their dioceſes, and read in all their chapels to dehort their congregations from imbibing the pernicious doctrines ſo ſeduloufly attempted to be ſpread amongſt them, and to enforce ſubordination, peace, and loyalty in their conduct.*

The Catholic body had not altogether remained inactive or inattentive to

* In this year, 1791, the author in his *Caſe Stated*, (p. 19.) profeſſed an opinion, which his obſervation and experience have ſince confirmed, that circumſtanced as the Iriſh are, their ſtrict obſervance of the Catholic religion is ſupereminently calculated to preſerve them from anarchy and confuſion, and keep them docile, quiet and loyal. "*It is in this, and this above every thing elſe, "in which under Providence we ſhall find an antidote againſt the poiſon thus traiterouſly attempted to "be ſpread amongſt them.*"

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their concerns: the moſt liberal and friendly declarations in their favor had been made by the different bodies of volunteers; and out of reſpect to thoſe gentlemen, who had ſo diſintereſtedly eſpouſed their cauſe,* they held back an

* Although ſeveral of theſe opinions, have appeared in the foregoing pages; yet there was one declaration made by a Proteſtant biſhop, to which the Catholics had annexed particular influence, which ought not to have been omitted.

*Bill of Rights' Battalion.*

At a meeting of part of ſaid battalion, at Ballymoney, on the 24th of December, 1783, the following reſolutions having been unanimouſly agreed to, received the approbation of the remainder of the battalion, at Ballycaſtle, on the 26th of December.

*Reſolved*, That the preſent criſis of the nation, united to the voice of our duty as freemen, dictate to us, and we are determined to purſue, ſuch a line of conduct, as, founded in truth, animated by firmneſs, and guided by moderation, is the moſt likely expedient to ſtem the torrent of corruption at home, and reſiſt uſurpation from abroad.

*Reſolved*, That as public men and public meaſures ought always to be open to animadverſion and candid diſcuſſion, ſo the approbation of either has reciprocally a happy tendency to awe the profligate, and embolden the virtuous.

*Reſolved* therefore, That the following addreſs be preſented from this battalion, by a deputation thereof, under arms, to the Earl of Briſtol, Lord Biſhop of Derry, for his truly laudable exertions in favor of the rights of mankind, and a parliamentary reform.

" To the Right Honorable Earl of Briſtol, Lord Biſhop of Derry, for his truly laudable Exertions " in Favor of the Rights of Mankind, and a Parliamentary Reform.

" To the Right Honorable the Earl of Briſtol, Lord Biſhop of Derry.

" The Addreſs of the Bill of Right's Battalion.

" My Lord,

" HAVING with the eye of ſilent approbation viewed your conduct in every " ſtage of its progreſs, at the grand national convention of volunteer delegates, we are impelled " by thoſe generous ſentiments, that actuate the breaſts of Iriſhmen, to offer your lordſhip this ad- " dreſs, as a mark of our eſteem and gratitude.

" Ingratitude, my lord, is not of Iriſh origin, though, ſome of Hibernia's deteſted ſons, Mam- " mon's bond ſlaves, now baſely ſpurn the parent, by whoſe foſtering hand they roſe.

" We ſee with indignation and concern, the treatment which the wiſe, ſpirited, and ſalutary " reſolutions of the volunteer convention have received. But we truſt, the virtuous efforts of an " united people, under the auſpices of your lordſhip and your reſpectable colleagues, will yet cleanſe " the Augean ſtable, the ſtalls of venality and corruption, the effluvia of noiſome and putrid " boroughs.

" The gloomy clouds of ſuperſtition and bigotry, thoſe engines of diſunion, being fled the realm, " the intereſts of Ireland can no longer ſuffer by a diverſity of religious perſuaſions. All are unit- " ed in the purſuit of one great object, the extermination of corruption from our conſtitution; nor

" can

an application to parliament on their own behalf, leſt it might interfere with thoſe great, national, and popular queſtions, which the patriots in parliament had

" can your lordſhip and your virtuous coadjutors, in promoting civil and religious liberty, be deſ-
" titute of the ſtable aid of all profeſſions.

" Permit us to aſſure you, that as freemen, freeholders and volunteers, our exertions to effectu-
" ate the grand work of reform already begun, ſhall be as ſtrenuous as the aim is important. And
" that we are, with unfeigned gratitude and reſpect, your lordſhip's moſt faithful friends,

" Signed by order of the Battalion,

" JOHN ORR, Sec."

In conſequence of the above reſolutions, a deputation from the battalion, conſiſting of eighty rank and file, headed by their lieutenant colonel, waited on his lordſhip the 14th inſtant, at Downhill, and preſented their addreſs under arms; to which his lordſhip was pleaſed to give the ſubſequent reply:

" GENTLEMEN,

" WHEN you acknowledged the ſervices of your fellow-citizens in the county
" of Antrim, in the late ſtruggle for liberty, you rewarded their toils in the coin moſt valuable
" to virtuous men: and your approbation of their efforts, in ſome meaſure, conſoled them for
" want of ſucceſs.

" But when you ſtep forth from your own county to hail the individual of another, unknown to
" you but by his honeſt endeavours, and unconnected, except by that kindred ſpirit, which ſeems
" now at length to pervade the whole maſs of citizens, and like a Promethean fire, to animate an
" hitherto lifeleſs lump, the ſatisfaction excited in his mind, by the applauſes of men, who have a
" right to approve what they dare to ſupport, can be known only to thoſe, who are conſcious of
" deſerving what they are fortunate enough to receive.

" Where the conſcience of a patriot bears teſtimony to the truth of the panegyric, and the ſin-
" cerity of the panegyriſt's praiſes ceaſes to be adulation, they then become the wholeſome food of
" a manly mind, and nouriſh that virtue they were at firſt intended only to approve.

" But gentlemen, thoſe who dare aſſert their own rights, ſhould riſe above the mean policy of
" violating thoſe of others.

" There is in this iſland a claſs of citizens equally reſpectable, and infinitely more numerous,
" than thoſe who have hitherto oppreſſed them.

" Men, who have long crouched under the iron rod of their oppreſſors, not from any daſtardly
" inſenſibility to their ſhackles, not from any unmanly indifference to the unalienable rights of
" men; but from a pious dread of wounding our common country through the ſides of its
" tyrants.

" Men, in whoſe hearts beats at this inſtant as high a pulſe for liberty, and through whoſe
" veins pours a tide of as pure blood, and as noble too, as any that animates the proudeſt citizen
" in Ireland.

" Men, whoſe anceſtors at the hazard of their property, and with the loſs of their lives, ob-
" tained the firſt great Bill of Rights, and upon which every other muſt be founded, the Magna
" Charta of Ireland.

" Men,

had pledged themſelves to their country to perſevere in till obtained. Several ſeſſions had gone over in fruitleſs efforts to attain thoſe points. The patriots, who, almoſt to a man, were favorable to the claims of the Catholics, declined bringing them before parliament; becauſe the very circumſtance of their being moved from the oppoſition bench, would be a ſure ground of rejection. The Catholics could not but obſerve, the indiſpoſition of government to conceſſion daily encreaſe: and the day of remonſtrance and redreſs vaniſh behind the cloud of rigor and coercion, now aſſumed neceſſary to be exerciſed upon the people.

On the 11th of February, 1791, a meeting was convened at Dublin of the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland, at which the different reſolutions and inſtructions from various parts of the kingdom to the committee were read; upon which they came to the following reſolution. "That the "ſeveral papers then read, containing reſolutions and inſtructions from that

"Men, whoſe anceſtors in the midſt of ignorance, could diſcriminate between the duties of a "religioniſt, and the rights of a citizen; and who enacted thoſe elementary and never obſolete "ſtatutes of premunire, which for centuries have been an irrefragable monument of their ſagacity "in diſtinguiſhing, and their fortitude, in ſevering their duty to the church of Rome, from their "dependence on its court.

"Men, the undegenerate progeny of ſuch virtuous anceſtors, who with a firmneſs worthy of "our imitation, and ſtill more worthy of our gratitude, have endured thoſe very outrages from their "country, which their forefathers ſpurned at from its ſovereign; and who, under a ſeries of ac-"cumulated wrongs which would heighten the diſgrace of human policy, if they could be paralleled "in its annals, have, with a fortitude as unexampled as their oppreſſion, allowed every thing "dear to the human heart to be wrecked, except their religion and their patriotiſm, except their "acquieſcence to the will of an inſcrutable God, and their affection to a miſtaken and deluded "country.

"But gentlemen, the hour is now come, when ſound policy, as well as irreſiſtable juſtice, will "compel thoſe who demand their own rights, to ſupport their claim by a reſtitution of thoſe of "their fellow citizens.

"When Ireland muſt neceſſarily avail herſelf of her whole internal force to ward off foreign "encroachment, or once more acquieſce under thoſe encroachments, the better to exerciſe anew "the tyranny of a part of the community over the deareſt and unalienable rights of others.

"For, one million of divided Proteſtants can never, in the ſcale of human government, be a "counterpoiſe againſt two millions of united Catholics. But gentlemen of the Bill of Rights' bat-"talion, I appeal to yourſelves, and ſummon you to conſiſtency. Tyranny is not government, "and allegiance is due only to protection.

"BRISTOL."

" city, and from the principal cities and towns in Ireland, be referred to a " committee of eight, who ſhould report thereon to the committee, on Fri- " day the 18th inſtant:" on which day, the general committee met, the Earl of Fingal being in the chair, Reſolved, " that the report of the com- " mittee of eight, on the reſolutions and inſtructions tranſmitted to them " from the different parts of the kingdom be received;" and the report was to the following effect:

" Your committee having, in obedience to your directions, carefully pe- " ruſed the reſolutions of the Catholics of Ireland, report, that ſaid reſolu- " tions contain the moſt unequivocal ſentiments of loyalty to our moſt gra- " cious ſovereign, George the Third, of love for our country, and obedience " to its laws, and the moſt humble hope of being reſtored to ſome participa- " tion of its excellent conſtitution.

" That your Catholic brethren refer, with confidence, to the numberleſs " proofs they have given of fidelity in times the moſt perilous, when rebel- " lion raged in the boſom of Britain, and when foreign invaſion threatened " our coaſt, and to that alacrity with which all deſcriptions of our people " took the oath of allegiance; and they rely that their ſcrupulous obſervance " of ſuch ſacred obligation will no where be doubted, when it is conſidered, " that if they took thoſe oaths required by law, they would thereby become " entitled to all the rights of citizens.

" That, with all humility, they confide in the juſtice, liberality, and wiſ- " dom of parliament, and the benignity of our moſt gracious ſovereign, to " relieve them from their degraded ſituation, and no longer to ſuffer them to " continue like ſtrangers in their native land; but thus have the glory of " ſhewing all Europe, that in the plenitude of power, ſtrength, and riches " of the Britiſh empire, when nothing they grant can be imputed to any " motives but thoſe of juſtice and toleration; that, at ſuch a period, they " deign to hear and relieve their oppreſſed and faithful ſubjects, and to unite " them for ever to their country, by every tie of gratitude and intereſt; and " that they will ſhew to all Europe, that humble and peaceful conduct, and " dutiful application, are the only true and effectual methods for good ſub- " jects to obtain relief from a wiſe and good government.

" That our Catholic brethren therefore deſire, that application may be " made for ſuch relief as the wiſdom and juſtice of parliament may grant; " and they hope to be reſtored, at leaſt, to ſome of the rights and privileges

" which

" which have been wiſely granted to others who diſſent from the eſtabliſhed " church; that they may be thus enabled to promote, in conjunction with " the reſt of their fellow ſubjects, the preſent and future happineſs and ſtrength " of their country.

" That our ſaid Catholic brethren direct, that ſuch application be immedi- " ately made, and continued, in the moſt ſubmiſſive and conſtitutional man- " ner, for a mitigation of the reſtrictions and diſqualifications under which " they labour.

" Reſolved, that this meeting do agree with, and adopt, the report of " their committee, and that a committee of twelve be appointed to carry the " ſame into execution."

In obedience to the above reſolution, a petition was prepared, though not preſented, to parliament for the reaſons mentioned in that report. It was impoſſible, that the diſpoſition to civil liberty, which from the firſt inſtitution of the volunteers had pervaded all ranks of perſons throughout the kingdom, ſhould have remained inactive upon the great maſs of the community, who were Catholics. So little prominent notwithſtanding were they as a body, in bringing forward their own claims, that it had been frequently queſtioned at public meetings in the North, whether or no they were ſincere in the cauſe of liberty. Fatally however for their cauſe, the *anti-gallomania* which in Great Britain had produced ſuch convulſive effects upon political, ſocial, and even domeſtic ties and connections, was there productive of new ground of diſcord in the Catholic body. About threeſcore of the principal country gentlemen in conjunction with the Earl of Fingal, Lord Kenmare, and ſome of the dignified and other clergy, had in this year ſeceded from the Catholic committee, from an apprehenſion, that moſt of the city orators, who had taken a lead in it, were connected with ſome of the high flying patriots of the North, and not wholly unfriendly to the principles of the French revolution. Hence the Catholic body was divided into an ariſtocratic and a democratic party. Such at leaſt were the two diviſions of the Catholic body conſidered and repreſented to the public; and unfortunately for the cauſe of the body at large, the grounds of the diviſion were urged by the reſpective partizans with conſiderable virulence and acrimony. Several leading gentlemen of the Catholic committee, had formed political intimacies with ſome gentlemen at the bar of great abilities, and ſtaunch advocates for all the popular queſtions that had lately been brought before parliament; among whom

the Honorable Simon Butler, a brother of the late Lord Mountgarret, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and Todd Jones were the moſt forward. Theſe gentlemen appearing earneſt in their purſuit of freedom for themſelves and others, aſſured the gentlemen of the committee of the liberal and cordial diſpoſition of their northern friends and aſſociates, to co-operate with them in the glorious object of obtaining the emancipation of three millions of their countrymen, and they eaſily perſuaded them, that an union of their intereſts for this great object muſt ultimately ſucceed. Theſe gentlemen proffered their ſervices to the Catholic committee, and publiſhed in their own names, ſome very able and ſtrong arguments for the repeal of all their reſtrictive laws againſt the Roman Catholics. Theſe publications contained language more bold and deciſive than had hitherto ever been adopted in urging the claims of that body; ſome alſo of their own body followed the example of theſe Proteſtant gentlemen, and publicly ſpoke a language, which had before never come from the mouth or pen of any one of the Catholic perſuaſion in Ireland. It would be needleſs to remark how obnoxious ſuch gentlemen and their writings were to government; and it is neceſſary to preſume, that the caſtle muſt have intimated to thoſe gentlemen of the Catholic body, upon whom they had a more immediate influence, how offenſive to government this connexion and union between the Catholics and Diſſenters were, and hence aroſe that ſeceſſion from the committee, which we ſhall afterwards notice.

The Iriſh nation had been for ſome time in the habit of reading and canvaſſing all political topics, and there is no queſtion, but that the public mind was much opened, and the people out of parliament generally diſpoſed to ſupport the Catholic claims.

Upon theſe grounds the committee had come to a reſolution of availing themſelves of the earlieſt opportunity of applying to parliament* for redreſs. They

* Although the petition, which was prepared for this purpoſe, never were actually preſented to parliament, a copy of it is ſubjoined, in order to ſhew the nature and extent of the Catholics' expectations at that period.

" To the Right Honorable and Honorable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament
" aſſembled,
" The humble Petition of the Catholics of Ireland.

" SHEWETH,

" THAT a century has now nearly elapſed ſince ſeveral laws, highly penal " in their effect, were paſſed by the legiſlature of this country, excluding the Catholic inhabitants " thereof from numberleſs privileges and advantages enjoyed by the reſt of their fellow ſubjects.

" That

They appointed twelve gentlemen to take without delay ſuch ſteps, as they ſhould deem expedient for that purpoſe. Theſe gentlemen accepted the truſt; but after having repeatedly met, two of them differed in opinion, with regard to the propriety of coming forward at that particular period, and declined complying with the direction which they had received.

From a deſire of procuring unanimity, it was thought prudent to ſubmit the ſubject again to the conſideration of the general committee. At a meeting convened for that purpoſe, a gentleman who declared himſelf commiſſioned

" That whilſt the conſequences of thoſe laws were felt in their ſevereſt operation, the loyalty " of the Catholics of Ireland was unſhaken, and their conduct uniformly marked with that reſpect " and ſubmiſſion due to legiſlative authority.

" That your petitioners beg leave humbly to ſuggeſt to this honorable houſe, the laws of which " they complain were paſſed in a ſeaſon of animoſity, at the cloſe of party contention, and as the " penalty of political opinions, which it is univerſally admitted do not at this day exiſt; that they " were continued, as having been deemed neceſſary to ſecure the ſucceſſion in the auguſt Houſe " of Brunſwick, to which none of their fellow ſubjects are more warmly attached.

" That every danger to that ſucceſſion is now removed, and that even if it were otherwiſe, they " have lately bound themſelves to their beloved ſovereign, and their country, by the moſt awful " and ſacred obligation; an obligation to which your petitioners refer with the greater confidence, " as, if oaths were lightly eſtimated by Catholics, they might long ſince have entitled themſelves to " the full rights of citizens.

" That ſome years ſince, the parliament of this kingdom was, in its wiſdom and humanity, " pleaſed to remove part of the reſtrictions, under which your petitioners lay; and that this indul- " gence, far from producing any ill effects, has only ſerved to ſtrengthen the loyalty of your pe- " titioners, and contribute to the growing proſperity of the empire.

" That by the laws ſtill in force, the Catholics of Ireland, though entitled through the benevo- " lence of parliament to purchaſe lands, are precluded from almoſt every opportunity of improving " the natural advantages of talents and connexions; and that when inclination, or any other cir- " cumſtances, has diſqualified them from commercial purſuits, they are under the cruel neceſſity " of becoming exiles from their families and country, and ſeeking that ſituation in foreign ſtates " which is denied them in their native land.

" That your petitioners feel a conſcious pride in being able to offer their paſt, as a pledge of " their future good conduct, and humbly beg leave to inſiſt, that men ſincerely and warmly at- " tached to the conſtitution of their country, even when they were the objects of its cenſure and " ſeverity, are not likely to become leſs anxious for its preſervation from being admitted to a fuller " participation of its bleſſings.

" Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, that this honorable houſe will take the premiſes into " conſideration, and grant to your petitioners ſuch relief as to its wiſdom, juſtice, and humanity " ſhall ſeem meet.

" And your petitioners will ever pray."

by

by Lord Kenmare to communicate his ſentiments to the committee, gave notice of his lordſhip's diſapprobation of the meaſure, and of his determination not to co-operate in it, although his lordſhip had never attended at any of the meetings, in which the meaſure had been diſcuſſed, and the Earl of Fingal, who, on that night filled the chair, appeared to acquieſce in Lord Kenmare's opinion. The reaſon, however, for laying before parliament the ſituation of the Catholics, and humbly ſoliciting a relief from ſome of the ſevere reſtrictions, under which they laboured, appeared concluſive to the meeting; and the former reſolution of an immediate application to the legiſlature was again adopted by a very great majority.

On the 18th of April the committee met once more and delivered in their report, which fully accounted for their reaſons for ſuſpending their application to parliament, and was to the following effect.

" In compliance with your inſtructions, the firſt object of the attention of " your committee was, to prepare a petition to parliament, expreſſive of " thoſe ſentiments of loyalty and ſubmiſſion to the laws of their country, ſo " ſtrongly marked in the reſolutions tranſmitted from different parts of the " kingdom. We were aware of the unfavorable concluſions, which thoſe of " our fellow ſubjects, whoſe minds, from political or religious prejudices, " were leſs prepared to meet our wiſhes, muſt naturally draw from the diſ- " union of any of our members, however ſmall their numbers might be, or " inconſiderable their conſequence, when compared with that of the Catho- " lic body at large. Anxious to obviate this inconvenience, we endeavoured, " by every meaſure not inconſiſtent with the line of conduct pointed out to " us by this general committee, to procure the co-operation of the two no- " ble lords.

" For this purpoſe your committee employed the mediation of our reſpect- " able prelate, whoſe virtues and amiable character entitled him to the con- " fidence of all parties; and with gratitude they acknowledge the kindneſs " of his prompt and zealous, though ineffectual interference.

" After conſuming a conſiderable time in fruitleſs negociations, your com- " mittee directed Mr. Edward Byrne to acquaint Mr. Secretary Hobart of " the intention of the Catholics, and to requeſt to know when it would be " agreeable to him to be waited upon by a deputation from that body, for " the purpoſe of laying before him a copy of the petition, and ſoliciting the " ſupport of government on their behalf.

" Upon

" Upon receiving Mr. Secretary Hobart's anſwer, your committee, ſtill " deſirous to conciliate, informed the Earl of Fingal, and Lord Viſcount " Kenmare, in writing, that from the reſpect which they bore to their lord- " ſhips, they had deputed Mr. Byrne and Mr. Rice to requeſt their attendance " at the caſtle. This letter was forwarded by Mr. Byrne, and accompanied " with a note, acquainting their lordſhips, that theſe gentlemen would wait " on them at their reſpective houſes on the following morning.

" We are ſorry to be obliged to obſerve, that theſe uncommon marks of " deference and reſpectful attention, far from gaining on the mind of the " noble viſcount, ſeemed to render him more averſe to conciliating meaſures. " He ſuffered the two gentlemen to come to his houſe at the appointed " hour, and even there refuſed to ſee them, though deputed in your name, " and under the ſanction of your authority. Several conferences had taken " place with the Earl of Fingal, whoſe attachment to our cauſe was too ſin- " cere not to lament, that any difference of opinion ſhould exiſt; but having " hitherto acted in conjunction with Lord Kenmare, he declared himſelf " reluctant to join in any meaſure without the concurrent approbation of " the noble viſcount. Nor was it till ſhortly before the hour appointed by " Mr. Secretary Hobart, that your committee received information, that the " noble lords would meet them at the caſtle.

" In this interview with the miniſter, we delivered, through the hands of " the Earl of Fingal, a copy of the petition intended to be preſented to par- " liament. Here we beg leave to arreſt your attention. A charge of a " ſerious nature has been made. We are far from imputing to any particu- " lar perſon the indecorous aſſertions, injurious miſrepreſentations, and un- " natural triumphs, at every obſtacle that did ariſe to damp our exertions, " had they been confined to our proceedings whilſt we were ſtrictly and li- " terally purſuing your inſtructions, we ſhould have paſſed them unnoticed; " but your committee cannot remain ſilent under the imputation of having " trifled with your authority, and ſurprized the noble lords, by preſenting a " copy of your reſolutions without any previous communication. That " ſuch a copy was preſented without communication, is true; but that the " production of it was an object of indiſpenſable neceſſity; that by with- " holding it your committee would have proved themſelves unworthy of " your confidence, and the intereſt of the Catholic cauſe received an irrepara- " ble injury, is equally true. It is ſtill freſh in your recollection, that on

the

" the laſt night of the general meeting, one nobleman, in perſon, and the " other through the mouth of a gentleman, who declared himſelf authorized " to ſpeak in his name, refuſed to coincide in your meaſures. You have " alſo been informed of the repeated and unſucceſsful attempts that were " made to prevail on them to ſacrifice their private ſentiments to the general " opinion of their fellow ſufferers. Thus deprived of the countenance of " thoſe, who were in the habit of addreſſing adminiſtration in the name of " the Catholics, it became incumbent on your committee to produce ſome " authentic document, to ſhew that in preſenting themſelves before his ma- " jeſty's miniſters, they were not an obtruding, ſelf-created deputation, nor " even the delegates of a numerous body of Catholics aſſembled in the " metropolis; but that they were authorized to act on behalf, and that their " language was the language of their brethren through the kingdom. The " determination of the noble lords to meet our committee at the caſtle, ren- " dered this expedient unneceſſary. They, however, deemed it not unad- " viſeable to carry with them a copy of your reſolutions, in caſe any unfore- " ſeen circumſtance ſhould call on them to make uſe of it. The event fully " juſtified their caution. After their chairman had informed Mr. Secretary " Hobart of the purpoſe of this deputation, your committee, with equal " aſtoniſhment and regret, heard the noble viſcount declare, in the name of " the Catholics, intentions different from what they had reſolved upon, and " from what your committee, in conſequence of your reſolution, had com- " municated to the miniſter in writing. What views could have induced " the noble lord to make ſuch a declaration, it is difficult to conjecture. Had " not your committee adopted the expedient alluded to, they would have " been reduced to the alternative of entering, before Mr. Secretary Hobart, " into a diſcuſſion equally unpleaſant in itſelf, and injurious in its conſe- " quences; or of ſuffering the mis-ſtatement of an individual, to obſtruct the " wiſhes of the entire Catholic body. By preſenting the copy of your reſo- " lutions they were relieved, to their complete ſatisfaction, from the effects of " ſo ſerious a miſtake.

" Your commitee having thus eluded the imprudence of the noble lord, " had ſtill the mortification to find him counteracting their meaſures; for " on the day following their interview with the miniſter, he wrote to the " ſecretary to diſavow thoſe reſolutions, which he had not then read, and " which had received the approbation of two general committees, at each of

" which

" which the Earl of Fingal had preſided. Your committee, with deference,
" ſubmit how irregular and unwarrantable it is in any individual, who has
" declined joining in your deliberations, to take upon himſelf to condemn,
" even obliquely, proceedings, with the nature of which, from his own in-
" difference, or neglect, he muſt be totally unacquainted.

" An immediate application to parliament next engaged the attention of
" your committee. They addreſſed themſelves to ſeveral perſons high in
" rank and conſequence, equally reſpected by adminiſtration, and endeared
" to their fellow ſubjects, by their private and public virtues. Your com-
" mittee are happy to inform you, that every member of the legiſlature to
" whom the intentions of the Catholics were made known, approved, in the
" moſt unqualified terms, of the moderate and conſtitutional ſteps they had
" reſolved to purſue, and expreſſed the fulleſt conviction of their loyalty, and
" of the claim which an uniform good conduct had given them to the li-
" berality of parliament. From the advanced period, however, of the ſeſſion,
" from the difficulty of communicating, in ſo ſhort a time, with their re-
" ſpective political connexions, or of beſtowing on the ſubject that attention
" which its importance required, your ſincereſt well-wiſhers recommended to
" your committee to poſtpone the intended application.

" Satisfied, that by the public diſcuſſion of your ſituation, the end had
" been in a great meaſure attained, for which you wiſhed that the petition
" had been preſented this ſeſſion, your committee thought it prudent to com-
" ply with the advice of their friends; and as a further mark of their re-
" ſpect to government, they gave immediate information of their intention
" to Mr. Secretary Hobart.

" Under theſe circumſtances, your committee beg leave to reſign into
" your hands the truſt which you have delegated to their care, with an hum-
" ble hope, that their exertions may prove not unacceptable. They men-
" tion to you, with pleaſure, the happy impreſſion which has been made on
" the minds of your fellow ſubjects by that ſpirit of moderation, which has
" hitherto preſided over your deliberations, and directed your meaſures.
" The liberality of the times is favorable to your efforts. The prejudices en-
" tertained againſt you will ſubſide in proportion as your principles and ſen-
" timents are made known and diſcuſſed; and your committee may venture
" to aſſure you, that ſubmiſſive and conſtitutional applications are the only

" effectual means, by which you can hope to obtain a mitigation of the penal " laws.

" *Reſolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our ſub-com- " mittee, for their attention to our inſtructions, and the zeal with which they " diſcharged the truſt repoſed in them.

" *Reſolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, to perſevere in dutiful " and ſubmiſſive applications to parliament for a mitigation of the penal laws; " and that a committee of twenty-one be now appointed for that purpoſe."

The ſummer paſt over without any circumſtance of notability relative to the Catholic body; though it appear, highly probable that meaſures were carrying on in concert for eſtabliſhing a permanent union of intereſt between the Proteſtants of the north (chiefly Diſſenters) and the body of Roman Catholics. In the month of June, 1791, a paper was circulated in Dublin, containing the deſign of an aſſociation to be called the Society of United Iriſhmen at Belfaſt: and a complete plan or proſpectus of the ſociety was publiſhed in the Northern Star in October following; and in the ſame month the Roman Catholics publiſhed a declaration of their tenets and pretenſions, and circulated them through the kingdom, in order to remove prejudices, and ſpirit up the exertions of their friends in their cauſe.* In the enſuing month of November, a ſimilar ſociety of United Iriſhmen was eſtabliſhed at Dublin: their declaration was the ſame as that of Belfaſt: but a teſt was annexed to it.† To this ſociety Mr. James Napper Tandy was ſecretary, and Mr. Simon Butler chairman. The acts of this period are to be retailed, as they took place: not as they may now appear in the eyes of thoſe, who conſider every act or tranſaction as tainted with treaſon, becauſe ſome of the actors in them were afterwards guilty of that offence. It appeared now to be the fixed ſyſtem of the Caſtle to involve all ſocieties, clubs, and aſſociations, which were very numerous in Ireland, from the Whig Club downwards, in one common anathema of faction and ſedition. The preſs teemed with publications on the great political queſtions of the day, and the warfare was truly virulent. Lord

* This declaration was made on the 21ſt of October, 1791, and may be ſeen in the Appendix, No. LXXXIV.

† It is requiſite to ſhew, that theſe firſt ſocieties of United Iriſhmen differed from thoſe that afterwards entered into the rebellion. Here nothing was ſecret, nothing ambiguous, nothing inconſiſtent with the duty of a loyal ſubject. Their teſt and conſtitution are to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. LXXXV.

Fitzgibbon's

Fitzgibbon's book, reviving the queſtion of the regency, produced ſeveral acrimonious anſwers. The ſevere attacks on the Whig Club were anſwered with great ability and warmth. Oppoſition could ſcarcely be puſhed to more ſevere hoſtilities. Every expreſſion of attention to any popular character, was an offence of no mean ſtandard at the Caſtle: and the reſentments were always repreſented by the oppoſite parties as perſonal and vindictive.

When the Earl of Charlemont ſailed for England to conduct his daughter to the Bath waters, the Whig Club, and all the volunteer corps in Dublin, attended him under arms to the water edge, and paid him the like honours on his return. In the courſe of this ſummer this venerable nobleman found himſelf under the neceſſity of reſigning the government of the county of Armagh: a confidential honor, which his anceſtors had uninterruptedly enjoyed from the days of Elizabeth: he conſidered the joint appointment of another nobleman with him in that government, as an offence and inſult. At this time his lordſhip's predilections for the diſſenters ſeem to have been particularly obnoxious to government; and many circumſtances concur in proving, that the determined efforts of the northern diſſenters in the cauſe of liberty, were infinitely more dreaded by government, than the claims or attempts of the Catholics for their emancipation. Lord Charlemont* was ſtill averſe from admitting the Catholics into any participation of the ſtate.

The

* It was not till the year 1796, that Lord Charlemont changed his opinion upon this ſubject, having then voted for their being admitted to the elective franchiſe. At the time the following addreſs was written to his lordſhip:

"When a project is brought forward, profeſſing to advance the proſperity, and more firmly to "ſecure the conſtitution of Ireland, the looks and thoughts of men are naturally directed to Lord "Charlemont: To a patriot nobleman, whoſe life, his labours alike and relaxations, have been con-"ſecrated to the ſervice of his country: in the field, in the ſenate, in the cabinet; mingling lite-"rature with arms, tempering politics with philoſophy: neglecting, when the public exigencies "required it, the cultivation of an elegant mind to join in military exerciſes, and ſet the example "of aſſiduity and ardour: returning, when the neceſſity had paſſed away, to encourage ſcience in "the land wherein he had planted freedom; erecting the temple of liberty, and courting every "muſe to decorate the edifice. Excuſe, my lord, this intruſion; there is a ſort of eſtabliſhed pre-"ſcription for ſoliciting your notice when Ireland is the object, and the theme is freedom; it is a "price exacted for the ſituation you are placed in, the moſt enviable a man can hold; loved, ad-"mired, and venerated by an entire people.

"I am aware, my lord, that on a former occaſion, you did not ſeem to concur in that ſentiment, "which it is the object of this eſſay to impreſs and to diſſeminate; if it were my deſign to flatter, I

The anniverſary commemoration of the French revolution was celebrated on the 14th of July, with the moſt ſolemn feſtivity and a gala, by the inhabitants and neighbourhood of Belfaſt, the more ſtrongly to mark their ſympathy with the French revolution. All the armed corps of volunters attended, and fired ſeveral feus de joie; many ſtriking emblems in alluſion to the revolution of 1688, were diſplayed, to mark their horror of deſpotiſm and arbitrary power.

" ſhould turn with a courtier's precaution from this contrariety; but relying on your lordſhip's " candour, I recall the ſubject, but I recall it to expoſtulate, not to cenſure; how ſhould I cen- " ſure the man, who oppoſes to reproof the ſeven-fold ſhield of public virtue and private benignity? " Let it ſtand as the moſt ample teſtimony to your good ſenſe, that you are requeſted to reconſider " an opinion once delivered, and of your importance in the nation, that diſcuſſing a great ſtate " queſtion, it is my wiſh to make your lordſhip my firſt proſelyte.

" So deeply rooted are our antipathies to many amongſt us, the very name of popery is an abo- " mination; they ſtart at the moſt remote hint of indulgence to that hated people: ſuch conſide- " rations could never have influenced Lord Charlemont; when, my lord, the authority of your great " name was oppoſed to the career of liberality, the intended alteration muſt have appeared inexpe- " dient. I know that many wiſe, and honorable perſons, who, like you, feel warmly for the " rights of mankind, are induced to think the Roman Catholics not prepared to receive civil liber- " ty. I cannot aſſent to this doctrine; and upon this, as well as upon other parts of the ſubject, " may I indulge my vanity with a hope that additional lights are to be offered; yet ſhould I fail in " impreſſing upon your lordſhip the wiſhed-for conviction, I muſt continue to reſpect, even in a " virtuous mind, what I am conſtrained to claſs among its foibles.

" Brutus ſays they are ambitious.
" But Brutus is an honorable man."

" It will be amidſt the improvements of a future period, that the parties, which now diſtract " the country, ſhall be extinguiſhed; and the motives, which at this day indiſpoſe very honeſt " men to the cauſe of the Roman Catholics, be neglected or forgotten; the ſtream of time as it " wafts to poſterity the events of this important æra, will not buoy up the various feelings, by " which individuals are actuated; when at that day, my lord, hiſtory records your name amongſt " the illuſtrious worthies, who have uſed their rank but as the inſtrument of public advantage, " with the Hornes, the Egmonts, and the Naſſaus, or with your own Rockingham and Saville: " it will be enquired with amazement, why the benevolent friend of mankind ſhould acquieſce in " what then may appear unjuſt privation; the diſintereſted patriot ſhould countenance what will " ſeem not calculated to promote his country's intereſt: on this ſide alone will malignity attempt to " whiſper miſrepreſentation; on this act alone will fame be ſilent; or as ſhe extends the annals of " your life, an example to future noblemen, on this page only will ſhe drop a tear, and ſuffer it, " like the diſavowed victories of Condé, to be torn from her record." This alluded to a figure of the great Condé at Chantilly: Fame is repreſented holding to view the hiſtory of his life; but the pages ſuppoſed to contain the account of thoſe victories he gained againſt his country, are repreſented at his feet, torn from the book.

And

And a moſt ſympathetic addreſs or declaration on the occaſion, was ſent to the ſociety of the Friends of the Conſtitution at Bourdeaux.*

Theſe

* Their anſwer ſhews the boaſted ſympathy, which at that time exiſted between theſe gentlemen in the north, and the French revolutioners. It was received by Mr. Sharman, the preſident of the meeting.

" The SOCIETY of the FRIENDS of the CONSTITUTION, at Bourdeaux, to the VOLUNTEERS " and INHABITANTS of the town and environs of Belfaſt, in Ireland.

FRIENDS AND BRETHREN!

" YES, generous Iriſhmen!—Receive this appellation, which we have hi- " therto granted, *excluſively*, to Frenchmen, true friends of our conſtitution. Receive it, notwith- " ſtanding the diſtance which ſeparates us; the difference of our idioms, and of our manners: " Men inſpired by a love of the human kind, and the ſpirit of liberty, are mutually attracted, " however diſtant their ſituations: there is nothing intermediate between them, were they placed " at different extremities of the globe. The citizens who agreed to the Declaration concluded on at " Belfaſt, on the 14th July, 1791, are then *all* our *Brethren and our Friends.*

" Your addreſs, read the 12*th* of this month, at one of the public ſittings of our ſociety, and " frequently interrupted by univerſal burſts of applauſe, has filled our ſouls with ſentiments of de- " light; in contemplating the purity, the compaſs, and the energy of your maxims reſpecting the " natural and political rights of man. We fancied we beheld the ſtandard of liberty, which philo- " ſophy at this day unfurls in every part of Europe, arreſted in its progreſs on the rock of Ireland, " to receive the new homage of an enlightened people.

" The truth of your ſentiments; the depth of your reflections; the gracefulneſs of your expreſ- " ſions, recalled to our recollection thoſe celebrated bards, thoſe immortal poets, whom the rage of " the tyrannous Edward purſued with his moſt cruel proſecutions, to ſtifle the voices of the country, " of honor, and of liberty.

" France has given the ſignal of a bold inſurrection againſt all prejudices; againſt all abuſes; " againſt all illegitimate authorities. May it, *as you deſire*, become general among the human race! " That day, friends and brethren, will arrive; when the different parts of the civilized world ſhall " raiſe together their eloquent voice; which, like that of Belfaſt, ſhall aſſert the rights of the peo- " ple, and teach them to recover them by the empire of reaſon, and the power of the laws.

" Receive, friends and brethren, the congratulations and thanks of a free people, tranſmitted to " you through us, as their organ, for the example which you yourſelves lately gave to the univerſe!

" We congratulate you on the talents diſplayed in the expoſition of your principles reſpecting the " nature and end of government. We congratulate you on the ſagacity, the noble freedom, with " which you have pointed out the influence of the French revolution on the happineſs of every peo- " ple. We congratulate you on the courage, with which you force tyrants to liſten to expreſſions of " that lively intereſt which you take in our fate; to hear the prayer which you addreſs to God, " that he may protect us with his power; to attend above all, to the ardent vows which you have " offered up for our ſucceſs. In fine, we congratulate you, *brethren and friends*, on the reſpect " which you have ſhewn to the National Aſſembly of France, by addreſſing to it directly your de-

" claration.

Theſe public acts of communication of the Proteſtants in the north with France, gave particular offence to government, who manifeſted great jealouſy and diffidence towards all perſons connected with them. Mr. Tone had been ſecretary to the Catholic committee, and Meſſrs. Simon Butler, and William Todd Jones, were their avowed friends and advocates. Several therefore, of the Roman Catholic gentlemen of landed property, who diſapproved of this general ſyſtem of political meaſures purſued by theſe ſocieties, in order to expreſs their horror of co-operating in any degree with ſuch men and meaſures, ſeceded formally from the Catholic committee; and on the 27th of December, 1791, preſented to the lord-lieutenant a petition or addreſs, which went no farther than a general expreſſion of ſubmiſſiveneſs and reſpect to government, throwing themſelves and their body upon their humanity and wiſdom.*

On the 30th of December, 1791, the United Iriſhmen of Dublin held a ſpecial ſeſſion, at which they approved of a circular letter, which was calculated to encourage ſimilar ſocieties; and to it they annexed a declaration of their political ſentiments, and the teſt which they had taken, as a ſocial and ſacred compact, to bind them more cloſely together.† They alſo in their publications animadverted ſeverely upon the 64 addreſſers. The general diſpoſition to republicaniſm which appeared in the publications, and whole conduct of theſe new ſocieties, became daily more and more obnoxious to government: they were chiefly compoſed of Diſſenters: the ſeveral leading

" claration. Ah! that you could conceive the degree in which that brilliant act of admiration has " penetrated our ſouls with joy and gratitude!—that you could conceive how much all good " Frenchmen are touched, honored, filled with noble pride, when they behold the juſt tribute of " applauſe, which they themſelves unceaſingly offer to their regenerate aſſembly, paſſing from " mouth to mouth, from clime to clime; to that council of Sages, who thus enjoy, before hand, " the glory with which poſterity will be crowned.

" We are, with the moſt tender affection,

" Friends and Brothers,

" The members of the Society of the Friends of the Conſtitution, at Bourdeaux.

" AZEMA, Preſident,

" CHAPELLE, Secretary.

" *At Bourdeaux, 14th of Auguſt, 1791, in* " *the third year of our liberty.*"

* A copy of the addreſs, with the names of thoſe who ſubſcribed it, is to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. LXXXVI. It highly diſpleaſed the oppoſite party, and many ſevere things were ſaid upon the 64 addreſſers: ſome called it an eleemoſynary addreſs.

† For this declaration, vide Appendix, No. LXXXVII.

men

men amongſt them were Proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church: it was believed and conſtantly preached up by the Caſtle, that this new, violent, and affectionate attachment of the Diſſenters for their Roman Catholic brethren, proceeded not from any ſentiment of liberality or toleration, but purely to engage the co-operation of the great maſs of the people the more warmly in forwarding the ſeveral popular queſtions lately brought before parliament. The truth, however is, that their marked forwardneſs to applaud and ſympathize with the French innovaters had cauſed ſuſpicions in many ſtrong abettors of thoſe very points, that the ulterior views of the ſocieties then formed, (into which the Catholics were not admitted), tended to objects beyond the known limits of the conſtitution. From that time ſhyneſs, jealouſy, and diſtruſt, ſubſiſted between thoſe new ſocieties and the Whig Club, though the agents and writers for government attempted to identify their views, meaſures and principles, as appears by the newſpapers, and other publications of that day.

In the County of Armagh, the local differences and internal warfare of the *Defenders* and *Peep of Day Boys*, were carried on with increaſed acrimony: duration naturally extended the evil; and the extenſion gave the Defenders the ſuperiority of numbers: they in their turn became occaſionally aſſailants and aggreſſors. The *Peep of Day Boys* occupied with their own conteſt, gave not into the enlarged views of liberality and attachment to the Catholics, which diſtinguiſhed all the public acts of their brethren at Belfaſt and Dublin. Here, on the contrary, appeared all the bitterneſs of ancient puritanical rancour againſt popery: and it is not improbable, that the refuſal of the Earl of Charlemont to countenance and abet the ferocious efforts of the *Peep of Day Boys* againſt the *Defenders*, became the immediate cauſe of a partner having been impoſed upon him in the government of that province. For at the ſpring aſſizes for the county of Armagh, 1791, the grand jury and high ſheriff entered into the following reſolutions:

" That a rage among the Roman Catholics, for illegally arming themſelves, has of late taken place, and is truly alarming; in order then to put a " ſtop to ſuch proceedings, and to reſtore tranquillity, we do pledge ourſelves " to each other, as magiſtrates and individuals, and do hereby offer a reward " of five guineas, for the conviction of each of the firſt twenty perſons, illegally armed and aſſembled as aforeſaid."

An addreſs preſented by the Ulſter volunteers, to their general, Lord Charlemont, after his return from England, on the occaſion of a coadjutor

jutor having been appointed with him in the government of Armagh, ſtrongly marked the deep ſenſe of the affront they ſtill conceived had been put upon him by ſuch an unprecedented appointment. And ſhortly after ſome ſpirited reſolutions were entered into, and an addreſs preſented by the Belfaſt volunteers to thoſe of Dublin on the ſubject of the Armagh reſolutions, expreſſing ſentiments of toleration ſimilar to thoſe contained in the reſolutions of the Dublin Independents, and the other volunteer corps of the metropolis. Publications were induſtriouſly circulated, that the moſt diſtant idea of intolerance was thus warmly diſclaimed on all hands, and in every quarter of the kingdom. Did the people of Ulſter entertain any thing like diſaffection to their Roman Catholic brethren, it was in Belfaſt, the largeſt and moſt populous town of the province, that the ſymptoms of it would have been moſt prevalent. Happily there no ſuch diſaffection had exiſted: on the contrary, a ſpirit of manly and enlightened liberarality, which promiſed to promote and perpetuate that national unanimity, on which depended the hopes and proſperity of the kingdom. Reſolutions of the Independent Dublin volunteers, and thoſe of the delegates from the Proteſtant members of the other corps were publiſhed, expreſſive of feelings and ſentiments, which proved that the appellation of Iriſh volunteers ſhould mean what it originally meant, friends of univerſal and equal liberty; devoted enemies to religious bigotry and intolerance to uſurpation of the common rights of man, and the baſe ſubjection of the many to the few. It was to be lamented, that an avowal of thoſe generous ſentiments had been called forth by a miſconception of ſome of their fellow countrymen, no leſs zealous than others in the cauſe of general freedom; no leſs inimical to the bigotted intolerance of the ſixteenth century.

Miſconception it was that could ever have brought any deſcription of the people of Ulſter under the diſgraceful charge of bigotry and intolerance. The gloomy cloud of ſuperſtition, which lately enveloped the greater part of Europe in all the horrors of religious diſſention, of cruel and relentleſs perſecution, was already diſſipated by the increaſed and increaſing light of philoſophy and reaſon, even in thoſe countries where it was moſt denſe, and its influence moſt miſchievous. It was not to be ſuppoſed that any veſtige of it remained in a country like that ſo long exerciſed in contemplating the rights of men and nations, for much leſs attention to abſtract politics than Ireland had indulged in, would have ſhewn, that perſecution for religious opinions was incompatible with the law of nature, of ſociety, and of God. The Armagh reſolutions

reſolutions might poſſibly contain ſome incautious expreſſions, but the expreſſions of men of known fidelity to the cauſe of civil and religious freedom, and to the general intereſts of the kingdom, inſeparably connected with the concord of its inhabitants, candor would interpret with indulgence; nor would ſhe wreſt an unguarded phraſe into proof incontrovertible of treaſon againſt the rights of Iriſhmen. Certainly the men of Armagh might have laboured for the reſtoration of peace in their county, which, beyond doubt, was their only object, without reſorting to expreſſions, which ſeemed to aſperſe a general denomination of loyal ſubjects. To adopt ſuch expreſſions was imprudent in them, and probably an inadvertent error: they would, no doubt, have magnanimity enough to come forward and diſavow the principles. As for a ſpirit of intolerance among the Proteſtants of Ulſter, it was purely ideal, and thoſe who were acquainted with the ſtate of political and religious ſentiment in that province knew it to be ſo. The common enemies of both Proteſtants and Catholics, who wiſhed to depreſs the power of each by playing off one againſt another, were thoſe who alone endeavoured to perſuade the people of Ireland of its exiſtence, and who would fain give it being, and call it into action, to ſerve as an inſtrument of oppreſſion. The people of Ireland were warned to be on their guard againſt the deep artifice; a ſpirit of brotherly forbearance could alone fruſtrate the deſign of the common enemy: nor could their country derive any good but from the unanimity of all denominations of its people.

The year 1792, opened ſcenes peculiarly important to the fate of Ireland. Some years had paſt without any parliamentary proceeding relative to the bulk of the nation, which never ceaſed to feel and latterly to expreſs their ſuffering under the exiſting code of penal laws, affecting perſons profeſſing the Catholic religion. In conſequence of ſome of the warmeſt advocates for the Catholic claims having reſorted to general and abſtract reaſoning, they greatly ſuffered in the eyes of government and the majority of parliament. It was at this time difficult to ſuggeſt a general ground of civil freedom, without being ſuſpected of being tainted with Gallic licentiouſneſs. The whole Catholic body on ſome ground or other, was now worked up to an abſolute expectation of relief. The addreſſers ſuperadded to the equitable grounds of their claims, the ſubmiſſiveneſs and reſpect of their application, and their confidence in the humanity and generoſity of government. The petitioners relied more on the irreſiſtible force of truth and equity, than on the liberality

or juſtice of government. Prudence however taught them, that ſome attention was to be paid to appearances and prejudices. It has been obſerved, that the great political change in the public mind, had been produced by the writings of Meſſrs. Burke and Payne: between theſe two extremes, no middle poſt was tenable. In order, therefore, to purge themſelves in the eyes of government of any of that ſort of levelling democracy, which was ſo peculiarly obnoxious to government, the Catholic committee chofe for their council and agent the ſon of Mr. Burke, conceiving, that he would give no advice, concur in no meaſure, abet no ſtep, without the privity, direction and approbation of his father: and it was no unfair concluſion on the part of the generality of the Catholic body, that whatever was backed and ſupported by Mr. Burke,* could not be urged or claimed upon French principles. It appears

* It had been concerted, and it was ſoon after well known, that Mr. Burke's particular friend, Sir Hercules Langriſhe, was to bring forth the Roman Catholic bill. Mr. Burke on the occaſion wrote a very able letter or rather a moſt conſtitutional eſſay on the ſubject to his friend. This letter is of very material importance to the hiſtory of the progreſs of Catholic emancipation. Sir Hercules Langriſhe was the man fixed upon by government to bring forward the ſubject of their claims. He had always been favorably diſpoſed to them: but his ſentiments had been latterly altered by the faſhionable cry againſt all popular claims, and the fear he was under of ſhewing any degree of oppoſition to the ſyſtem of the caſtle, which ever had been the polar ſtar of his political navigation. Mr. Burke therefore tells him, that he wiſhed his ideas had been more his own. In conſenting to ſtand forward on this occaſion, the baronet appears to have acted with extraordinary caution: he communicated both his own and all other perſons objections againſt the claims of the Catholics: he furniſhed him with all the letters and publications written upon the ſubject by Catholics and others, and in a letter of the 10th December, 1791, moſt pointedly urged him to deliver his opinions upon the whole caſe before him. Mr. Burke on the 3d of January, 1792, gave him that learned and liberal opinion upon the ſubject of elective franchiſe, which probably reconciled the Britiſh miniſter to the propriety, juſtice, and neceſſity of acceding to their demands. It was avowedly written to meet every ſpecies of objection: political, legal, conſtitutional, moral, local, permanent, and proviſional. It was calculated to remove the prejudices of the church of England, and every ſpecies of Proteſtant Diſſenter, and above all ſupereminently demonſtrative of the compatibility of Catholic emancipation, with the coronation oath. With the full objection to the democracy of ſome few of the Catholics before his eyes: he thus ſpoke. "It becomes an object of very ſerious conſideration, "whether, becauſe wicked men of various deſcriptions are engaged in ſeditious courſes, the rati- "onal, ſober, and valuable part of one deſcription ſhould not be indulged their ſober and rational "expectations? You who have looked deeply into the ſpirit of the Popery laws, muſt be perfectly "ſenſible, that a great part of the preſent miſchief, which we abhor in common, has ariſen from "them. If the abſurd perſons you mention, find no way of providing for liberty, but by over- "turning this happy conſtitution, and introducing a frantic democracy, let us take care how we "prevent

pears to have been well underſtood between the Britiſh and Iriſh cabinets, that the opinions and countenance of Mr. Burke, at this period the triumphant

" prevent better people from any rational expectations of partaking in the benefits of that conſti-
" tution as it ſtands. The maxims you eſtabliſh cut the matter ſhort. They have no ſort of con-
" nexion with the good or ill behaviour of the perſons who ſeek relief, or with the proper or im-
" proper means by which they ſeek it. They form a perpetual bar to all pleas and all expec-
" tations.

" There is another way of taking an objection to this conceſſion, which I admit to be ſomething
" more plauſible, and worthy of a more attentive examination. It is that this numerous claſs of
" people is mutinous, diſorderly, prone to ſedition, and eaſy to be wrought upon by the inſidious
" arts of wicked and deſigning men; that conſcious of this, the ſober, rational, and wealthy part
" of that body, who are totally of another character, do by no means deſire any participation for
" themſelves, or for any one elſe of their deſcription, in the franchiſes of the Britiſh conſtitu-
" tion.

" I have great doubt of the exactneſs of any part of this obſervation. But let us admit, that
" the body of the Catholics are prone to ſedition (of which, as I have ſaid, I entertain much
" doubt), is it poſſible, that any fair obſerver or fair reaſoner, can think of confining this deſcrip-
" tion to them only? I believe it to be poſſible for men to be mutinous and ſeditious who feel no
" grievance: but I believe no man will aſſert ſeriouſly, that when people are of a turbulent ſpirit,
" the beſt way to keep them in order, is to furniſh them with ſomething ſubſtantial to complain
" of.

" The popular meeting from which apprehenſions have been entertained, has aſſembled. I have
" accidentally had converſation with two friends of mine, who knew ſomething of the gentleman
" who was put into the chair upon that occaſion; one of them has had money tranſactions with him,
" the other, from curioſity, has been to ſee his concerns: they both tell me he is a man of ſome
" property; but you muſt be the beſt judge of this, who by your office, are likely to know his
" tranſactions. Many of the others are certainly perſons of fortune; and all, or moſt, fathers of
" families, men in reſpectable ways of life; and ſome of them far from contemptible, either for
" their information, or for the abilities which they have ſhewn in the diſcuſſion of their intereſts.
" What ſuch men think it for their advantage to acquire, ought not, *prima facie*, to be conſidered
" as raſh or heady, or incompatible with the public ſafety or welfare.

" You have ſent me ſeveral papers, ſome in print, ſome in manuſcript. I think I had ſeen all
" of them except the formula of aſſociation. I confeſs they appear to me to contain matter miſ-
" chievous, and capable of giving alarm, if the ſpirit in which they are written ſhould be found
" to make any conſiderable progreſs. But I am at a loſs to know how to apply them, as objections
" to the caſe now before us. When I find that the general committee which acts for the Roman
" Catholics in Dublin, prefers the aſſociation propoſed in the written draft you have ſent me, to a
" reſpectful application in parliament, I ſhall think the perſons who ſign ſuch a paper, to be un-
" worthy of any privilege, which may be thought fit to be granted; and that ſuch men ought, by
" name, to be excepted from any benefit under the conſtitution to which they offer this violence.

phant and unrivalled champion of church and ſtate throughout Great Britain, ſhould be permitted to have currency and ſupport alſo through the kingdom

" But I do not find that this form of a ſeditious league has been ſigned by any perſon whatſoever, " either on the part of the ſuppoſed projectors, or on the part of thoſe whom it is calculated to ſe- " duce. I do not find, on enquiry, that ſuch a thing was mentioned, or even remotely alluded to, " in the general meeting of the Catholics, from which ſo much violence was apprehended. I have " conſidered the other publications, ſigned by individuals, on the part of certain ſocieties; I may " miſtake, for I have not the honor of knowing them perſonally, but I take Mr. Butler and Mr. " Tandy not to be Catholics, but members of the eſtabliſhed church. Not one that I recollect of " theſe publications, which you and I equally diſlike, appears to be written by perſons of that per- " ſuaſion. Now, if, whilſt a man is dutifully ſoliciting a favor from parliament, any perſon " ſhould chuſe, in an improper manner, to ſhew his inclination towards the cauſe depending; and " if that muſt deſtroy the cauſe of the petitioner, then, not only the petitioner, but the legiſlature " itſelf is in the power of any weak friend or artful enemy, that the ſupplicant, or that the parlia- " ment may have. A man muſt be judged by his own actions only. Certain Proteſtant Diſſenters " make ſeditious propoſitions to the Catholics, which it does not appear that they have yet accept- " ed. It would be ſtrange that the tempter ſhould eſcape all puniſhment, and that he who, under " circumſtances full of ſeduction and full of provocation, has reſiſted the temptation, ſhould incur the " penalty. You know, that, with regard to the Diſſenters, who are ſtated to be the chief movers " in this vile ſcheme of altering the principles of election to a right of voting by the head, you " are not able (if you ought even to wiſh ſuch a thing) to deprive them of any part of the fran- " chiſes and privileges which they hold on a footing of perfect equality with yourſelves. They may " do what they pleaſe with conſtitutional impunity; but the others cannot even liſten with civility " to an invitation from them to an ill-judged ſcheme of liberty, without forfeiting, for ever, all " hopes of any of thoſe liberties which we admit to be ſober and rational. It is known I believe, " that the greater, as well as the ſounder part of our excluded countrymen, have not adopted the " wild ideas, and wilder engagements, which have been held out to them; but have rather choſen " to hope ſmall and ſafe conceſſions from the legal power, than boundleſs objects from trouble and " confuſion. This mode of action ſeems to me to mark men of ſobriety, and to diſtinguiſh them " from thoſe who are intemperate, from circumſtance or from nature.

" Such, my dear Sir, is the plain nature of the argument drawn from the revolution maxims, " enforced by a ſuppoſed diſpoſition in the Catholics to unite with the Diſſenters. Such it is, " though it were clothed in never ſuch bland and civil forms, and wrapped up, as a poet ſays, in " a thouſand " artful folds of ſacred lawn." For my own part, I do know in what manner to " ſhape ſuch arguments, ſo as to obtain admiſſion for them into a rational underſtanding. Every " thing of this kind is to be reduced, at laſt, to threats of power. I cannot ſay væ victis, and " then throw the ſword into the ſcale. I have no ſword; and if I had, in this caſe moſt certain- " ly I would not uſe it as a make-weight, in political reaſoning.

" Obſerve, on theſe principles, the difference between the procedure of the parliament and the " Diſſenters, towards the people in queſtion. One employs courtſhip, the other force. The Diſ-

" ſenters

kingdom of Ireland. The great object of political attention throughout Ireland in the year 1792, was the queſtion of opening ſome conſtitutional rights

" ſenters offer bribes, the parliament nothing but the front negative of a ſtern and forbidding au-
" thority. A man may be very wrong in his ideas of what is good for him. But no man affronts
" me, nor can therefore juſtify my affronting him, by offering to make me as happy as himſelf,
" according to his own ideas of happineſs. This the Diſſenters do to the Catholics. You are on
" the different extremes. The Diſſenters offer, with regard to conſtitutional rights and civil ad-
" vantages of all ſorts, every thing; you refuſe every thing. With them, there is boundleſs,
" though not very aſſured hope; with you, a very ſure and very unqualified deſpair. The terms
" of alliance, from the Diſſenters, offer a repreſentation of the commons, choſen out of the peo-
" ple by the head. This is abſurdly and dangerouſly large, in my opinion, and that ſcheme of
" election is known to have been, at all times, perfectly odious to me. But I cannot think it right
" of courſe, to puniſh the Iriſh Roman Catholics by an univerſal excluſion, becauſe others, whom
" you would not puniſh at all, propoſe an univerſal admiſſion. I cannot diſſemble, to myſelf,
" that in this very kingdom, many perſons who are not in the ſituation of the Iriſh Catholics, but
" who on the contrary, enjoy the full benefit of the conſtitution as it ſtands, and ſome of whom,
" from the effect of their fortunes, enjoy it in a large meaſure, had ſome years ago aſſociated to
" procure great and undefined changes (they conſidered them as reforms) in the popular part of
" the conſtitution. Our friend, the late Mr. Flood (no ſlight man) propoſed in his place, and in
" my hearing, a repreſentation not much leſs extenſive than this, for England; in which every
" houſe was to be inhabited by a voter, in addition to all the actual votes by other titles, all thoſe
" (ſome of the corporate) which we know do not require a houſe, or a ſhed. Can I forget that a
" perſon of the very higheſt rank, of very large fortune, and of the very firſt claſs of ability,
" brought a bill into the Houſe of Lords, in the head quarters of ariſtocracy, containing identi-
" cally the ſame project, for the ſuppoſed adoption of which, by a club or two, it is thought right
" to extinguiſh all hopes in the Roman Catholics of Ireland? I cannot ſay it was very eagerly em-
" braced, or very warmly purſued. But the lords neither did diſavow the bill, nor treat it with
" any diſregard, nor expreſs any ſort of diſapprobation of its noble author, who has never loſt,
" with king or people, the leaſt degree of the reſpect and conſideration which ſo juſtly belongs to
" him.

" Several are in dread of the manœuvres of certain perſons among the Diſſenters, who turn this
" ill humour to their own ill purpoſes. You know, better than I can, how much theſe proceed-
" ings of certain among the Diſſenters are to be feared. You are to weigh, with the temper which
" is natural to you, whether it may be for the ſafety of our eſtabliſhment, that the Catholics ſhould
" be ultimately perſuaded, that they have no hope to enter into the conſtitution, but through the
" Diſſenters.

" Think; whether this be the way to prevent, or diſſolve factious combinations againſt the
" church, or the ſtate. Reflect ſeriouſly on the poſſible conſequences of keeping, in the heart of
" your country, a bank of diſcontent, every hour accumulating, upon which every deſcription of
" ſeditious men may draw at pleaſure. They, whoſe principles of faction would diſpoſe them to

" the

rights to the Catholics. The tranſactions of this year have generally been repreſented as differently by the different perſons, who have undertaken to rehearſe them, as if they had retailed the acts and deeds of diſtinct centuries and diſtinct people. Although it be a matter of undoubted notoriety, that no member of oppoſition did bring forward or move any thing on behalf of the Catholics during the ſeſſion, (except the preſentation of petitions) and that the bill brought in by Sir Hercules Langriſhe, a conſtant ſupporter of government, was long thought of, maturely digeſted and reflexedly approved of by government before it was uſhered into the Houſe of Commons: yet has that very circumſtance been notoriouſly falſified by the Earl of Clare in the moſt ſolemn manner.

* "With reſpect to the old code of the Popery laws, there cannot be a "doubt that it ought to have been repealed. It was impoſſible that any "country could continue to exiſt under a code, by which a majority of its "inhabitants were cut off from the rights of property. But in the relaxa-"tion of theſe laws there was a fatal error. It ſhould have been taken up "ſyſtematically by the miniſters of the crown, and not left in the hands of "every individual, who choſe to take poſſeſſion of it, as an engine of power "or popularity. This, however, was done; and before the ſubject attracted "the notice of the ſervants of the crown, the Popery laws were unequivo-"cally repealed ſo far as they affected the rights of property, were relaxed "in every clauſe of intolerance, which affected the Popiſh worſhip; and the "profeſſion of the law was opened to perſons of the Popiſh religion, without "qualification or reſtriction. In 1792, a giddy young man, now no more, "was brought over here from England by the Catholic committee, as their "avowed agent, who, immediately after his arrival, commenced a warm "canvaſs of the members of both houſes of parliament for the political in-"tereſts of his clients, and in the courſe of this canvaſs I can ſtate, from my "own knowledge, his great argument was, an unequivocal offer of the ſer-

"the eſtabliſhment of an arbitrary monarchy, will find a nation of men who have no ſort of in-"tereſt in freedom; but who will have an intereſt in that equality of juſtice or favor, with which "a wiſe deſpot muſt view all his ſubjects who do not attack the foundations of his power. Love of "liberty itſelf may, in ſuch men, become the means of eſtabliſhing an arbitrary domination. On "the other hand, they who wiſh for a democratic republic, will find a ſet of men who have no "choice between civil ſervitude, and the entire ruin of a mixed conſtitution."

* Speech of the Earl of Clare, on the 10th of February, 1800.

"vices

" vices of his clients to men, whoſe ſtations naturally gave them ſome weight " in the public councils, to eſtabliſh their political power on a baſis not to " be ſhaken, if they would put themſelves at the head of the Catholic " body."*

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* An account of theſe firſt tranſactions has been left us by the young man, whom the chancellor had thus charged with levity, who evidently acted under the advice of his father, and whoſe reviſing pen is diſcoverable through the ſtile, language, and ſentiments of the whole pamphlet. It is intituled, *An Addreſs from the general Committee of the Roman Catholics to their fellow Proteſtant Subjects, &c.* publiſhed in Dublin, 1792. Here we find the following account of the diviſion of the Catholic body. (*P.* 5.) " In the firſt place it is incumbent upon us to reduce the confuſed " maſs of obloquy, which has been heaped upon us, into ſome kind of certainty, both in its ſub- " ſtance and in its application. We ſhall afterwards examine the grounds of it. For this purpoſe " we are to premiſe, that a diviſion, in the Catholic body, has been artfully imagined, and ſtrongly " inſiſted upon; of which one part is honored with the appellation of the real Catholics; the men " of birth, property, education, character, morals, and underſtanding: The other part is repre- " ſented, as a baſe, unlettered, mechanical, poor, and vulgar herd; the obſcure tenants of the " counting houſe, and the rude tillers of the ſoil; men incapable of comprehending the principles " of ſociety, or the ties of moral obligation.

" Firſt, it is proper to remark, that the diſtribution and contra-diſtinction of men, which is here " ſuppoſed, implies an entire and previous diſſolution of the ſocial bond, and one which if ever it " takes place, can only exiſt for the deſtruction of the ſuperior claſs. But *fortunately* for the " *proſperity*, the peace, and the honor of Ireland, no ſuch diviſion has yet been effected among the " Roman Catholics. It is true indeed, that a diviſion (if the defection of ſo ſmall a number can " be called a diviſion) has been fomented, and yet ſubſiſts, which however it is to be lamented " upon other grounds, is not of the nature above deſcribed. Two parties are ſeen amongſt us, " one compoſed of thoſe who (from motives beſt known to themſelves) have been induced to put " their hands to the addreſs of the 17th of December; for which act Lord Kenmare has been de- " clared unworthy of our confidence: the other party conſiſts on one hand, of this committee, " (delegated for the purpoſe of tranſacting the concerns of the Roman Catholics), and on the " other, of all thoſe who have come forward in various reſolutions of approbation to this com- " mittee, and of abhorrence of the imputations, which Lord Kenmare's addreſs has obliquely " thrown upon us, but which many of the addreſſers themſelves have ſince honorably diſclaimed.

" Of theſe two parties it is evident, that the pompous and encomiaſtic ſide of the picture above " delineated, is meant to apply to the followers of Lord Kenmare; the vilifying and opprobrious " expreſſions relate to this committee, and to thoſe who have ſupported it. Before we proceed to " expoſe the injuſtice of this application in both its parts, we wiſh to have it underſtood, that in " diſcharging ourſelves from illiberal reflections, we only mean to reject thoſe which imply ſome " evil moral quality. We ſhould be far from the mean and inſolent vanity, ſo unbecoming a " Chriſtian and a man, of taking pride in the accidents of birth, wealth, and education, in what- " ever degree we might poſſeſs them. We do not account ourſelves better than thoſe whom per-

" haps

The body of the Roman Catholics, though neceſſarily anxious to be relieved of the hardſhips they had ſo long laboured under, could not be altogether inſenſible of the new and unaccuſtomed ſympathy and liberality of

" haps a kinder providence, has placed in the moſt humble life, and who ſerve their generation " with a more obſcure, or a leſs ſucceſsful induſtry. Why ſhould indigence be inſulted? We do " not deſpiſe the poor, nor him, who with the ſweat of his brow, bears all the burden of the com- " mon curſe. Our actions will ſhew, that we are not willing to ſacrifice, for objects of avarice " and ambition to ourſelves and to our children, the neceſſary ſecurity, the juſt importance, the " protecting franchiſe of the man, whoſe hard toil obtains from our mother earth the very bread " we eat. When, therefore, it is aſſerted, that we are only the unlettered, poor, mechanical mem- " bers of our perſuaſion; we deny it only becauſe it is not the fact. As far as it regards ourſelves, " the impoſture is leſs material. But, when it is conſidered, that it is not this committee alone, " who are repreſented as deſtitute of property, character, and knowledge, incapable of diſcerning " ſocial good or public utility; but that all the Roman Catholics, who have ſtood forth on this oc- " caſion, the principal merchants of ſo many trading cities, the houſeholders of all the pariſhes of " this capital, the landed proprietors of ſo many counties, are involved in this indiſcriminate re- " proach of meanneſs, poverty and ignorance; common ſenſe, and the feelings of mankind exact " from us an authentic aſſertion of the truth. We declare then, and we are warranted in de- " claring, that the names and characters of the perſons who have ſigned reſolutions in favor of the " general committee, are of the firſt reſpectability in every claſs, and every line which the law " has left open to us. Let thoſe who have read their reſolutions themſelves judge of their capacity, " and ſay whether they are, as has been inſinuated, below the ſtandard of the human faculties, and " incapable of political combinations, or even of appreciating their own wants, and their own " grievances.

" It has been repreſented, that they have no ſtake in the proſperity of their country, and nothing " to hazard in the event of public calamity. If we are to ſpeak of their ſubſtance, to bring the " eſtimate within the loweſt poſſible calculation, we cannot compute the property of thoſe, who " have already ſigned reſolutions in our favor (to ſay nothing of ourſelves, or of thoſe who are yet " to ſign) at leſs than ten millions ſterling; we ſhould come nearer the truth, if we ſhould ſay " twenty millions. If mercantile, and perſonal wealth conſtitutes the greater part of this ſum, it " is becauſe the property of the Roman Catholics is principally veſted in trade, and that we have " been long incapable, and are but lately qualified to acquire real eſtates. But though Providence " has not frowned upon our humble induſtry, we repeat it again, that we ſolicit relief not for the " ſake of the rich, but for the ſake of the poor. And if we were all ſunk (as too many of us are) " in one dreary lot of hopeleſs poverty, we ſhould only poſſeſs a ſtronger claim to the charities of " parliament, and one argument more for a participation in equal laws.

" But it is ſaid theſe addreſſers are the landed intereſt. A landed intereſt is certainly reſpectable, " and deſerves much, but not the whole attention of a legiſlature; that is to ſay, where it is united, " and not when it is in a ſtate of unnatural ſeparation from the general maſs of property. It ſo " happens, however, that a much greater proportion of that very property is with the committee, " than with the followers of Lord Kenmare."

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any of their Proteſtant countrymen. The Catholics did not weigh to a ſcruple thoſe differences, by which the religious tenets of the eſtabliſhed church and the Diſſenters varied from their own; nor did they open old accounts to diſcover, whether the aſperity of Puritanical rigor had been ſoftened by the aſſumption of Proteſtant aſcendancy: thoſe, who upon the broad baſis of conſtitutional freedom adopted the principle of their emancipation could not but be received with cordiality, as the welcome heralds of the ceſſation of their bondage, and coadjutors in the glorious work of their delivery. Although the Catholics were not generally admitted into the different ſocieties, which had lately been formed and inſtituted for promoting the great popular objects of civil freedom and reform: yet it was morally impoſſible, that many Catholic individuals ſhould not at that time have ſympathized with their Proteſtant brethren in the forwarding of thoſe objects. Nothing however had been ever ſuggeſted, much leſs attempted by them as a body towards their attainment. Under the exiſting vehemence of political prejudice, it was found prudent in the body, to prove to the legiſlature as well as the nation at large, as the fact was, that the exertions of their body were excluſively confined to the relaxation of the penal code.*

On the 19th of January, 1792, the parliament was opened by a ſpeech

* Thus were their exertions expreſſed by their agent Mr. R. Burke: "We now proceed to "ſhew, that the principles and conduct imputed to us, are equally deſtitute of foundation. It is "ſaid, that we are turbulent and ſeditious, that we have formed regular plans for the intimidation "of parliament, and that inſtead of making application for favors, we aſſert claims of right, of "ſpeculative right unknown to the conſtitution, and ſubverſive of ſociety. Theſe are the charges; "we are not afraid to repeat them. Whether we intimidate, or are ourſelves the object of in- "timidation, is for thoſe to pronounce, who hear the imputations with which we are covered, and "the vengeance which is denounced againſt us. What have we done, or what are we able to do, "which makes it neceſſary for the newſpapers and pamphlets of the day, to threaten us with the "unfolded terrors of Iriſh, and even of Britiſh power? This we conceive is ſomething like intimi- "dation. But why is it, that while on one ſide we are reprobated as vile, and as of no account "in the ſcale of public judgment: on the other, we are treated as enemies of the moſt dreadful im- "portance? Such are the inconſiſtencies into which our enemies are hurried. It is the perturba- "tion of the paſſions.

"As to the committee we are to obſerve, that if it is an improper, it is at leaſt no recent inſti- "tution. It was formed about twenty years ago, under the immediate eye, and tacit ſanction of "government. From that time forward, all the parliamentary and general buſineſs of the Roman "Catholics, has been tranſacted through that channel by every miniſter, and every public man, to "this very day."

from the throne, in which his excellency, after having communicated to them the marriage of the Duke of York with the Princeſs Royal of Pruſſia, obſerved, that the conſtant attention they had ſhewn to the intereſts of Ireland made it unneceſſary to recommend to them a continuance of that wiſe ſyſtem of policy, from which their country had received ſuch ineſtimable advantages in the encreaſe of her trade, credit and manufactures. The addreſs which was moved by Lord Thurles, and ſeconded by the Hon. G. Knox, imported the thanks of that houſe to his majeſty for continuing in the government a lord lieutenant, who had ſhewn a zealous diſpoſition to forward every meaſure, that might contribute to the public welfare; and that they were convinced of his decided reſolution to ſupport the due execution of the law; and that under his firm adminiſtration, they ſhould feel confident of the maintenance of good order and government: upon which Mr. Grattan ſaid, he moſt chearfully concurred in every thing honorable to his majeſty, and ſincerely rejoiced in every circumſtance, which could really add to his public and private happineſs, which muſt give pleaſure to every branch of his majeſty's ſubjects, and to none more ſincerely than to his loyal people of Ireland. They muſt ever rejoice in the auſpicious increaſe of the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover, whoſe acceſſion to the throne of theſe dominions had been attended with ſo many bleſſings to that country, as well as every other part of the empire. So far he was ready to concur in the addreſs. But to that part of it, which went to declare thanks to his majeſty, for continuing in the government of this country a lord lieutenant and an adminiſtration, whoſe meaſures he had found it neceſſary to oppoſe, and who had uniformly oppoſed every meaſure urged for the good of their country, he could not give his aſſent. Ten years had elapſed ſince they had recovered their conſtitution, and three ſince, in the opinion of ſome, they had loſt it. Their preſent miniſters had made two attempts on their liberties; the firſt had failed, and the ſecond had ſucceeded. They could remember the propoſitions: the people of Ireland would not conſent to be governed by the Britiſh parliament; an expedient was deviſed, let the Iriſh parliament govern the people of Ireland, and Britain govern the Iriſh parliament. She was to do ſo ſpecifically in thoſe ſubjects, in which ſhe had been moſt oppreſſive; monopolies of commerce eaſt and weſt. They were to put down the Iriſh conſtitution, in order to put up the monopoly againſt Iriſh commerce. The miniſtry, who conducted this trick, took care to make the Iriſh advance by a certain

certain number of propoſitions, under an aſſurance, that the Britiſh cabinet would to an iota accede, and they made the Iriſh parliament give an additional revenue on the faith of that acceſſion. They then ſuffered the propoſitions to be reverſed; turned them againſt the country, from which they were ſuppoſed to proceed, and made them fatal at once to their conſtitution, and to her commerce. The individuals concerned in that buſineſs, ſome of them had pledged themſelves againſt an iota of alteration: they broke their honor. The Iriſh miniſter was pledged to a ſpecific ſyſtem; he prevaricated; in the attempt on her liberty he was a violator; in taking her taxes a ſwindler. This meaſure was defeated by the influence principally of that part of the Ariſtocracy, who refuſed to go through the bill; and who had been diſmiſſed. They who made the attempt had been advanced and rewarded. The path of public treachery in a principal country leads to the block; but in a nation, governed like a province, to the helm.

The ſecond attempt was their modelling of the parliament: in 1789, fifteen new ſalaries, with ſeveral new penſions to the members thereof, were created at once and added to the old overgrown parliamentary influence of the crown. In other words, the expenditure of the intereſt of half a million to buy the Houſe of Commons; the ſale of the peerage and the purchaſe of ſeats in the commons; the formation of a ſtock-purſe by the miniſter to monopolize boroughs, and buy up repreſentations. This new practice, whereby the miniſter of the crown becomes the common borough-broker of the kingdom, conſtitutes an offence ſo multitudinous and in all its parts ſo criminal, as to call for radical reformation, and exemplary puniſhment; whether the perſons concerned be Lord Buckingham or his ſecretary, or thoſe who became the objects of his promotion, becauſe they had been the miniſters of his vices. It was a conſpiracy againſt the fundamental laws of the land, and ſought to eſtabliſh, and had eſtabliſhed, in the place of a limited monarchy, a corrupt deſpotiſm; and if any thing reſcued the perſons ſo concerned from the name of traitors, it was not the principle of law, but its omiſſion, that had not deſcribed by any expreſs proviſionary ſtatute that patricide, of which theſe men in intention, and in ſubſtance were guilty. They had adopted a practice, which decided the fate of their parliamentary conſtitution. In vain ſhould they boaſt of its bleſſings, and of its three eſtates, the king, lords, and commons; when the king ſold one eſtate to buy the other, and ſo contaminated both. The miniſter had ſent one ſet of men packing into the peers, and another into the commons; the firſt he

called the hereditary council, the latter the grand council of the nation, and both, that once great and auguſt inſtitution, the parliament. Such a condition puts the conſtitution of Ireland not below a republic, but any other form of genuine and healthy government: it was not mixed monarchy with parts happily tempered, and ſo forth; the cant of grave and ſuperannuated addreſſes; but a rank, and vile, and ſimple, and abſolute government; rendered ſo by means, that made every part of it vicious and abominable; the executive who devoured the whole, and the other two parts, which were thus extinguiſhed: of ſuch a conſtitution, the component parts were debauched by one another. The monarch was made to proſtitute the prerogative by the ſale of honors; the lords by the purchaſe: and the commons proſtituted their nature by being the offſpring not of the people, but of a traffic; and proſtituted themſelves again by the ſale of their votes and perſons.

He allowed the Britiſh conſtitution to be the beſt; and arraigned this mode as the worſt, becauſe practically and eſſentially the oppoſite of that Britiſh conſtitution. The Britiſh miniſter had given an account of the Engliſh conſtitution, which he wiſhed to extend to the Iriſh conſtitution: "Ariſtocracy," ſays he, "reflects luſtre on the crown, and lends ſupport and effect to democracy; while democracy gives vigour and energy to both; and the ſovereignty crowns the conſtitution with dignity and authority.—Ariſtocracy is the poiſe," ſays he; "give an infuſion of nobility." The miniſter here can anſwer him: he who ſold the ariſtocracy and bought the democracy; he beſt underſtands in practice what is this infuſion of nobility: he who has infuſed poiſon into this ariſtocratic and this democratic diviſion of power, and has crowned the whole with corruption: he well knows all this, as far as Ireland is concerned, to be the theatric repreſentation; and that the conſtitution of the country is exactly the reverſe of thoſe ſcenes and farces, which are acted on the public ſtages, of impoſture and hypocriſy.

By this trade of parliament the king was abſolute: his will was ſignified by both houſes of parliament, who were then as much an inſtrument in his hand as a bayonet in the hands of a regiment. Like a regiment they had their adjutant, who ſent to the infirmary for the old, and to the brothel for the young; and men thus carted as it were into that houſe to vote for the miniſter were called the repreſentatives of the people.

Mr. Grattan then with an aſtoniſhing power of eloquence travelled over, once more, the whole ground, which he had taken each of the three laſt ſeſſions,

ſions, but with new point and redintegrated vigor. The chancellor of the Exchequer anſwered, that he was not ſurpriſed, that the right honorable gentleman, for want of other matter, ſhould recapitulate the accumulated invective of many ſeſſions; he ſhould be extremely ſurpriſed, indeed, if this invective, ſo often refuted, ſhould make any impreſſion upon the houſe. If the right honorable gentleman ſuppoſed he ſhould follow him through all that maze of charges, of propoſitions, of malt duties, of police, of India trade, and all that ſtrange incongruous jumble, calculated to poiſon the public mind, he would requeſt to be excuſed: they had been already refuted, and if they were brought forward in the courſe of the ſeſſion, they would be refuted again. When the right honorable gentleman imputed to government crimes, that would diſgrace an individual, a government conſcious of its integrity, muſt diſregard the imputation; but when he lightly charged parliament, he lowered parliament in the eyes of the public, and did a poſitive injury to the country. Since 1779, which he fixed as the commencement of depravity, the parliament of Ireland had done more for the benefit of the kingdom, than all the antecedent parliaments from the days of Henry II. In that ſpace, the country had advanced to a degree of proſperity unhoped for, even by the moſt ſanguine; yet that was the very period the right honorable gentleman thought fit to depreciate, by which he might do an evil that certainly he did not intend.*

On the 25th of January, 1792, Sir H. Langriſhe roſe, according to notice, to bring forward ſome reſolutions in favor of the Catholics of that kingdom. He prefaced his motion by a warm and able, though very

* Several other gentlemen ſpoke on the ſide of government; amongſt the moſt forward were Mr. Sheridan and Sir Henry Cavendiſh: the latter was very perſonal againſt Mr. Grattan, for the violence and intemperance of his language, and a diſorderly extra diſſertation on the meaſures of the lord lieutenant; which brought up Mr. Grattan in reply; who ſpoke thus: "(12 P. D. p. 23) It "ſeems the right honorable baronet is ignorant of the only ſubject he is ſuppoſed to be acquainted "with, *order*. He talks of ſcurrilous language; his language and epithets return on himſelf: but "a man's language is of little moment; it is his conduct that is eſſential. What ſhall we ſay of "the conduct of that man, who voted in one ſeſſion for a penſion bill and againſt it in the next; "of that man, who voted for a place bill in one ſeſſion and voted againſt it in the next; of that "man, who voted for a committee to proceed towards impeachment againſt the preſent miniſtry "for the ſelling peerages, and the very next ſeſſions votes for thanks to that very miniſtry: what "does he think of ſuch an apoſtate?

guarded

guarded ſpeech.* It was then ten years ſince the cauſe of the Roman Catholics particularly engaged the attention of parliament; ſince they took their laſt review of thoſe laws, which the paſſions and prejudices, perhaps the preſſure, of an intemperate ſeaſon had entailed upon them.

The preſent times and circumſtances invited them to reſume that duty. The good offices they owed one to another; the indulgence due to fellow ſubjects, recommended and endeared by the unimpeachable conduct of a century, the conſideration they owed to the national proſperity, all united in calling their attention to the reviſion of that ſubject, at a time when the public mind was becoming more enlightened, and prejudices and jealouſy were every day yielding to confidence and affection. With ſatisfaction he conſidered, amongſt the few honors of his humble life, that of being almoſt the firſt member of the Iriſh parliament, who ventured to ſtate the imprudence and immorality of the Popery laws, as a ſyſtem of juriſprudence ſubverſive of integrity, and as a ſcheme of government, which, whilſt by its ſeverity it alienated the body of the people, by its impolicy forbid them to veſt in the ſtate any hoſtage for their fidelity.

The agitation of truth muſt ever make an impreſſion. Succeeding times became more enlightened, and religious animoſity gave way to moral juſtice and political wiſdom.

In the year 1774, the legiſlature firſt gratified the Roman Catholics with an opportunity of teſtifying their allegiance, by framing an oath for them, competent to that teſt, without involving any article of religious faith, or ſpeculative opinion.

Four years afterwards (in 1778) the legiſlature, wiſely confiding in their oaths, rewarded their loyalty by ſome ſubſtantial conceſſion.

The act in their favor then paſſed, truly recites in the preamble, "that "from their uniform peaceable behaviour for a long ſeries of years, it ap- "pears reaſonable and expedient to relax ſeveral of their incapacities and "diſabilities."

Accordingly it allowed them "to take leaſes of land for nine hundred

* It is an irrefragable proof of the falſity of Lord Clare's poſition, that the queſtion was left in the hands of every individual, who choſe to take poſſeſſion of it, as an engine of popularity or power. Sir Hercules ſaid, he had communicated with as many members of parliament as he could (conſequently with his own friends), and Mr. Secretary Hobart ſeconded the motion.

and

" and ninety-nine years, and at any rent; to enjoy all ſuch eſtates that " ſhould be left or transferred to them, and to diſpoſe of the ſame by will or " otherwiſe; and that they ſhould be deviſeable and transferable, as in the " caſe of other people."

The abominable uſurpation of the child againſt the father was aboliſhed; and to theſe conceſſions, the conditions annexed were: taking the oath of 1774; and that the law ſhould not extend to converts relapſing, or to Proteſtants becoming Papiſts, or educating their children in the Popiſh religion. The legiſlature naturally conſidering, that ſome ſuſpicion attached on frequent verſatility of faith, and on thoſe who profeſſed a religion themſelves, which they would not tranſmit to their poſterity.

Four years after that (in 1782) the ſpirit of toleration further extended itſelf, and found policy gained a further aſcendancy in favor of the Roman Catholics. That ſyſtem of ſeverity, which a few years before was thought prudence, began to look ſomething like injuſtice; and what prejudice had adopted as preſervation, moderation began to view as little ſhort of oppreſſion.

In 1782, the capacity of acquiring land by purchaſe (which in 1778 was granted under a fiction) was given direct and entire.

" The acquiſition by purchaſe, grant, limitation, deſcent, or deviſe, by " will or otherwiſe deſcendable, as the lands of Proteſtants," was communicated to the Roman Catholics: ſome of their diſabilities, as to education, were removed: the ſevere law was repealed, that compelled the Papiſts to declare on oath when, and where, and by whom they heard maſs celebrated: the unequal attachment of their properties to make repriſals for common robberies, was diſcontinued: their horſes were no more to be expoſed as public plunder; and the prepoſterous, but offenſive prohibition, whereby perſons profeſſing the Popiſh religion were forbidden to reſide in certain cities, was repealed: they were allowed the full rights of property; the free exerciſe of religion; and to appoint guardians to their own children.

Theſe were great efforts of liberality, in oppoſition to old opinions, and the uſual acrimony of religious diſſention, and a ſignal triumph over rooted prejudices. It diſcloſed ſuch a growing confidence, ſuch an amicable ſympathy, ſuch a relenting of heart, in the predominate powers of the ſtate towards the Roman Catholics of the country, as ought to conciliate their affection, engage their gratitude, and confirm their attachment to the ſtate. And in fact,

fact, ſuch conduct of the legiſlature (he ſpoke with confidence and aſſurance, from the authority of experience) had produced thoſe effects.

If he were not of that opinion, he would not ſtand as their advocate for another conceſſion. For as the ſtate is paramount, and all men who live under its protection, live under its controul, and are amenable to its ſuperiority, if they approach the legiſlature, they muſt approach it by the avenues the conſtitution has marked out; if they apply to parliament, it muſt be by petition, not repreſentation or remonſtrance; if they would have benefits, they muſt ſolicit them as favors, and accept them as conceſſions. That was not only the conſtitution of Ireland, but the conſtitution of every ſettled government in the known world.

As to the natural rights of man (of which they had lately heard ſo much) they did not belong to political ſociety; they belonged to that ſtate of nature, which had been ſo accurately deſcribed by Mr. Hobbs, and ſo ardently recommended by Mr. Paine; a ſtate where, indeed, the race was to the ſwift, and the battle to the ſtrong; where poſſeſſion was property, and ſtrength was right; a ſtate ſuperior to the conditions of ſociety, the reſtrictions of covenant, or the bondage of law.

Therefore he freely confeſſed, that notwithſtanding his prepoſſeſſions in favor of the Roman Catholics, he was yet for ſome time checked in his ardor, and interrupted in the progreſs of his ſervices to them, by reading lately a multitude of publications and paragraphs in the newſpapers, and other prints circulated *gratis*, and communicated to every body, with every degree of induſtry, purporting to convey the ſentiments of the Catholic body of Ireland.

If theſe were their ſentiments, they were ſuch as could not recommend them to the further favor of the ſtate; they were ſuch as muſt alienate their old, and could not get them new friends, if they would chuſe their friends from amongſt thoſe, who were friends to the conſtitution. What was the import? They were exhortations to the people never to be ſatisfied at any conceſſion, until the ſtate itſelf was conceded; not only that, but until a new conſtitution ſhould be made for their preſent accommodation, and future entertainment; they were precautions againſt public tranquillity; they were invitations to diſorder, and covenants to diſcontent; they were oſtentations of ſtrength, rather than ſolicitations for favors; rather appeals to the powers of the people, than applications to the authority of the ſtate; they involved

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the relief of the Catholic, with the revolution of the government, and were diſſertations for democracy, rather than arguments for toleration; they ſeemed the projects of ſome bold theoriſts, whoſe principles were to divide man from man, and whoſe politics were to ſeparate Great Britain from Ireland; they ſeemed to be the effuſions of ſome raſh philoſopher, ignorant of our ſyſtem, who would ſet looſe and adrift the little planet we inhabit, and commit it to the vortex of a vain and exploded philoſophy; to range the univerſe without attraction, connexion, or relation to any greater or other body.

If the Roman Catholics embraced thoſe ſentiments, the ſtate could not embrace them: if they were miſled by raſh counſels to engage in confederacies of perpetual requiſition; if they were not to be ſatisfied at any conceſſion, whilſt any thing remained to be conceded, in that caſe common ſenſe muſt ſuggeſt, that they ſhould not by any new conceſſion unite more power with their diſcontent.

He had the happineſs to aſſert from authority, what he had long learned from experience: "That not a ſentiment of that tendency was entertained "by the Catholic body; none ſuch belonged to them; they renounced "them; they utterly diſclaimed them." There was not a claſs of his majeſty's ſubjects more attached than they were to the monarchy and hereditary ſucceſſion, more obedient to the laws, or more devoted to the king and conſtitution, as by law eſtabliſhed.

Theſe principles they had teſtified by their conduct at all times; at times very different from the preſent, when the laws were leſs indulgent, when they had fewer pledges to bind them to their country; when property and the titles of land were not irrevocably fixed; at times when hoſtile fleets and armies were on their coaſt, and when even the king on the throne, by ſome may not have been ſuppoſed to ſtand as he did without a rival in their affections.

They then came forward by ſolemn declaration to re-aſſert thoſe principles at the foot of the throne; to vindicate them from all poſſible miſconception or miſrepreſentation; they approached by the ways of the conſtitution, without aſſerting a claim of their own, or preſuming to dictate to the authority of parliament. "They deſired a further repeal of the laws affecting them; they "expreſſed gratitude for paſt favors, confiding in their liberality and benevo-

" lence, that future favors would be as extenſive as the general welfare of " the ſtate ſhould admit."

With ſuch a teſtimony, he addreſſed them in favor of the Roman Catholics; with a declaration of that import in his hand, ſubſcribed by an hoſt, as to national authority; perſons of high diſtinction, ancient family, great character, enlightened education, ample fortune, and extenſive influence in the country; men of general intercourſe and knowledge, political, profeſſional, mercantile; men too, who themſelves and their anceſtors, had made ample ſacrifices to a ſanctimonious obſervance of their vows. Without affecting or entertaining any diſreſpect for any other orders or claſſes of the people, it ſeemed from ſuch perſons that national opinion and profeſſional principles were beſt collected; not from a few deluded people in the ſouth; not from a few diſſatisfied people in the north; nor yet from any ſtrange and incongruous connection that might be fabricated between both: nay, if by ſome wonderful rotation theſe two extremities ſhould ever happen to meet; if by ſome monſtrous convulſion, the two poles, far as they were aſunder, ſhould be brought into conjunction, they would not have force to diſturb the happy and temperate regions placed between, where the people enjoyed equal days and indulgent heavens.

It was under ſuch a conviction that he addreſſed them with confidence for a further repeal of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, to that extent which their wiſdom and liberality ſhould lead them to think expedient. What that extent ſhould be, was to him the only queſtion that could divide the opinion of parliament on that ſubject.

As for himſelf, balanced between confidence in the Catholics, and devotion to ancient eſtabliſhments, he had not found it eaſy to accommodate between the two contending propenſities.

1ſt. He would give them the practice and profeſſion of the law, as a reaſonable proviſion, and application of their talents to their own country.

2dly. He would reſtore to them education, entire and unreſtrained, becauſe a ſtate of ignorance was a ſtate of barbarity. That would be accompliſhed by taking off the neceſſity for a licence as enjoined by the act of 1782.

3dly. He would draw cloſer the bonds of intercourſe and affection, by allowing intermarriage, repealing that cruel ſtatute that ſerved to betray female credulity, and baſtardize the children of a virtuous mother.

4thly.

4thly. He would remove thoſe obſtructions to arts and manufactures, that limited the number of apprentices, which were ſo neceſſary to aſſiſt and promote trade. He then moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for re-"moving certain reſtraints and diſabilities under which his majeſty's Roman "Catholic ſubjects labour, from ſtatutes at preſent in force."

The Right Honorable Mr. Hobart ſeconded the motion, without making any obſervation.

Mr. Cuffe (now Lord Tyrawley), thought that gentlemen would do well to ſtate their opinion of the conduct of the Catholics. Thoſe, headed by a nobleman, who was diſtinguiſhed for his liberality and extended property, who had ſigned the declaration alluded to by the right honorable baronet, deſerved every kindneſs in the power of the legiſlature to beſtow. They were good citizens, loyal ſubjects. They had told them they would be grateful for any indulgence; and that they would not pretend to point out the extent of the relief, which, in their wiſdom, they might think proper to beſtow. Surely, in thoſe circumſtances, they could not refuſe them ſome indulgence. But there were Roman Catholics who had conducted themſelves in a very different manner: they had eſtabliſhed a court of delegates in the capital; and they had appointed local committees in the ſeveral counties: they had entered into aſſociations with the diſcontented and the turbulent of all religions. And relying, upon their power, they preſumed to dictate to the legiſlature what they would have. That ſyſtem ſeemed to have been adopted in order to terrify parliament.

Several gentlemen ſpoke on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion; when at laſt Mr. Hobart ſaid, it was not his intention to debate the queſtion. He ſhould not have riſen, were it not for the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Cuffe. He therefore declared, that if any attack ſhould be made on the eſtabliſhments in church and ſtate, it was the fixed determination of government to ſupport them; and any attempt of that nature, either by force or intimidation, would be found to meet the decided oppoſition of the government of both countries.

Leave was then given to bring in the bill, and a committee appointed to prepare the ſame, without a diſſenting voice.

No ſooner had this leave been given, than Mr. O'Hara ſuddenly roſe, and ſaid: he agreed with moſt of the gentlemen who had expreſſed their ſentiments reſpecting the giving ſome further relief to the Roman Catholics, and very heartily concurred with the houſe in the leave given to bring in a bill for

that purpoſe. But that in order to have the ſubject fully before the houſe, it might be wiſhed that the houſe knew exactly the particulars in which the Roman Catholics deſired relief: firſt, becauſe parliament might otherwiſe unintentionally omit matter, which might appear eſſentially neceſſary to the Catholics, however unimportant it might appear to parliament, and ſo fail of giving ſatisfaction; but more particularly becauſe, if the relief deſired by the Roman Catholics were aſcertained, the houſe might then draw the line definitively, and ſay, "we will meet your wiſhes thus far, but never can go "further."

He ſaid, he had thought in the year 1782, that every thing was then done, which was neceſſary to relieve the conſcience, or eſſential to the happineſs of the Roman Catholics; and he was ſure ſuch was the intention of parliament; but the houſe then proceeded without knowing from the Roman Catholics what the particulars were, in which they deſired relief. By which means the greater opening was left to deſire further relief in the preſent inſtance. But if they then were in poſſeſſion of a ſtatement of their wiſhes made by themſelves, they might eaſily draw the line by the new act of parliament ſo ſtrongly, as to preclude any expectation of change, at leaſt, for many years to come.

Thoſe conſiderations (he ſaid), had been ſtrong inducements with him to liſten to the deſire of a very particular friend of his, to lay ſuch a ſtatement before the houſe. A friend who was not of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion; but one to whom he would not willingly refuſe any thing he could aſk, had deſired him to preſent ſuch a ſtatement as a perſonal favor. Though he did not know the petitioners, he knew the integrity of his friend, who told him they were altogether worth upwards of a million, which he mentioned to ſhew that they were conſiderable individuals, whoſe ſentiments might be ſuppoſed to coincide with the greater part at leaſt of the Roman Catholics.

However, though he preſented the petition, he requeſted not to be conſidered as its particular patron; for he had agreed to preſent it upon the terms only of reſerving to himſelf the full liberty of diſcuſſing every part of it, and condemning or approving as he might think proper. If there were any thing exceptionable in the petition, it was not his; if more were deſired by it than were reaſonable or conſiſtent with the eſtabliſhments in church or ſtate, he would decidedly vote againſt ſuch parts.

Under theſe circumſtances, he ventured to offer the petition to the houſe; and the rather, becauſe to petition parliament was a matter of right in the ſubject;

ject; ſo much ſo, that a member could hardly refuſe to preſent a petition if required by no improper deſcription of men; but more particularly, becauſe the petition brought information before the houſe, which might be uſeful in framing the bill; that the petitioners, after ſtating the particulars, in which they hoped for relief, promiſed to acquieſce in whatever relief parliament might think proper to give them.*

The Solicitor General ſaid the petition, in its preſent ſtate of abandonment, could be no object of notice: he therefore moved the queſtion of adjournment. Mr. D. Brown was for receiving the petition. However, Mr. O'Hara withdrew the petition for the preſent, becauſe he could not ſay he had ſeen the petitioners ſign it: but that he ſhould preſent it another day; and that he thought the houſe ought to be glad to know what relief was prayed, in order that it might give ſatisfaction ſo far as was conſiſtent with their civil and religious eſtabliſhments.

Mr. Grattan ſaid, that he ſhould be very ſorry that any man ſhould depart poſſeſſed with an idea that the houſe had refuſed to receive the Catholic petition, or committed an act ſo atrocious and unconſtitutional; but an informality attending the manner of preſenting it had induced the member himſelf to poſtpone the buſineſs to another day. He concurred with the mover of the bill in every thing he had ſaid in favour of the Catholic body; it was therefore, that he could not agree with other gentlemen, who talked of their evil inclinations and ſeditious publications. He knew of none ſuch that could be charged to the Roman Catholics; nor could he ſee how gentlemen could aſſent to a bill which ſuppoſed the merits of Catholics, and inſinuations that beſpoke the contrary: what you give (ſaid he) to the Roman Catholics, give it liberally: what you refuſe, refuſe decently: whatever you do, do it with diſcretion: whatever you ſay, let it be the language of decency and good manners.

Mr. G. Ponſonby held it to be the undoubted right of the conſtituent to

* Whilſt Mr. Sheridan was obſerving that it was a very odd way of introducing a petition, to ſtate that it came not from any particular body of men, but from an intimate acquaintance, Mr. Burke, the gentleman alluded to by Mr. O'Hara, having incautiouſly ventured into the body of the houſe behind the ſpeaker's chair, to ſpeak with Mr. O'Hara, there aroſe a general cry of "into "cuſtody!" He however withdrew time enough to avoid it.

petition

petition parliament in a legal and reſpectful manner, but only in that manner; on that ſubject he was remarkably attentive to rule and form, and objected on that account to the reception of the petition, as it contravened every one of the eſtabliſhed forms.

The 4th of February, 1792, was a day of importance to the Catholic cauſe: the general committee anxious to act in full concert with Sir Hercules Langriſhe, as he was well known to act with the privity and approbation of government, had a ſpecial meeting, at which they entered into ſome* unanimous

" *Dublin, February 4th,* 1792.

* " GENERAL COMMITTEE OF ROMAN CATHOLICS.

" EDWARD BYRNE, Eſq. in the Chair.

" *Reſolved,* That this committee has been informed, that reports have been circulated, that " the application of the Catholics for relief, extends to unlimited and total emancipation; and " that attempts have been made, wickedly and falſely, to inſtil into the minds of the Proteſtants " of this kingdom an opinion, that our applications were preferred in a tone of menace.

" *Reſolved,* That ſeveral Proteſtant gentlemen have expreſſed great ſatisfaction on being indivi- " dually informed of the real extent and reſpectful manner of the applications for relief, have " aſſured us, that nothing could have excited jealouſy, or apparent oppoſition to us, from our " Proteſtant countrymen, but the above-mentioned miſapprehenſions.

" *Reſolved,* That we therefore deem it neceſſary to declare, that the whole of our late applica- " tions, whether to his majeſty's miniſters, to men in power, or to private members of the legiſla- " ture: as well as our intended petition, neither did, nor does contain any thing, or extend fur- " ther, either in ſubſtance or in principle, than the four following objects.

" 1ſt. Admiſſion to the profeſſion and practice of the law.

" 2d. Capacity to ſerve in county magiſtracies.

" 3d. A right to be ſummoned, and to ſerve on grand and petty juries.

" 4th. The right of voting in counties only for Proteſtant members of parliament; in ſuch a " manner, however, as that a Roman Catholic freeholder ſhould not vote, unleſs he either rented, " and cultivated a farm of twenty pounds per annum, in addition to his forty ſhillings freehold; " or elſe poſſeſſed a freehold to the amount of twenty pounds a year.

" *Reſolved,* That in our opinion, theſe applications, not extending to any other objects than the " above, are moderate, and abſolutely neceſſary for our general alleviation, and more particularly " for the protection of the Catholic farmers and the peaſantry of Ireland; and that they do not in " any degree, endanger either church or ſtate, or endanger the ſecurity of the Proteſtant intereſt.

" *Reſolved,* That we never had an idea or thought ſo extravagant, as that of menacing or inti- " midating our Proteſtant brethren, much leſs the legiſlature; and that we diſclaim the violent " and turbulent intentions imputed to us in ſome of the public prints, and circulated in private " converſation.

" *Reſolved,* That we refer to the known diſpoſition of the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, to

" our

mous reſolutions, calculated to counteract the effects of the miſrepreſentations and calumnies of their enemies.

On the ſame day, Sir Hercules Langriſhe,* in a ſhort ſpeech, introduced his bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics: it was read for the firſt time. Sir Hercules ſaid, it was a matter of ſo much importance, that leſt its objects ſhould be miſconceived, he thought it neceſſary that it ſhould be printed, and that a ſufficient time ſhould be given to have it fully underſtood; he truſted, when underſtood, it would be approved of by every man in the nation. Sir Hercules then moved, that the bill ſhould be read on that day ſe'nnight. Mr. Staples objected to the ſhortneſs of the time, and called upon the ſecretary, who had ſeconded the motion for the bill, to inform the houſe, whether the conceſſions, which the bill contained, were ſufficient to ſatisfy the Catholics; or whether theſe conceſſions were all that he intended to grant them. He wiſhed to know the *ne plus ultra*.

Hon. Denis Brown ſaid, the right honorable gentleman would find it difficult to anſwer for the future expectations of three millions of people. The Catholics offered, as a ſecurity for their attachment to the conſtitution, the approved loyalty of long and diſturbed times. He knew it would be impoſſible at any time to combat bigotry, prejudice, and love of power, by argument; but that it would be impoſſible for any exertion of human ingenuity or ſophiſtry, to ſupport the abſurd principle of keeping a numerous and deſerving deſcription of our fellow-ſubjects, in the degraded ſituation they then ſtood.

Sir Hercules Langriſhe ſaid, it would have been impoſſible for him to anſwer the gentleman, had not the declaration of an hoſt of Roman Catholics already anſwered him in the public papers. That "grateful for what had "already been granted, they would with joy and humility receive whatever "the wiſdom and liberality of parliament thought proper to beſtow." As to the obſcure and contemptible perſons, whoſe names filled the columns of newſpapers, declaring a contrary ſentiment, he had no regard to them, while his

"our dutiful behaviour, during a long ſeries of years, and particularly to the whole tenor of our "late proceedings for the full refutation of every charge of ſedition and diſloyalty.

"*Reſolved*, That for the more ample and detailed expoſure of all the evil reports and calumnies "circulated againſt us, an addreſs to our Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, and to the public in general, "be printed by the order, and in the name of the general committee.

"Signed by order,

"RICHARD M'CORMICK, Secretary."

* 12 Parl. Debates, p. 58.

opinion

opinion was ſupported by the wiſe, the good, and the reſpectable. Hereupon Mr. Secretary Hobart obſerved, he would not have the preſumption to anſwer for ſo great a body as the Roman Catholics; their good conduct for a ſeries of years paſt, was at once the beſt proof of their wiſhes and their deſerts. As to the queſtion, whether this were to be the *ne plus ultra*, he would only ſay, that the houſe would never find him diſpoſed to take any part without their full concurrence. The bill was ordered to be printed, and to be read a ſecond time on that day ſe'nnight.

On the 8th of the month, Mr. John O'Neil preſented a petition, which he ſaid had been put into his hands by a very reſpectable body of men at Belfaſt; it was ſigned by more than ſix hundred, many of whom he knew perſonally to be perſons of great reputation: the object of the petition was, that the legiſlature would pleaſe to repeal all penal and reſtrictive laws againſt Catholics, and put them on the ſame footing with their Proteſtant fellow ſubjects.

Sir Henry Cavendiſh requeſted the right honorable gentleman to read the petition throughout. He truſted it was not in any wiſe ſimilar to a petition brought into the houſe a few nights ago (by Mr. O'Hara), if it were, he was ſure it muſt be unknown to the right honorable gentleman who moved for its being received; as the right honorable gentleman valued too highly his own dignity, and the dignity of parliament to preſent ſuch a petition.

Mr. O'Neil read the petition throughout; it began with lamenting the degraded ſtate of the Catholics, and requeſted that they might have redreſs as above ſtated.

The Hon. Denis Browne ſeconded the motion for receiving the petition.

Sir Hercules Langriſhe very ſtrongly and at large expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the novelty and ſingularity of the union of the Diſſenters with the Catholics, He would not object againſt the reception of a petition from ſo reſpectable a member of that houſe: but he had ſeen ſome treaſonable productions from gentlemen of that town. Sir Boyle Roche bitterly inveighed againſt the Diſſenters, and actually oppoſed his ſingle negative againſt the reception of the petition.*

The 11th of February was the day, to which the Catholic bill ſtood committed: but before the order of the day was called on, Mr. Stewart, (of Tyrone) after an able and appropriate ſpeech, moved that "an humble addreſs

* 12 Parl. Debates, p. 85.

"ſhould

" ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, beſeeching his majeſty to take into his " conſideration the ſituation of the Preſbyterian miniſters of the province of " Ulſter, and to make ſuch further proviſion for them, as in his wiſdom and " bounty he ſhall think fit; and that this houſe will make good the ſame."

Mr. George Ponſonby ſeconded the motion.

Sir Edward Newenham expreſſed his warm regard for, and bore teſtimony to the loyalty and virtues of the Proteſtant Diſſenters; that they had always been ſteady friends to the houſe of Hanover: that as parliament was going to grant favors to the Roman Catholics, they could not refuſe juſtice to the Preſbyterian clergy: their principles and conduct merited every favor from a Proteſtant government; and he roſe to give his moſt hearty concurrence to the meaſure. There certainly were no ſubjects more loyal or more dutiful than thoſe, in whoſe favor the honorable gentleman had ſpoken, and he therefore moſt heartily coincided in his intention.

The great body of the Catholics was little ſatisfied with the conceſſions contained in the bill of Sir H. Langriſhe: whether the form of it lately circulated were or were not according to the original ideas of the framer of it, was not ſo certain, as the conviction of moſt of the Catholics, who took an active ſhare in the buſineſs, that this bill had been ſubſtituted for another, which probaby would have been obtained, but for the arts of ſome deſigning and the credulity of ſome honeſt men. Whilſt however the bill was in progreſs through the houſe, the great body of the Catholics acting through their committee, prepared a petition to parliament immediately calculated to meet the objections made againſt their proceeding, on a principle of indecent menace and intimidation, and wiſhing to abett their cauſe by reaſoning and conduct of a moſt unconſtitutional tendency. Accordingly on the * 18th of February, Mr. Egan preſented a petition ſigned by fifty of the moſt reſpectable Catholic commercial characters in Dublin, on behalf of themſelves and their

* On the ſame day Mr. John O'Neil ſaid, he held in his hand a petition, which he received by the poſt of that morning, and was inſtructed to preſent to the houſe; it was ſigned by the names of 350 Proteſtant inhabitants, the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the four lower baronies of the county of Antrim; and would, he was aſſured, have been ſigned by a thouſand, had it not been for the ſhortneſs of time, ſince they underſtood the Roman Catholic bill was to have been debated on that day.

In the petition they ſtated, they would feel themſelves happy, that the Roman Catholics ſhould receive every liberal immunity conſiſtent with the ſpirit of our glorious conſtitution, and with the ſafety and intereſt of the proteſtant religion. The petition was received, and ordered to lie on the table.

brethren throughout the kingdom.* In preſenting the petition he conſidered himſelf merely complying with his duty. He did not conſider himſelf bounden to ſupport its principle, nor to give any particular vote on the ſubject, which was to come forward that night, conſidering it criminal to come predetermined on a queſtion of ſo much import. He then read the petition and the names of thoſe who had ſigned it (which were thoſe of the Catholic committee) and he truſted the houſe would receive the petition and decide upon it with liberality. After ſome harſh obſervations of Mr. Ogle, and reſented by Mr. Browne, the petition was ordered to lie on the table. On the order of the day for the houſe reſolving itſelf into a committee on the Catholic bill the general queſtion was warmly debated. All cautiouſly reſtrained their ideas of indulgence to the points of the bill: and many of them took that opportunity of pledging themſelves never to grant the elective franchiſe as a conceſſion incompatible with the Proteſtant aſcendancy. Mr. Ogle almoſt alone oppoſed the bill's going to a committee. † Mr. Grattan had been inſtructed

* 12 Par. Deb. p. 125.

"To the Right Hon. the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled.

"The Petition of the underſigned Roman Catholics, on behalf of themſelves and the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

"HUMBLY SHEWETH,

"THAT as the houſe has thought it expedient to direct their attention to the ſituation of the "Roman Catholics of Ireland, and to a further relaxation of the penal ſtatutes ſtill ſubſiſting againſt "them, they beg leave, with all humility, to come before the houſe with the moſt heartfelt "aſſurance of the wiſdom and juſtice of parliament, which is at all times deſirous moſt graciouſly "to attend to the petitions of the people; they therefore humbly preſume to ſubmit to the houſe "their intreaty, that they ſhould take into their conſideration whether the removal of ſome of the "civil incapacities, under which they labour, and the reſtoration of the petitioners to ſome ſhare in "the elective franchiſe, which they enjoyed long after the revolution, will not tend to ſtrengthen "the Proteſtant ſtate, add new vigour to induſtry, and afford protection and happineſs to the "Catholics of Ireland; that the petitioners refer with confidence to their conduct for a century paſt, "to prove their uniform loyalty and ſubmiſſion to the laws, and to corroborate their ſolemn decla-"ration, that if they obtain from the juſtice and benignity of parliament, ſuch relaxation from "certain incapacities, and a participation in that franchiſe, which will raiſe them to the rank of "freemen, their gratitude muſt be proportioned to the benefit, and that enjoying ſome ſhare in the "happy conſtitution of Ireland, they will exert themſelves with additional zeal in its conſervation."

† 12 Par. Deb. Mr. Grattan on this occaſion thus alluded to a fœderal union of the two kingdoms.

There is another danger, to which or to the fear of which your diviſions may expoſe the Proteſtant aſcendancy, I mean an union; let me ſuppoſe the miniſter, as he has often propoſed corrupt terms

ſtructed ſo to do by a part of his conſtituents, the corporation of Dublin, but could not ſacrifice the rights and intereſts of three millions to the caprice or prejudice of ſome individuals. The houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee on the bill after midnight, and at the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Ogle, Mr. Secretary Hobart declared he wiſhed not to precipitate matters and had no objection to the chairman's reporting progreſs, which was accordingly done, and leave was given to ſit again on the Monday following, which was the 20th of February. On that day Mr. David La Touche moved, that the petition of the Roman Catholic committee preſented to the houſe on the preceding Saturday ſhould be read by the clerk: it was read, and he then moved, that it ſhould be rejected. The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Ogle. The greater part of the houſe was very violent for the rejection of the petition. Some few, who were againſt the prayer of the petition, objected to the harſh meaſure of rejection. Several of the oppoſition members ſupported Mr. La Touche's motion. Even Mr. G. Ponſonby, on this occaſion, voted againſt his friend Mr. Grattan. The ſolicitor general attempted to ſoften the refuſal to the Catholics by moving, that the prayer of the petition, as far as it related to a participation of the elective franchiſe ſhould not then be complied with. The attorney general and ſome other ſtaunch ſupporters of government had ſpoken ſimilar language, that they hoped quickly to ſee all religious diſtinctions and reſtrictions done away, but that the fulneſs of time was not yet come. Mr. Forbes, the Hon. F. Hutchinſon, Col. (now Lord) Hutchinſon, Mr. Smith, Mr. Hardy, and Mr. Grattan ſpoke ſtrongly againſt the motion and in favor of admitting

terms to the Proteſtant, ſhould propoſe crafty ones to the Catholic, and ſhould ſay, you are three-fourths of the people, excluded from the bleſſings of an Iriſh conſtitution; accept the advantages of an Engliſh union. Here is a propoſal probably ſupported by the people of England, and rendered plauſible to at leaſt three-fourths of the people of Ireland: I mention an union, becauſe I have heard it has been darkly ſuggeſted as the reſort of Proteſtant deſperation againſt Catholic pretenſions; never think of it, the Proteſtant would be the firſt victim. There would be Catholic equality and parliamentary extinction. It would be fatal to the Catholic alſo; he would not be raiſed, but you would be depreſſed, and his chance of liberty blaſted for ever; it would be fatal to England, beginning with a falſe compromiſe, which they might call an union, to end in eternal ſeparation, through the progreſs of two civil wars. Mr. Sheridan referred the following words to the ſubject of union, "he ſhould ſee in perſpective (a parodox in expreſſion but a certainty in event) an union "produced by diſſention." Sir John Parnell warned his countrymen not to ſuppoſe, that the refuſal of the Catholic claims would hand over to them an union or a civil war: either of which muſt end in blood and bring deſtruction upon the country. Ibid p. 180. Such then were the general idea of union with this country.

the Catholics to a ſhare in the elective franchiſe. Much virulent abuſe was heaped upon that part of the body of Roman Catholics, which was ſuppoſed to be repreſented by the Catholic committee. At a very late hour the houſe divided, 208 for rejecting the petition, and 23 only againſt it. Then Mr. La Touche moved, that the petition from the ſociety of the united Iriſhmen of Belfaſt, ſhould be alſo rejected: and the queſtion being put was carried with two or three negatives.

The bill went rather quietly through the committee: and on the third reading Sir H. Langriſhe congratulated the country on the ſpirit of liberality that had attended the bill in its progreſs, and finally brought it to ſo deſirable a concluſion.

It was a new covenant, a new charter of amity and intercourſe amongſt them; and he felt a pride in obſerving, that what they had granted to their Catholic brethren they had granted with cordiality and good will, with a confident heart, an unreluctant hand, and an unanimous voice. Whilſt their conſtitutional pride juſtly reſented the raſhneſs of a few, their juſtice diſtinguiſhed the meritorious conduct of the many; and in the intemperance of the moment they did not forget the unimpeachable demeanour of an hundred years.

The moſt powerful adverſaries, they, who had laboured with ſincerity and ſolicitude to ſerve them, had to encounter, were the raſh and miſchievous publications, which affected to plead their cauſe. And were it not for the wiſe and timely interpoſition of the great and reſpectable body of the Roman Catholics, to whom he had often alluded, and of whom every gentleman had ſpoken in terms of the higheſt reſpect, they could neither have been juſtified in their undertaking, nor ſucceſsful in their concluſion.

The ſtate of parties in the Houſe of Commons was much the ſame that it had been in the two preceding ſeſſions. Mr. G. Ponſonby after a very elaborate argument, moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal every law, which prohibited a trade from Ireland with the counties lying eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope: which was loſt by a majority of 156 againſt 70.* At the cloſe of this debate, Mr. G. Ponſonby renewed his profeſſion, that although he ſhould loſe his motion, yet he never would vote with any adminiſtration, until that and the other meaſures, to which he and the other gentlemen with whom he acted were pledged, ſhould be obtained. In conformity with this

* 12 Par. Deb. p. 112.

principle

principle Mr. Forbes brought forward on the ſame day his penſion and place bill, * but they were both put off without a diviſion, though not without debate, to a diſtant day.

Excluſive of the Catholic queſtion the debate, which during the ſeſſion of 1792, was the moſt intereſting, and the moſt heated aroſe out of Mr. Browne's motion to bring in a bill to repeal an act of the laſt ſeſſion for weighing butter, hydes and tallow, and for appointing a weigh-maſter for the city of Cork.† After prefacing his motion by animadverting on the conduct of adminiſtration in purſuing that dangerous and unconſtitutional ſyſtem, which they had laid down and ſtrictly adhered to, of creating influence, he particularly adverted to the appointment made by government to the office of weigh-maſter of Cork, which had been divided into three parts, and beſtowed on members of parliament, for the purpoſe of creating parliamentary influence. This office, had been long enjoyed by the corporation of Cork, and they had been unjuſtly deprived of it for the purpoſe of the preſent adminiſtration's obtaining an undue parliamentary influence.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer oppoſed the motion, on the ground of its being an inſult on the crown.

Colonel Hutchinſon voted for the introduction of the bill; laſt ſeſſion he had oppoſed the enacting of the preſent law as ſtrenuouſly, as he was able, and ſhould have moved for its repeal now, were he not hopeleſs of ſucceſs: he had claimed that office then, for the corporation of Cork, and he never ſhould ceaſe to claim it, as long as he had a ſeat within thoſe walls. The corporation of Cork had a common law right to that office; in equity, and in reaſon, they had an irreſiſtible claim; why ſhould they be an exception to a general rule?

Mr. George Ponſonby reprobated the conduct of adminiſtration in obtaining influence. In the preſent inſtance they ſplit the office into three, and it was beſtowed on members of parliament. He obſerved, that before this grant, adminiſtration had already one hundred and ten placemen and penſioners, and that was ſufficient to carry any meaſure they might want without creating

* 15 Com. Journ. p. 87. The penſion bill was ever moſt obnoxious to government. Every poſſeſſor and expectant was loud in reprobating it: and now more than ever the motives for ſupporting it were attributed to factious democracy, by endeavouring to clip the wings of royalty and prerogative.

† 12 Par. Deb. p. 270.

the

the additional influence; but the carrying on of thoſe meaſures, which they adopted and the uſing inſtruments by which the miniſters of thoſe were governing that country, was a ſyſtem which, if not reſiſted, muſt in the end overthrow the conſtitution. He contraſted the conduct of the Houſe of Commons of England, with the conduct of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland; in England there was a place bill, and a penſion bill, and there the ſervants of the crown were reſponſible for their conduct; but he aſked, how had it been in the Houſe of Commons in Ireland? A place bill had been propoſed, it had been rejected, and the miniſter had multiplied places; a penſion bill had been propoſed, it had been rejected, and the miniſter granted additional penſions; a reſponſibility bill had been propoſed, it had been rejected, and the miniſter of the crown laviſhed away the public money.

He ſtated that the groſs revenue of the country amounted to about one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and one-eighth of that was divided amongſt members of parliament. He proteſted, that he did not ſpeak as a party man. If he ſpoke not truth, might God, to whom he ſhould one day anſwer, puniſh him. An hour would come, when the country would endure any extremity, rather than endure the ſyſtem of influence that had been eſtabliſhed.

Mr. Moore made ſome perſonal obſervations upon Mr. Ponſonby's fondneſs for power, and impatience at its reſiding in any hands but his own: to which Mr. George Ponſonby replied with conſiderable warmth, that in a former parliament there had occurred an event ſingular and unfortunate; the incapacity of his majeſty perſonally to exerciſe the functions of the crown. The Houſe of Commons of that day did appear in direct oppoſition to the lord lieutenant: the exiſting government was beat by a majority of 54; but it pleaſed God to reſtore his majeſty's health, and in exact proportion as his majeſty recovered, that majority had diminiſhed. While the miniſtry was incapable of controuling the members of that houſe, their language was becoming the repreſentatives of the people; they maintained the independency of the Iriſh crown, and of the Iriſh parliament, in defiance of a lord lieutenant and his ſecretary; but when the languid powers of that lord lieutenant were renovated by the aid of an Engliſh miniſter, they courted and thanked the very lord lieutenant they had cenſured and defied. At the time of his majeſty's recovery, miniſters did intimate to the members of that houſe, that if they preſumed to vote againſt the will of the lord lieutenant,

tenant, they ſhould loſe their places; and he well remembered, that as the authority of miniſters received ſtrength, the virtue of that houſe became weak; ſo that thoſe who formerly ſtood up to oppoſe, and to cenſure the lord lieutenant, were then the foremoſt to adulate and to thank him. Was it poſſible there could be a more humiliating conduct?

He was one of the perſons diſmiſſed from office at that time. He did receive a meſſage from Lord Buckingham, by the attorney-general (Earl Clare) in which he was told, "that if he would conſent to ſupport Lord Bucking-"ham's adminiſtration, he would not only hold any office, but receive any "favor government had it in their power to beſtow." His anſwer was, "that "he was ready at all times to ſerve the king's government, but his own "conſiſtency never would permit him to ſupport a lord lieutenant, on whoſe "conduct he had voted a parliamentary cenſure." Let that be contradicted; and if other gentlemen thought the intereſts of the country were better ſupported by meanly fawning on a lord lieutenant, than by a manly diſcharge of duty, let them purſue that mode. He never would.*

Upon

* On a ſubſequent day Mr. George Ponſonby was called upon to make ſome apology for the liberty taken with the chancellor. That lord had complained, that he had divulged the confidential ſecrets of his beſt benefactor in life. To which Mr. George Ponſonby replied, that if ſome expreſſions had been conceived to be hurtful to the feelings of the noble lord, that muſt have been from an idea of what did not paſs; he had not ſtated the whole in debate, but every one knew the events, which took place at that remarkable period; and that after certain events an overture had been made by the exiſting government to the gentlemen, who had gone into oppoſition to afford them ſupport, to return or to remain with them, call it which they might, and that all previous proceedings ſhould be buried in perfect oblivion. In ſtating the tranſaction, he did not allude to any perſon treating with himſelf as one, but to many beſides him, to his connexions, and not with him only his right honorable relation behind him (Mr. W. B. Ponſonby). The propoſition was, that there ſhould be a perfect amneſty, as it was called, a ceſſation of all hoſtilities, and that all perſons were to be conſidered, as if no ſuch matter had taken place. The noble lord, then attorney general, reaſoned with him, not as a ſervant of the crown, but as a private friend upon his conduct. He repreſented to him how fooliſh it was to throw away a lucrative place; that the occaſion did not call for ſuch an act, and that it was unwiſe in him to act in ſuch a manner; that if he went into oppoſition, he would not only loſe his place, but the promotion alſo in the line of his profeſſion, which his ſituation in the country muſt ſecure. He conſidered the affair as by no means confidential. The noble lord was then attorney general, and in certain inſtances might be directed by government. How could it be called confidential? There never was a more public political negociation in Great Britain or that country. He believed every man in Dublin knew of it. In a room not far from them, there were fifty or ſixty perſons engaged in debating upon it. Though he pretended to ſuperiority over

no

Upon Lord Buckingham's reaſſumption of the government, he erected fourteen new parliamentary places; could any man ſhut his eyes againſt that? No.

Ever

no man, he contended with equality with any man. He was in a ſituation above receiving charitable donations which the language implied. And therefore if the noble lord had ever ſaid, that he was the beſt benefactor of his life, he muſt have leſſened the force of any obligations which he may have conferred. He thought with Prior:

"To John I owed great obligation;
"But he to pay himſelf, thought fit
"To publiſh it to all the nation;
"Sure John and I are more than quit!"

It had been underſtood, that he had ſaid that the noble lord wanted him to ſign a paper. He did not. He never went into detail. He only related that government wanted a written anſwer. He believed that the noble lord was as incapable of offering as he was of complying with ſuch a requeſt. It was told to his right honorable friend and to himſelf, that a written anſwer upon the occaſion was neceſſary, in order to be tranſmitted to the Britiſh cabinet, that they might ſee upon what ground the government of Ireland ſtood. He held a letter in his hand from Lord St. Helens, (then Secretary Fitzherbert) on the ſubject.

The tranſaction he conceived to be as public as could be, as an amneſty was held out to every one who would come in under it. He hoped he had ſaid every thing ſatisfactory to the noble lord and his friends, and entirely acquitted his lordſhip of having made any direct nomination of him to any office. He was ſorry to ſtate any thing further on the tranſaction, but it was neceſſary to ſhew, that written anſwers were expected. For after the anſwer which terminated the negociation, he was diſmiſſed. It was one of the firſt acts of the right honorable gentleman oppoſite him, (Mr. Hobart) and he admitted, that he did it in terms of great perſonal civility. He did not blame government for diſmiſſing him. He would do the ſame if he were in government to thoſe, who refuſed their ſupport. That he aſſured gentlemen, that his enmities of this nature never went beyond the door of the Houſe of Commons. He appealed to his honorable friend (Mr. M. Beresford) who filled his office, whether he had ever looked at him with envy on that account? To ſhew that a written anſwer was given, he read the following copy of that given by his relation (the Right Honorable W. B. Ponſonby) for himſelf, and friends.

"I intend to ſupport the uſual ſupplies and his majeſty's government in this country. But I "will not enter into any communication with Lord Buckingham. And as ſome miſtakes have "hitherto taken place from verbal converſation, this is the reaſon for giving a written anſwer."

Mr. Secretary Hobart acknowledged, that from his eſteem for a noble lord, he had felt great pain on a former night. At ſuch a diſtance of time it was natural that ſome little inaccuracies might occur. He requeſted him to recollect, whether that report of the ſtatement, which repreſented the ſervants of the crown inſiſting upon him to ſign a paper for the purpoſe of tranſmitting it to the Britiſh cabinet were ſtrictly true?

Mr. George Ponſonby explained, that he had been requeſted to give an anſwer in writing, not to ſign any inſtrument of aſſociation.

Mr.

Ever ſince the ſame meaſures had been purſued, every thing had been beſtowed on members of parliament: were there no other men in the country fit for office?

How differently did people feel in England? How little did they imagine the power of influence in Ireland? No ſooner was it known that Lord Buckingham had quarrelled with the parliament of Ireland, than Lord Weſtmoreland was named his ſucceſſor. It was thought impoſſible for Lord Buckingham to remain an hour, but he demonſtrated the force of influence for ſome months, and conſequently Lord Weſtmoreland did not come as ſoon as the Engliſh cabinet had imagined it would have been neceſſary to ſend him. Their error aroſe from ſuppoſing it impoſſible for an Iriſh parliament to have the meanneſs to praiſe and addreſs the man they had juſt cenſured.

He had heard a great deal about the proſperity of that country. No man denied that the country was proſperous; the people of that country enjoyed pretty nearly perfect civil freedom, and pretty nearly perfect perſonal freedom. (Though it had not been long ſince he ſhewed to that houſe, that a judge had groſsly violated the latter, and they refuſed to cenſure him.) The poſſeſſion of civil and perſonal freedom promoted induſtry, and by induſtry a country grew rich; but what was that to government? The people of a country might poſſeſs civil liberty, and perſonal liberty, and yet be very badly governed, becauſe they might not have political freedom.

He recollected upon former occaſions it had been ſaid, that the people were not diſcontented; but the gentlemen on that ſide of the houſe were diſcontented. But their conduct had been the reverſe of men who would wiſh to embarraſs government. What neceſſary meaſure had they oppoſed? Where had they ſhewn the temper of diſcontented men? He then concluded with moving, "that it was the opinion of that houſe, that his majeſty's miniſters "were endeavouring to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of corrupt influence in that houſe, "incompatible with the principles of the conſtitution, and the independence "of parliament."

Mr. W. B. Ponſonby roſe to ſay, that he had received from Mr. Fitzherbert a letter, in which it was propoſed that gentlemen, who had voted againſt adminiſtration on the queſtion of the regency, and paſt cenſure might, if they choſe, come in under an amneſty, and every thing was to be perfectly obliviated; this letter, however, required a written anſwer, in order to be tranſmitted to his majeſty's miniſters in England, to aſcertain them how adminiſtration was to be ſupported in Ireland.

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Grattan, and negatived without a diviſion, at a quarter paſt two o'clock in the morning.

On the 14th of March, Mr. Grattan made one more attack on the police bill; but upon a diviſion for adjournment in a very thin houſe, there appeared for the adjournment 53, againſt it 24. On the next day when the money bills were carried up to the lords, the ſpeaker made the following ſpeech to the lord lieutenant.

* "MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"THE Commons of Ireland attend with the ſupplies. "While they may look back with a conſcious pride to their ſpirited and ſuc- "ceſsful meaſures for preventing an encreaſe of the national debt, as one great "cauſe of the extenſion of trade, agriculture and manufactures, which has "with a rapid and uninterrupted progreſs raiſed this kingdom to a ſtate of "proſperity and wealth never before experienced in it; they know that the "continuance of that proſperity would ſoon ceaſe, if it were not cheriſhed "and maintained by our moſt excellent conſtitution, in which liberty and "order are ſo happily blended, that every ſubject equally enjoys their influ- "ence, and feels his perſon, his induſtry and property, equally effectually "protected by it.

"Its preſervation, therefore, muſt ever be the great object of their care, "and there is no principle on which it is founded ſo eſſential to its preſerva- "vation, nor more juſtly dear to their patriotic and loyal feelings, than that "which has ſettled the throne of theſe realms on his majeſty's illuſtrious "houſe; on it, and on the proviſions for ſecuring a Proteſtant parliament, "depends the Proteſtant aſcendency, and with it the continuance of the "many bleſſings we now enjoy.

"The bills which I hold contain the uſual grants, and I have the moſt "ſincere happineſs in preſenting them to your excellency, whoſe knowledge "of the true intereſts of Ireland, and whoſe anxiety to promote its welfare, "has been proved to us by the firmeſt vigilance, and prudence of your ad- "miniſtration."

When the ſpeaker, with the members, had returned to the houſe, Mr. Secretary Hobart moved the thanks of the houſe to the ſpeaker, for his ſpeech at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, and ſaid, if he were capable ade-

* 12 Par. Deb. p. 298.

quately

quately to expreſs his feelings with regard to the right honorable perſon in queſtion, or did he believe he had ability to convey the ſentiments of the houſe, he would expatiate fully on the ſubject; but as he feared he could not do juſtice to his merit, he ſhould content himſelf with ſaying, that if ever that chair were filled by a perſon, whoſe talents and integrity, whoſe public and private character could do honor to ſo elevated a ſtation, it was then ſo filled.

After an adjournment for about one month the Parliament was prorogued on the 18th of April; on which day his Excellency, in his ſpeech from the throne, aſſured both houſes of Parliament, "that he had his Majeſty's commands to expreſs his approbation of the wiſdom that had guided their proceedings during the preſent ſeſſion, eſpecially in the liberal indulgencies they had afforded to their Roman Catholic brethren, by eſtabliſhing the legality of intermarriage, by admitting them to the profeſſion of the law, and the benefits of education, and by removing all reſtrictions upon their induſtry in trade and manufactures.

It appears from the ſtudied alluſions to the Proteſtant aſcendancy, which in the ſpeech of the Speaker were evidently aimed againſt the petition of the Catholics for a participation in the elective franchiſe, that Mr. Foſter wiſhed to raiſe a ſtrong and general oppoſition to that meaſure throughout the country: but the ſpeech of the Lord Lieutenant imported, that the Government, moving by the impulſe of the Britiſh councils, was diſpoſed rather to extend than contract the indulgences to the Roman Catholics. His Majeſty approved of their wiſdom in the liberal indulgences that had been granted, but ſuggeſted no danger to the Proteſtant aſcendancy, nor recommendation to check their liberality. Umbrage indeed had been taken, during the debate on the Catholic queſtion, by ſome members, at the idea of its introduction under the ſanction of the Britiſh miniſter.*

The

* On the preſentation of the Catholic Petition by Mr. Egan, Mr. Staples ſaid, he thought the bill was introduced under a mandate of a Britiſh miniſter, and as ſuch ſupported by adminiſtration here, rather than as a meaſure, in which the ſenſe of Parliament or the Proteſtant intereſts were conſulted. He wiſhed to know if any farther conceſſion to Roman Catholics were intended, or if any line were to be drawn, in order to mark out the ultimate boundary of ſuch meaſures; and he ſignified his wiſh of moving ſome ſtrong declaratory clauſe in the preamble of the bill on this head: to which Mr. Secretary Hobart anſwered, that he knew of no conceſſions intended to Roman Ca-

The great object of the political views of Ireland both in and out of Parliament, during the whole year of 1792, was Catholic emancipation, as it was improperly called. The queſtion had produced unprecedented diviſions and ſubdiviſions of parties throughout the kingdom. The few of the leading Proteſtants, who wiſhed the Iriſh to become a people, and to enjoy the freedom of the Britiſh conſtitution, oppoſed the bulk of their fellow Proteſtants, who, under the ſpecious cry of *Proteſtant aſcendancy*, were determined to defend their poſſeſſions of that monopoly of civil power, which the abuſe of centuries had veſted in them. The Diſſenters, who in Ireland are certainly as numerous as the Proteſtants of the Eſtabliſhment, had deeply imbibed the axiom of Mr. Grattan, *that the Iriſh Proteſtant ſhould never be free, until the Iriſh Catholic ſhould ceaſe to be a ſlave:* they conſequently urged the Catholics to unite with them in emancipating their country; and ſome of the Catholics for a time gave enthuſiaſtically into that co-operation. A very reſpectable, though not the moſt numerous, part of the Catholic body was divided againſt the reſt of their brethren, from their diſapprobation of the principles, means, and ſupport, upon which the latter appeared to reſt the common hopes of ſucceſs. Great, however, was their addreſs in ſecuring, through their agent, the countenance and ſupport of the father (Mr. Burke), whoſe influence upon the Britiſh Cabinet was now generally felt and univerſally admitted. The diſgrace and obloquy attempted to be thrown upon the Catholic Committee, ſerved to deepen their reflection upon their ſituation, and to ſtimulate their

tholics but what were mentioned in the bill propoſed by his Right Hon. Friend, and to thoſe, ſo far as he could collect, the general ſenſe of the Houſe was favourable; but with reſpect to the meaſure of drawing any line for the future conduct of Parliament on this topic, it was a meaſure he would never preſume to attempt. With reſpect to mandates of a Britiſh miniſter on the ſubject, he knew of none.

Mr. Staples feared it was a meaſure of abſolute command from a Britiſh miniſter, and therefore hoped the ſpirit of the Houſe would reſiſt it.

Sir Thomas Oſborne remarked, that the bill, being brought forward by the advice of that moſt able miniſter, ſhould have his aſſent.

Mr. Sheridan ſhould not have ſpoken on the ſubject, if an anſwer had been given to the queſtion put by his Hon. Friend, and if an Hon. Baronet had not ſaid, "the bill had his approbation, becauſe introduced under the direction of the Britiſh miniſter," whom he was pleaſed to ſtile "moſt able."

Sir Thomas Oſbourne, did not ſay direction, but advice. To which Mr. Sheridan replied, that, if he were compiling a dictionary, he ſhould explain "advice of a miniſter," by the ſingle word command.

exertions

exertions to emerge out of it. The alarm, reluctance, and tenacity of the Proteſtant gave energy, confidence, and perſeverance to the Catholic.

Previous, therefore, to any further application, the Committee, following the example of their brethren in England, which had been attended with ſuch conciliating effects, and in purſuance of the advice of many of their beſt friends and ableſt ſupporters, reſolved to give to the legiſlature and their country the moſt ample ſatisfaction in their power, on all topics of their faith, which were, however remotely, connected with the principles of good order and government. For this purpoſe they anxiouſly attended to every objection, and every propoſal, whether reſulting from motives of friendſhip or enmity, to ſecure or to ſubvert their hopes of emancipation; they conſulted thoſe, who from their ſituation and purſuits were beſt acquainted with the difficulties and the doubts exiſting in the minds of their Proteſtant brethren; they diligently ſtudied the modes moſt likely to give complete ſatisfaction on all thoſe points; and finally, after due and earneſt deliberation, they publiſhed a declaration* of their tenets, which was ſigned generally by the Catholics of all deſcriptions through the kingdom, clergy and laity. It received the warm approbation of their ſupporters, and impoſed ſilence on many of their opponents. It was circulated as widely as poſſible throughout the kingdom.

Having thus endeavoured to clear the way by the removal of prejudices, which had long and powerfully operated againſt them, and wiſhing to pay every poſſible reſpect and deference to the legiſlature, which had expreſſed doubts as to what were the real ſentiments and wiſhes of the Catholic body: and being fully convinced, that in order to induce that auguſt aſſembly to afford relief to three millions of loyal and peaceable ſubjects, it was incumbent upon them to ſatisfy them of the unequivocal ſenſe of all the Catholics of Ireland, which could only be fairly collected and fully expreſſed by delegation;† the Committee therefore deviſed a plan whereby the ſentiments of every individual of their body in Ireland ſhould be aſcertained, by means of delegates.

Immediately on the appearance of this plan, a general outcry was raiſed againſt it; ſedition, tumult, conſpiracy and treaſon, were echoed from

* This declaration is to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. LXXXVIII.

† This plan of delegation is alſo to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. LXXXIX.

county

county to county, from grand jury to grand jury. Some legiſlators high in the confidence of their ſovereign, and armed with the influence of ſtation and office, preſided at thoſe meetings, and were foremoſt in arraigning meaſures, upon the merits of which in another place and in another function they were finally to determine.

The exaggerated and alarming language of moſt of the grand juries imported, that the Catholics of Ireland were on the eve of a general inſurrection, ready to hurl the king from his throne, and tear the whole frame of the conſtitution to pieces.

The Leitrim grand jury denominated the plan "An inflammatory and dangerous publication," and ſtated, "that they felt it neceſſary to come for-"ward at that period to declare, that they were ready to ſupport, with their "lives and fortunes, their preſent moſt valuable conſtitution in church and "ſtate; and that they would reſiſt, to the utmoſt of their power, the attempts "of any body of men, however numerous, who ſhould preſume to threaten "innovation in either."

The grand jury of the county of Cork denominated the plan "An uncon-"ſtitutional proceeding, of the moſt alarming, dangerous, and ſeditious "tendency; an attempt to overawe Parliament:" they ſtated their determination to "protect and defend, with their lives and property, the preſent "conſtitution in church and ſtate." That of Roſcommon, after the uſual epithets of "alarming, dangerous, and ſeditious," aſſerted that the plan called upon the whole body of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to aſſociate themſelves in the metropolis of that kingdom, upon the model of the National Aſſembly of France, which had already plunged that devoted country into a ſtate of anarchy and tumult unexampled in any civilized nation: they ſtated it to be "an attempt to overawe Parliament;" they mentioned their ſerious and ſenſible alarms for the exiſtence of their preſent happy eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate; and their determination, "at the hazard of every thing dear to them, to uphold and maintain the Proteſtant intereſt of Ireland."

The grand jury of Sligo reſolved, "that they would, at all times, and by "every conſtitutional means in their power, reſiſt and oppoſe every attempt "then making, or thereafter to be made, by the Roman Catholics, to obtain "their elective franchiſe, or any participation in the government of the "country." And that of Donegal declared, that, though "they regarded

"the

" the Catholics with tenderneſs, they would maintain, at the hazard of every " thing dear to them, the Proteſtant intereſt of Ireland."

The grand jury of Fermanagh, profeſſing alſo " the warmeſt attachment to " their Roman Catholic brethren," felt it however neceſſary to come forward at that period to declare, that they were " ready with their lives and fortunes " to ſupport their preſent invaluable conſtitution in church and ſtate." And that of the county of Derry, after expreſſing their apprehenſions, leſt that proceeding " might lead to the formation of an hierarchy (conſiſting partly " of laity) which would deſtroy the Proteſtant aſcendancy, the freedom of " the elective franchiſe, and the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of this country," tendered their lives and fortunes to ſupport the happy conſtitution as eſtabliſhed at the Revolution of 1688. A very great majority of the leading ſignatures affixed to thoſe reſolutions, were thoſe of men either high in the government of the country, or enjoying lucrative places under it, or poſſeſſing extenſive borough intereſt.

The grand jury of the county of Louth, with the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons at their head, declared, " That the allowing to Roman Catholics " the right of voting for members to ſerve in Parliament, or admitting them " to any participation in the government of the kingdom, was incompatible " with the ſafety of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, the continuance of the ſuc- " ceſſion to the crown in the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover, and finally tended " to ſhake, if not deſtroy, their connexion with Great Britain, on the conti- " nuance and inſeparability of which depended the happineſs and proſperity of " that kingdom; that they would oppoſe every attempt towards ſuch a dan- " gerous innovation, and that they would ſupport with their lives and for- " tunes the preſent conſtitution, and the ſettlement of the throne on his " Majeſty's Proteſtant Houſe." The freeholders of the county of Limerick charged the Catholic Committee with an intention to over-awe the legiſlature, to force a repeal of the penal laws, and to create a popiſh democracy for their government and direction in purſuit of whatever objects might be holden out to them by turbulent and ſeditious men. They then inſtructed their repreſentatives in Parliament, " At all events, to oppoſe any propoſition which " might be made for extending to Catholics the right of elective franchiſe:" at this meeting the Chancellor was preſent. The corporation of Dublin in ſtrong terms denied the competency of Parliament to extend the right of franchiſe to the Catholics, which they called " alienating their moſt valua-

" able

" ble inheritance;" and roundly aſſerted againſt the fact, that " the laſt ſeſ-
" ſion of Parliament left the Roman Catholics in no wiſe different from their
" Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, ſave only in the exerciſe of political power."

Some of the grand juries indignantly rejected the propoſals made to them of coming to any reſolutions injurious to their Catholic brethren. Agents had been employed to tamper with every grand jury that met during the ſummer aſſizes. Nothing could tend more directly than this meaſure of pre-engaging the ſentiments of the country againſt three millions of its inhabitants, to raiſe and foment diſcord and diſunion between Proteſtants and Catholics. Counter-reſolutions, anſwers and replies, addreſſes and proteſtations, were publiſhed and circulated in the public papers* from ſome grand jurymen, and from many different bodies of Catholics; ſeveral bold and ſevere publications appeared during the courſe of the ſummer, not only from individuals of the Catholic body, but from the friends of their cauſe amongſt the Proteſtants. It is ſcarcely queſtionable but that the virulent and acrimonious oppoſition raiſed againſt the Catholic petition for a very limited participation of the elective franchiſe, enlivened the ſenſe of their grievances, opened their views, and united their energies into a common effort to procure a general repeal of the whole penal code. The late Earl of Clare, Mr. Foſter, and ſome others, who were generally conſidered as the monopolizers of the political power of the ſtate, were prominently conſpicuous in attending the meetings, at which ſome of the ſtrongeſt reſolutions were entered into. It was the general conviction of the people, that all the grand juries throughout the nation had been packed, to extinguiſh even in embryo the Catholics' hope of further emancipation. Reflection aggravates oppreſſion: and the removal of a trivial portion of an overpowering burden, ſo far from relieving, renders the oppreſſed more ſenſible of the remaining load.

Of all the publications which were diſperſed in the courſe of the year, none produced a ſtronger impreſſion on the public mind, than a Digeſt of the Popery Laws made by Mr. Simon Butler, the Chairman of the Society of the United Iriſhmen, which was publiſhed by order of that ſociety. It was a very cor-

* The columns of the daily newſpapers were filled with charges, defences, and recriminations, which fatally proved the extenſive influence and unwearied exertions of that part of Proteſtant Ireland, which was in poſſeſſion of the political power and its attendant ſweets, againſt three millions and a half at leaſt of their countrymen. Specimens are to be ſeen in Appendix, No. XC.

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rect analyſis of thoſe laws: it conſequently brought into view all the penalties and diſabilities, to which the body remained ſtill ſubject, after the puny relief of the pompous bill of Sir Hercules Langriſhe. It would be unfair, if the hiſtorian were to repreſent the tranſactions of a particular period from conſequences, that appeared at a diſtant interval of time, and the ſubſequent fate of many of the actors in the ſcenes. It is his duty faithfully to repreſent them as they really paſſed at the time. Merit and demerit can only attach from previous or co-exiſting circumſtances; not from the poſthumous iſſue engendered in the womb of time by future baſe and unavowed connections. It was not becauſe an individual was guilty of treaſon in the year 1798, that every previous act or tranſaction, in which that individual was concerned for the twenty, ten, or five preceding years, was affected with the venom of his latter crime. Whatever opinions may be formed of the motives, views, and conduct of particular bodies of men by others, it is firſt requiſite to know at leaſt thoſe, which they themſelves profeſs and fairly avow. A vindication of the conduct and principles of the Roman Catholics of Ireland from the charges made againſt them by certain late grand juries, and other intereſted bodies in that country, was publiſhed by order of the Committee. *

It

* In this work they ſum up a recapitulation of the grievances, by which they were ſtill affected; and then conclude: "Such is the ſituation of three millions of good and faithful ſubjects in their native land! Excluded from every truſt, power, or emolument of the ſtate, civil or military; excluded from all the benefits of the conſtitution in all its parts; excluded from all corporate rights, and immunities; expelled from grand juries, reſtrained in petit juries; excluded from every direction, from every truſt, from every incorporated ſociety, from every eſtabliſhment occaſional or fixed, inſtituted for public defence, public police, public morals, or public convenience; from the Bench, from the Bank, from the Exchange, from the Univerſity, from the College of Phyſicians: from what are they not excluded? There is no inſtitution, which the wit of man has invented, or the progreſs of ſociety produced, which private charity or public munificence has founded for the advancement of education, learning, and good arts, for the permanent relief of age, infirmity, or misfortune, for the ſuperintendance of which, and all caſes where common charity would permit, from the enjoyment of which the legiſlature has not taken care to exclude the Catholics of Ireland. Such is the ſtate, which the corporation of Dublin have thought proper to aſſert, "differs in no reſpect from that of the Proteſtants, ſave only in the exereiſe of political "power;" and the hoſt of grand juries conſider "as eſſential to the exiſtence of the conſtitution, "to the permanency of the connexion with England, and the continuation of the throne in his "Majeſty's Royal Houſe." A greater libel on the conſtitution, the connexion or the ſucceſſion, could not be pronounced, nor one more pregnant with dangerous and deſtructive conſequences, than

It was matter of curious ſpeculation to reflect upon the bold and confident aſſurance, with which the Catholics now repreſented their grievances, which

this, which aſſerts, that they are only to be maintained and continued by the ſlavery and oppreſſion of three millions of good and loyal ſubjects.

It is the duty of the General Committee to reply to thoſe objections made againſt their preſent proceedings which appear to have any weight:---In the firſt place, it is aſſerted that they are "a Popiſh Congreſs, formed for the purpoſe of overawing the legiſlature." Without deſcending to obſerve on the invidious appellation of "a Popiſh Congreſs," they conſider the intention to overawe Parliament as the ſubſtantial part of the charge. Againſt the truth of this accuſation they do moſt ſolemnly proteſt. They utterly abjure, diſclaim, and renounce the holding ſuch an intention; and they call upon their enemies to point out the word, action, or publication of the Catholics of Ireland, which can, before rational and diſpaſſionate minds, be conſtrued to bear ſuch an abſurd and wicked import. If none ſuch can be ſhewn, if the conduct of the Catholics for a century paſt has been uniformly peaceable, dutiful, and ſubmiſſive, they truſt their views and motives will be fairly judged on their own merits, and not on forced conſtructions, unwarranted by the actions, and thus ſolemnly again diſclaimed as the intention of the Committee.

"They are charged with exciting diſcontent, tumult, and ſedition. After the enumeration of grievances, under which the Catholics of Ireland labour, it is attributing too much to this Committee, to ſay that they are the cauſe of the preſent diſcontents. As to tumult and ſedition, they challenge thoſe, who make the aſſertion to ſhew the inſtance. Where have there been riots, or tumults, or ſeditions, which can in the moſt remote degree be traced to the proceedings or publications of this Committee? They know too well how fatal to their hopes of emancipation any thing like diſturbance muſt be. Independent of the danger to thoſe hopes, it is more peculiarly their intereſt to preſerve peace and good order, than that of any body of men in the community. They have a large ſtake in the country, much of it veſted in that kind of property which is moſt peculiarly expoſed to danger from popular tumult. The General Committee would ſuffer more by one week's diſturbance than all the members of the two Houſes of Parliament.

"But the moſt complete refutation of this unjuſt charge is the very meaſure, which is made the pretence for bringing it forward. When the humble petition already recited was in the laſt ſeſſion preſented to Parliament, it was rejected with circumſtances of peculiar diſgrace and ignominy; and, as one reaſon for that rejection, it was inſiſted, that the petitioners did not ſpeak the ſenſe of the Catholic body; it therefore became neceſſary to aſcertain what the ſenſe of that body was, and the Committee ſubmit, whether a plan for collecting the general ſentiment could be deviſed more quiet, peaceable, orderly, and efficacious, than ſummoning from each county and city of Ireland, the moſt reſpectable and intelligent gentlemen, who, from their ſituation and connexions, beſt knew the wiſhes of their countrymen, and from their property muſt be moſt deſirous and moſt capable of ſecuring tranquillity and good order. But in a caſe like the preſent, there is no argument ſo powerful as the fact. The choice of the Catholics has been univerſally made without a ſingle inſtance of irregularity or diſorder. There is more riot and diſturbance in one day at a conteſted election for a

common

which ſome few years before they had ſcarcely dared to mention or allude to.*

The Catholic committee became obnoxious to government in proportion to the ſympathy and connection, which it was ſuppoſed exiſted between them and the Society of United Iriſhmen and other political clubs which then exiſted for promoting civil freedom. In fact ſeveral of their leading members took public occaſions of expreſſing the gratitude, which the Catholics felt for the liberal and warm exertions of thoſe ſocieties in their favor. On the

common potwalloping borough, than occurred in chuſing delegates to the committee from the thirty-two counties, and every great city of this kingdom."

* Soon after the rejection of the committee's petition to parliament, it was publiſhed with a very ſtrong preface, little calculated to ſooth the minds of thoſe who chiefly oppoſed it in parliament. In that preface, this language is holden.

"The original intention was, that the petition ſhould have been preſented the firſt day of the ſeſſion. At that time nothing had yet appeared of that ſtrong expreſſion of opinion, which thoſe who delight in figurative modes of ſpeech, would call the ſenſe of the houſe. The happy arts, by which the minds of men have been filled with alarm and confuſion had not been extended beyond the conſtituent part of the Proteſtant commons. No advantage had been gained againſt the Roman Catholics in any other place. No man had yet made a forced march—to pre-occupy the ground—to ſeize upon the meaſure—in order, as it were, on the poſt and citadel of relief, to open a battery upon the Roman Catholics. In appearance to ſlabber them over with the groſs and filthy ſlaver of a canting ſimulated affection, but in reality to corrode their fame with the venom of ſlanderous aſperſion—to play faſt and looſe with names and things—to trick out a vain and ſpurious image of departed ariſtocracy; to call it the real Catholics; and (with a ſtrange mixture of abſurdity and impudence) to refuſe their name to the people themſelves—to damn the deluded few with fraudulent praiſe—to brand the guiltleſs many with falſe imputation—to hold out to the Proteſtant mind deluſive ſecurities, to refuſe real fears—in one hand to carry liberality, toleration, grace and favor; and with the other, to ſcatter diviſion, diſtraction, ſuſpicion, and diſcontent. Such is the epitome of the game which has been played againſt the Catholics. It was a thing to be deſired, that if poſſible, they ſhould have anticipated by the promptitude of their movements, this complicated involution of hoſtile manœuvre. That not being the caſe, the enemies of the Catholics (and therefore the enemies of their country) have gained a momentary advantage—but one which may end in their ſhame and confuſion.

"To develope this whole myſtery of criminal folly, unravel the perplexed labyrinth of paſſion, abſurdity and fraud, through which it has been thought expedient to wind the queſtion of the Roman Catholics, will be the taſk of a leiſure hour. Many are the paths that lead to death, and many are the ways, by which a kingdom may be brought to the ground. Amongſt theſe not the leaſt effectual is, in a great national criſis—the ſubſtitution of a low craft, the little tricks of ſtate, the miſerable equivocation of double politics, in the room of true policy; that is to ſay, the generous manly deciſions of honor, truth, and juſtice."

23d of March, 1792, in a debate of the committee, Mr. Keogh ſaid, that for a late publication, (the digeſt of the Popery laws), the United Iriſhmen and their reſpectable chairman, Mr. Simon Butler, demanded their warmeſt gratitude. It was natural for perſons ſtaggering under oppreſſion cordially to graſp every hand, that held out relief. Amidſt the variety of theſe political ſocieties, there were few that admitted Catholics amongſt them. The Whig Club would not even permit the Catholic queſtion to be agitated amongſt them.* Had it been true, as it is faſhionable with the traducers of the Iriſh nation to aſſert, that there was as much treaſon in Dublin in 1792, as in the

* In November, 1792, at a meeting of the Whig Club, Mr. Huband obſerved, that in that critical period it became neceſſary for them to remember, that they were looked up to as the leaders of the nation, as an aſſociation in which the rank, the property, and the talents of the kingdom were concentrated. A queſtion of ſuperior magnitude was never agitated by the community, and was at the next ſeſſion to be agitated in parliament, he meant the Catholic queſtion; a queſtion which ultimately was to decide whether the inhabitants of that country were ever to be worthy of the name of a people or not? He therefore hoped that the ſenſe of the meeting would be taken as to what line of conduct they would adopt in parliament next winter.

Some gentlemen decidedly aſſerted, that they did not think the Catholic queſtion ought to be mentioned or diſcuſſed in the Whig Club. They were averſe to their having any concern in it, and one went ſo far as to ſay, that if it were admitted to be debated in that ſociety, he would with his own hand ſtrike his name out of the liſt of the members.

On which Mr. A. Ham. Rowan obſerved, that he would be as tenacious as any other gentleman, of remaining in any ſociety where improper ſubjects were propoſed for diſcuſſion; but that for his part, he would not heſitate to ſtrip off his Whig Club uniform, and throw it to the waiter, if the Catholic queſtion were deemed an unfit ſubject for their diſcuſſion.

Mr. W. Browne called the attention of gentlemen to the purpoſe of their aſſociation. They placed themſelves in the front of the public cauſe, to further it, not to ſtop its further progreſs; the ſecond principle of their declaration was, a ſolemn engagement to ſupport the rights of the people, &c. Who, ſaid he, are the people? I dare any gentleman to name the people of Ireland without including the Roman Catholics. What! is it a queſtion, ſhall three millions of Iriſhmen continue ſlaves or obtain their freedom! Is it a queſtion to be deſerted by men profeſſing patriotiſm, profeſſing to redreſs the public oppreſſion, pledged to ſtand together in defence of their country's liberties? No; it is not.

To deſert the cauſe of the Catholics, would be to deſert the principles of their inſtitution, it would be to deſerve the calumny thrown againſt them by their enemies, that they were an oppoſition ſtruggling for power, not a band of patriots for the public weal; it would rob their names of honour, their rank and wealth of conſequence, and it would finally ſink them from a ſtation of political importance, down to the obſcurity and inſignificance of an intereſted and impotent party.

On the queſtion being put, whether the Catholic queſtion ſhould be taken into conſideration or not on Wedneſday fortnight, it was negatived on a diviſion by thirteen.

year

year 1798, and that theſe political clubs or ſocieties were the hot-beds of rebellion, it would be an high, though unintended compliment to the Catholics, who were generally excluded from them.

To ſuch alarming exceſſes had the French revolution now been puſhed, that every ſymptom of ſympathizing with that cauſe, became in the eyes of government, a crime little ſhort of treaſon. Early in the ſpring, the intended celebration of the anniverſary of the French Revolution at Belfaſt on the 14th of July, was announced in the public prints, and all the volunteers of the province of Ulſter were invited to aſſiſt at it. Mr. Tone ſent down to Belfaſt, by order of the Society of the United Iriſhmen of Dublin, ſome reſolutions, they had lately entered into, the general purport of which was a complete internal union of all the people of Ireland, to reſiſt the weight of Engliſh influence. They were to be communicated to them on the day of their meeting, in the hopes of their adopting them. The commemoration was celebrated with great pomp and ſplendor: ſeveral emblematic figures and repreſentations were exibited with inſcriptions appropriate to the occaſion.* As ſome very warm reſolutions had been heretofore entered into by the northern volunteers in favor of Catholic emancipation, and the great (indeed the only oſtenſible) principle of the different ſocieties of United Iriſhmen, was the affection and union of Iriſhmen of every religious denomination, the Catholics conſidered this general aſſemblage of the Proteſtants of the north, as a favorable opportunity of engaging them more deeply and zealouſly in their cauſe; they ſent down about a dozen diſcreet perſons to Belfaſt in order to keep up and encourage the union with the Proteſtants of the north. They valued the liberality of the preſent generation the more, by how much the Catholic cauſe had heretofore ſuffered from the rancour of their anceſtors. When the proceſſion was over, the volunteers, and many of the inhabitants of the town aſſembled in the Linen-hall and entered upon the diſcuſſion of politics. The principal ſubjects were parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation; in

* On a group of figures drawn by horſes was the following inſcription. "The releaſement of "the priſoners from the Baſtile." On the reverſe, there was a figure of "Hibernia, with one "hand and foot in ſhackles, and a volunteer preſenting to her a figure of Liberty." The following motto was inſcribed on another: "Our Gallic brethren were born July 14th, 1789: alas! we are "ſtill in embryo." On the reverſe, "Superſtitious jealouſy, the cauſe of the Iriſh Baſtile: Let us "unite and deſtroy it." Among them appeared the portrait of Doctor Franklin, with this motto, "Where liberty is, there is my country."

favor

favor of both of which queſtions they entered into ſtrong reſolutions. They then voted an addreſs to the national aſſembly of France, and another to the people of Ireland. It was not in nature, that three millions of the people ſhould remain paſſive and unmoved, whilſt the fourth million, which made up the population of that kingdom, was in the height of a political fever. There is nothing in the Catholic more than in the Proteſtant religion, to prevent a diverſity of ſentiment upon lawful political opinions. And although a common cauſe of ſufferance may be generally ſuppoſed to unite the individuals of a body, yet in truth there ſeldom has exiſted ſo large a portion of mankind leſs united than the Catholics of Ireland. The penal code made them indeed a body apart, but it neceſſarily ſcattered amongſt them the ſeeds of diſcord and diſunion, which might have been no ſecondary motive in the framing of the ferocious and unnatural code of laws againſt them. For it is a fatal truth, that the Machiavelian policy *divide et impera* was too conſtantly brought to bear upon that devoted kingdom, as long as it was conſidered a divided and ſubordinate country: and ſuch would it have ever continued to be deemed unleſs united to the head of the empire.

The Catholic committee had in February, 1792, publiſhed, as has been before obſerved, an addreſs to their Proteſtant brethren, and the public in general, reſpecting the calumnies and miſrepreſentations ſo induſtriouſly circulated with regard to their principles and conduct; to which they added the former opinions of five Catholic univerſities upon certain tenets uſually imputed to Roman Catholics by the Proteſtants of that country.* They were procured at the deſire of Mr. Pitt, before the bill was paſſed in favour of the Roman Catholics of England.

By this publication, they conceived they had removed every reaſonable objection on the ſcore of religious opinion. Yet, after the ſevere ſummer campaign, in which they had to encounter ſo much obloquy and imputation from grand juries, and other meelings of Proteſtants, who had been packed and ſtimulated to this end by the chancellor, the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, and ſome other ſharers in the monopoly of the civil power of the ſtate; they found it neceſſary alſo to remove or prevent freſh prejudices, which were attempted to be raiſed againſt their civil conduct in applying for redreſs of grievances. On the 13th of September, 1792, at a meeting of the

* The queries and anſwers are to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. XCI.

ſub-

ſub-committee of the Catholics, they came to the following reſolutions: "That having ſeen, with great concern, a variety of publications, cenſuring "the circular letter lately iſſued by them, ſaid to be ſigned Edward Byrne, "and erroneouſly ſtated to be illegal and unconſtitutional, had thought it "their duty to ſubmit that letter to the inſpection of the Hon. Simon Butler, "and Beresford Burſton, Eſq. two gentlemen of the firſt eminence in the "profeſſion, and who had the honour to be of his majeſty's council."

In the courſe of a very few days, the caſe laid before thoſe two gentlemen, with their opinions upon it, were publiſhed and circulated with all poſſible induſtry.* Upon the ſtrength of theſe opinions, the Catholics proceeded in their plan of chuſing delegates for each diſtrict throughout the kingdom: the elections were completed with the utmoſt celerity, and without the ſhadow of diſturbance. The firſt meeting of thoſe delegates was holden in Taylor's hall, Dublin, on the 2d of December, 1792. The confidence, with which the Catholics now looked up to their emancipation, brought them frequently together; and beſide the committee of delegates, other collections of them occaſionally met to conſult upon the meaſures to be purſued towards attaining their great object of liberation. From the publication of their proceedings their ſpirit and feeling on that great and critical occaſion are ſufficiently manifeſt. In the attainment of this object they naturally conſidered thoſe only as their enemies, who oppoſed their efforts, and by the common workings of nature were cordial and grateful to every ſincere co-operator with them in the work of emancipation. On the 31ſt of October, 1792, the Catholic inhabitants of the city of Dublin were convened by public ſummons in the Exhibition room, in Exchequer-ſtreet. The principal and immediate occaſion of this meeting was a poſt meeting of the lord mayor, ſheriffs, commons, and citizens of Dublin, at the Exhibition houſe, in William-ſtreet, on the 11th of September, purſuant to requiſition for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration the letter circulated and ſigned *Edward Byrne*; at which they came to an unanimous reſolution, that a letter upon the ſubject ſhould be addreſſed to the Proteſtants of Ireland.† This letter was highly offenſive to the Catholic inhabitants of the metropolis, who were not admitted to the poſt meeting: it was read from a public print, and a committee of eight gentle-

* They are to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. XCII.

† This letter is to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. XCIII.

men:

men* was appointed to prepare an anſwer to it, which ſhould be publiſhed as the unanimous act of that meeting. In the mean time they embraced that opportunity of repeating their thanks to the illuſtrious characters in both houſes of parliament, who had nobly ſtood forward in ſupport of their emancipation, and the right of the ſubject to petition for redreſs of grievances. They alſo declared, that their warmeſt gratitude was due, and thereby reſpectfully given to their countrymen the citizens of Belfaſt, for their uniform and manly exertions in ſupport of their cauſe, and for the example of liberality and genuine public ſpirit, which they had thereby ſhewn to the kingdom at large. They alſo thanked the different volunteer corps lately reviewed at Belfaſt; the Proteſtant freeholders of Cork; the different gentlemen, who at grand jury and county meetings, had ſupported their cauſe; and all other amongſt their Proteſtant brethren, who had manifeſted a wiſh for their emancipation: and their chairman (Mr. Braughall) was ordered to tranſmit copies of that day's proceedings to the chairman of the town-meeting at Belfaſt, the chairmen of the different ſocieties of United Iriſhmen; the different reviewing officers in Ulſter, and the other diſtinguiſhed characters, who had intereſted themſelves in the cauſe of Catholic emancipation.

Theſe expreſſions of gratitude from any of the Catholics to the Proteſtant ſupporters and friends of their cauſe, were highly diſpleaſing to government; and the real enemies to the Catholics were indefatigable in attempting to identify the cauſe of Catholic emancipation with that of French democracy and Iriſh treaſon. Several circumſtances occurred in the courſe of this year, which tended to affix a ſtigma beyond diſaffection to ſome of the political ſocieties and military corps. The national guard, a new military body, was this year arrayed and diſciplined in Dublin. They wore green uniforms, with buttons engraved with a harp, under a cap of liberty, inſtead of a crown. Their leaders were A. H. Rowan and James Napper Tandy; they affected to addreſs each other by the appellation of citizen, in imitation of the French. This corps was in high favour with the populace, and were always cordially greeted as they appeared in the ſtreet or on parade. Government really felt alarm: a general inſurrection was apprehended: they pretended to have information of the particular nights fixed for that purpoſe. The magiſtrates by orders of government patrolled the ſtreets with bodies of horſe each night.

* Viz. Randall M'Donald, John Keogh, Hugh Hamill, Edward Byrne, Thomas Ryan, Thomas Warren, Charles Ryan, and John Ball. The anſwer, in form of a declaration, is to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. XCIV.

It

It was given out from the Caſtle, that the cuſtom-houſe, the poſt-office, and the gaol, were the firſt places to be attacked; and that the ſignal for riſing was to have been the pulling down of the ſtatue of King William in College-green with ropes. Many other falſe rumours of conſpiracies and aſſaſſinations were ſet afloat. In the mean while, the national guards, and all the volunteer corps of Dublin, were ſummoned, to aſſemble on Sunday, the 9th of December, 1792, to celebrate the victory of the French, and the triumph of univerſal liberty. The ſummons began with an affectation of Galliciſm, "*Citizen Soldier.*" However, the meeting itſelf, and whatever miſchief had been intended, was prevented; and government iſſued a proclamation on the 8th of December, againſt their aſſembling. The national guards did not aſſemble; and the only perſons who appeared on parade were, A. H. Rowan, J. N. Tandy, and Carey the printer.

Amongſt other events of the year 1792, that tended to inflame the public mind, were the growth and extenſion of Defenderiſm. As the Defenders were generally Catholics, it then was and has ſince been the theme of the enemies to the Catholics, to connect the cauſe of Catholic emancipation with the cauſe and outrages of thoſe lawleſs miſcreants. Until that time they had not appeared beyond the counties of Armagh and Louth: now they ſuddenly appeared in bodies in the county of Meath, particularly in thoſe parts which adjoin to Cavan. There, and in the adjacent parts of Cavan, there reſided numerous tribes of Preſbyterians, called by the common people Scots. Between theſe, and the lower order of Catholics, there had prevailed for many years an hereditary animoſity; and it is hard to ſay on which ſide ignorance and religious prejudices preponderated. The Defenders on this occaſion were the aggreſſors: their plan was to procure arms, and to deprive all thoſe of arms, who were not engaged in their cauſe. They began with the Preſbyterians, and not in the moſt courteous manner.

The Scots took the alarm; their brethren of the County of Cavan joined; and they ſoon appeared in force, more formidable by their knowledge of the uſe of arms, than by their numbers. They were encouraged and headed by magiſtrates, clergymen, and attornies. Their fury againſt theſe aggreſſors, who were moſtly Catholics, fell indiſcriminately againſt all of that perſuaſion. The Defenders, who hitherto had acted only by night, now ventured to appear in open day. They aſſembled to the number of about an hundred and fifty men, ſome with fire arms, and the reſt with ſuch weapons as they

could procure, near Petersville, the ſeat of Mr. Tucker, a moderate and humane man. Their avowed intention was to reſcue ſome of their party, who had been detained as priſoners by the Scots in the little town of Baileborough: but on receiving intelligence that the Scots were marching into that neighbourhood, they altered their plan, and reſolved to meet their old enemies. The Scots were accompanied with a party of the military, all under the direction of magiſtrates. On their approach the Defenders took advantage of a wall, and lay in ambuſh: but notwithſtanding this advantage, they did no execution; ſome of them diſcharged their pieces very aukwardly; and on the firſt fire from the military and Scots, they fled with precipitation. Such of them as were moſt cloſely purſued, ſought ſhelter in the houſe of Mr. Tucker; and ſome of that gentleman's innocent labourers, terrified by what they were only ſpectators of, took refuge in the ſame place. The houſe was ſoon entered: innocent and guilty were dragged from their hiding places, and butchered in cold blood, with circumſtances of barbarous cruelty. It is juſtice to ſay, that the military behaved on this occaſion with as much humanity as gallantry. Some of the Peep of Day Boys, fluſhed with theſe outrageous murders, ſanctioned by the preſence of magiſtrates, on their return to Kells, moſt wantonly ſhot an innocent traveller on the road. After this exploit, they over-run the country, pillaged, plundered, burned, without requiring any mark of guilt but religion: and their proceedings, if not encouraged, were at leaſt connived at; until the Earl of Bellamont, by his authority, reſtrained thoſe of the county of Cavan; and their brethren of Meath, finding themſelves abandoned by thoſe, who formed the greateſt ſtrength of the party, ſoon became alſo quiet. Thus was the progreſs of the Defenders effectually ſtopped on that ſide; but their cauſe was entirely ruined in the barony of Kells. The Catholics, though openly and avowedly pointed at during thoſe tranſactions, never complained of the outrages of the Scots, leſt even their complaints might ſeem to encourage the unprincipled wretches, who had diſturbed the peace of the country.

The multiplication of political ſocieties in Ireland was an unequivocal ſymptom of the malignancy of the fever in which the public mind was at this time kept. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, there had been recently inſtituted the Society of the Friends of the Conſtitution, Liberty, and Peace.*

* Of this even the great libeller of his country admits, that there were many men of principle and good fortunes, who wiſhed for nothing but a ſimple reform of parliament, were members of it,

but

The Duke of Leinſter, and many of the leading men of the oppoſition, were members.

In the mean while the Catholic convention having been convened in Dublin met in Tailor's Hall in Back-lane, and frequently aſſembled: they were called in deriſion the *Back-lane Parliament.* Several of the leading members of the former committee had like other of their countrymen caught the general flame of liberty, and profeſſed themſelves as anxious for carrying the great national object of parliamentary reform through all its branches, as they were for their own emancipation: and it was for a time doubted, whether they ſhould addreſs the parliament, as Roman Catholics or as Iriſhmen. In the courſe of the ſummer a reconciliation or coalition had been generally effected between the committee and ſeveral of the ſixty-four addreſſers. Convinced, that his majeſty's miniſters in England were diſpoſed to favor their pretenſions,

but did not know the latent deſigns of the rebels. The ſpirit of this aſſociation will appear from their declaration, which every member was obliged to ſubſcribe: and which with an impreſſive addreſs to the public upon the neceſſity of checking the efforts of government to undermine the conſtitution, were agreed to, whilſt the Duke of Leinſter was in the chair, on the 27th of December, 1792.

DECLARATION.

"I SOLEMNLY promiſe and declare, that I will, by all lawful means, promote a radical "and effectual reform in the repreſentation of the people in parliament, including perſons of all "religious perſuaſions; and that I will unceaſingly purſue that object until it ſhall have been une- "quivocally obtained: and, ſeriouſly apprehending the dangerous conſequences of certain levelling "tenets, and ſeditious principles, which have lately been diſſeminated, I do further declare, that I "will reſiſt all attempts to introduce any new form of government into this country, or in any "manner to ſubvert or impair our conſtitution, conſiſting of king, lords and commons."

They alſo publiſhed the following reſolutions:—"That this ſociety, conſcious of its good in- "tentions, but diffident of its ability to judge of the beſt means of attaining an object of ſuch mag- "nitude and difficulty, as that which it has been propoſed, deems it eſſential to that object, and "therefore reſpectfully recommends that ſimilar aſſociations ſhould be formed in every county and "principal town throughout the kingdom. With ſuch aſſociations, and with every individual "friend to the conſtitution, liberty, and peace in theſe kingdoms, this ſociety will be happy to com- "municate, and will thankfully receive every ſpecies of information concerning facts, or even "hints, concerning plans and principles which may aſſiſt in deciding on matters either of propriety "or expediency. Such materials the ſociety will deem it a duty to arrange and digeſt; and as it "ſhall be enabled to ſelect, or to form a plan of repreſentation, which may appear worthy the at- "tention of the public, it will, with the utmoſt deference, lay ſuch plan before the people of Ire- "land, for their conſideration and correction, previous to its being ſubmitted to the wiſdom of the "legiſlature."

it was found political in the body to act in concert; and to this accommodating diſpoſition and deſire of internal union, is to be attributed the moderation of the public acts of that convention. They framed a petition * to the king, which was a firm though modeſt repreſentation of their grievances: it was ſigned by Dr. Troy and Dr. Moylan on behalf of themſelves and the other Roman Catholic prelates and clergy of Ireland, and by the ſeveral delegates for the different diſtricts, which they reſpectively repreſented. They then proceeded to chuſe five delegates to preſent it to his majeſty: the choice fell upon Sir Thomas French, Mr. Byrne, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Devereux, and Mr. Bellew. Theſe gentlemen went by ſhort ſeas: in their road to Donnaghadee they paſt through Belfaſt in the morning, and ſome of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants waited upon them at the Donegal Arms, where they remained about two hours: upon their departure, the populace took their horſes from their carriages and dragged them through the town amidſt the livelieſt ſhouts of joy and wiſhes for their ſucceſs. The delegates returned theſe expreſſions of affection and ſympathy, by the moſt grateful acknowledgments and aſſurances of their determination to maintain that union, which formed the ſtrength of Ireland. On the 2d of January, 1793, the gentlemen delegated by the Catholics of Ireland attended the levee at St. James's, were introduced to his majeſty by Mr. Dundas, ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, and had the honor of preſenting their humble petition to his majeſty, who was pleaſed moſt graciouſly to receive it. Without loſs of time they retuned to Dublin the welcome heralds of the benign countenance and reception they had received from the father of his people.

Since Ireland had gained a conſtitution, no year was ſo pregnant with great events to that kingdom as the year 1793. The parliament met on the 10th of January, and as the ſeſſion, which laſted to the 16th of Auguſt, was moſt intereſting and important, it will be proper to prepare the reader for the effects of that ſeſſion by ſubmitting to him the faithful and authentic account of the ſtate of the nation at the time of its opening. So alarming did the ſtate of the nation appear to the lords, that very early in the ſeſſion they appointed a ſecret committee to enquire into the cauſes of the diſorders and diſturbances, which prevailed in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, to prevent their extenſion,

* This petition is to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. XCV. with a liſt of the names of the delegates who ſigned it.

and

and report the result of their enquiries to that house: their report was: that, the people at that time called defenders * were very different from those who had

* The purport of this report seems calculated to impress the reader with an idea that the collections made by the Catholics at the desire of their committee, were, if not intended, at least in part applied to the support, encouragement, or defence of these lawless banditti. The following proceeding of that committee was published with a view to counteract that effect, and shews the actual levy as well as the application of the money.

That a committee of six be appointed to inspect and examine our accounts, and that the following gentlemen be the said committee:

| | |
|---|---|
| Sir T. H. French, Bart. - - | Co. Galway, |
| Luke Teeling, Esq. - - - | Co. Antrim, |
| Edward Sweetman, Esq. - - | Co. Wexford, |
| Francis Arthur, Esq. - - - | City of Limerick, |
| John Mansfield, Esq. - - - | Co. Waterford, and |
| T. Fitzgerald, jun. Esq. - - | Co. Kildare. |

And the said committee having sat from day to day, and minutely examined the accounts, report as follows:

Report of the Committee of Accounts, 22d April, 1793.

We the committee of accounts, having examined the different vouchers laid before us, which we present herewith, have, for the purpose of stating them in the clearest and concisest manner, compressed them in the annexed schedule, under the different titles to which they were invariably applied.

The Result of the whole is:

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| That on the 1st January, 1792, a balance remained in your treasurer's hands of - - | 18 | 13 | 5 |
| Together with nine government debentures, since sold for - - - - - | 899 | 14 | 6 |
| That there has been collected in the city of Dublin - - - - - | 2022 | 4 | 6 |
| From other cities, towns, and counties - - - - - - - - | 2258 | 11 | 8 |
| | 5199 | 3 | 8 |
| That the several sums paid on account of the Catholics of Ireland, amount to - | 5488 | 5 | 9½ |
| Which leaves a balance against the Catholic body of - - - - - | 289 | 2 | 1½ |

Account of Receipts and Disbursements of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, April 22d, 1793.

| March, 1792. | £. | s. | d. | Dr. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| To paid retaining fee to Richard Burke, Esq. - - - | 56 | 17 | 6 | |
| To paid Richard Burke, Esq. - - - - - - - | 2264 | 12 | 11 | |
| Carried forward - - | | | | 2321 10 5 |

To

had originally aſſumed that appellation, and were all, as far as the committee could diſcover, of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion; in general poor ignorant labouring

| | | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brought forward | | | 2321 | 10 | 5 |
| To paid fees to counſellors Burſton and Hon. Simon Butler, with Mr. Byrne's letter, | | | 11 | 7 | 6 |
| To paid T. W. Tone, Eſq. agent to the committee, in part of 1500l. voted to him | | | 206 | 17 | 6 |
| To paid various advertiſements, publications, and ſtationary | 1486 2 4 | | | | |
| Due to printers, per accounts, | 626 19 0 | | | | |
| | | | 2113 | 1 | 4 |
| January, 1793. | | | | | |
| To paid for ſundry petty diſburſements, per account | | | 98 | 14 | 11 |
| To paid for poſtage, per John Keogh, Eſq. | | | 56 | 17 | 6 |
| To paid for ditto, John Sweetman, Eſq. | | | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| To paid counſellors Butler and Emmett, for peruſing Catholic bill | | | 45 | 10 | 0 |
| To paid Richard M'Cormick, Eſq. account of poſtage, and other trifling diſburſements | | | 15 | 18 | 9 |
| To loſs on light guineas | | | 9 | 14 | 7 |
| To paid J. M'Dermot, a clerk | | | 7 | 11 | 8 |
| To paid William Long for the hire of a coach to and from London, and freight of the ſame | | | 51 | 1 | 7½ |
| To paid W. T. Jones, Eſq. in part of the ſum of 1500l. voted to him | | | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| | | £. | 5488 | 5 | 9½ |
| January, 1792. | | | Cr. | | |
| By caſh in hands of treaſurer, per account | | | 18 | 13 | 5 |
| By nine government debentures in the treaſurer's hands, ſold for | | | 899 | 14 | 6 |
| By collections made in the city of Dublin, per account | | | 2022 | 4 | 6 |
| February, 1793. | | | | | |
| By Subſcriptions paid into the Treaſurer from the ſeveral Counties and Towns. | | | | | |
| From Co. Kildare | 118 15 0 | | | | |
| Dunboyne | 5 13 9 | | | | |
| Dungannon | 53 14 1½ | | | | |
| Kilkenny | 100 0 0 | | | | |
| Roſs, co. Wexford | 13 13 0 | | | | |
| The city of Limerick | 350 0 0 | | | | |
| Drogheda | 318 0 0½ | | | | |
| | | | 954 | 15 | 11 |
| Carried forward | | | 3895 | 8 | 4 |

Ballymahon

labouring men, ſworn to ſecrecy, and impreſſed with an opinion, that they were aſſiſting the Catholic cauſe; in other reſpects they did not appear to have any

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brought forward | | | | 3895 8 4 |
| Ballymahon | 70 | 10 | 6 | |
| J. Scully, co. Tipperary, | 15 | 0 | 0 | |
| Co. Monaghan, | 152 | 11 | 2½ | |
| Co. Mayo | 38 | 13 | 6 | |
| Dingle | 32 | 8 | 4½ | |
| Co. Cavan | 30 | 1 | 4½ | |
| Co. Wexford | 207 | 8 | 1 | |
| Thomas Bennett, Eſq. | 34 | 2 | 6 | |
| Co. Wicklow | 27 | 5 | 5½ | |
| Stradbally, Queen's co. | 62 | 11 | 3 | |
| Co. of Down | 82 | 15 | 0 | |
| Town of Wexford | 30 | 0 | 0 | |
| Co. of Dublin | 300 | 0 | 0 | |
| Rowland Norris, Eſq. | 11 | 7 | 6 | |
| Arklow, co. Wicklow | 38 | 8 | 1 | |
| Mr. Wiſe | 11 | 7 | 6 | |
| Co. Roſcommon | 153 | 5 | 0 | |
| | | | | 1297 15 4 |
| | | | £. | 5199 3 8 |
| Balance againſt the Catholics | | | | 289 2 1½ |
| | | | £. | 5488 5 9½ |

That by the foregoing report of the committee, ſpecially appointed to inſpect the accounts of the expenditure of money raiſed by voluntary ſubſcription, in order to defray the neceſſary expences of our conſtitutional and legal exertions, it appears, that ſaid monies have been invariably applied with the ſtricteſt regard to the peace and happineſs of the country, and for well-known and legal purpoſes.

That notwithſtanding the earneſt endeavours and frequent exhortations of the general and ſub-committees, it appears that many of the lower orders of Catholics have perſiſted in aſſociating with thoſe deluded people called "DEFENDERS." We take this opportunity again to repeat, what, we have ſo often, collectively and individually, endeavoured to impreſs on their minds, our utmoſt deteſtation and abhorrence of ſuch illegal and criminal proceedings; and we once more call on thoſe unhappy men, if ſuch yet remain, by every thing dear to them, to us, and to poſterity, to deſiſt from ſuch unwarrantable acts of violence, which have already proved fatal to ſo many of themſelves, and to return to their obedience to the laws, and the laudable purſuits of honeſt induſtry.

That a committee be appointed to examine, and report what honourable engagements the Catholics of Ireland lie under, for ſervices received.

The

any diſtinct particular object in view, but they talked of being relieved from hearth-money, tithes, county ceſſes, and of lowering their rents. They firſt appeared

The following gentlemen were accordingly choſen of the committee:

| | |
|---|---|
| Thomas Fitzgerald, jun. Eſq. (chairman) | Co. Kildare |
| Morgan Kavanagh, Eſq. | Queen's Co. |
| Patrick Mullarky, Eſq. | Co. Sligo |
| James Edward Devereux, Eſq. | Co. Wexford |
| Luke Teeling, Eſq. | Co. Antrim |
| Hugh O'Reilly, Eſq. | Co. Cavan |
| Edward Foreſtal, Eſq. | Co. Kilkenny |
| Owen O'Connor, Eſq. | Co. Roſcommon |
| Chriſtopher Nugent, Eſq. | Co. Longford |
| Hugh Savage, Eſq. | Co. Down |
| Thomas Richard Geraghty, Eſq. | Co. Tyrone |
| Walter Byrne, Eſq. | Co. Wicklow |
| Patrick Ruſſel, Eſq. | Co. Louth |
| Sir Thomas Ham. French, Bart. | Co. Galway |
| James Lalor, Eſq. | Co. Tipperary |
| James Nangle, Eſq. | Co. Meath |
| Andrew Macſhane, Eſq. | Co. Donegall |
| Dr. Reilly, Eſq. | Co. Monaghan |
| Edmund Dillon, Eſq. | Co. Mayo |
| Patrick Smith, Eſq. | Co. Dublin |
| John Mansfield, Eſq. | Co. Waterford |
| Edward Byrne, Eſq. | City of Dublin |

And ſaid committee having reported,

That the ſum of fifteen hundred pounds, together with a gold medal of the value of thirty guineas, bearing a ſuitable inſcription, be preſented to Theobald Wolfe Tone, Eſq. Agent to this committee, as a teſtimony of his ſervices, and our gratitude.

That the catholics of Ireland are indebted to the Hon. Simon Butler, one of his majeſty's counſel at law, in the ſum of five hundred pounds, for his very able digeſt of the popery laws, with the introduction prefixed thereto, the notes annexed to their petition to his majeſty, and a ſummary of the popery laws now in force; and that the treaſurer be ordered to pay the ſame with all convenient ſpeed.

That the ſum of five hundred pounds be preſented to William Todd Jones, Eſq. for his eminent ſervices to the Catholic cauſe, making with the like ſum heretofore preſented, the ſum of one thouſand pounds; and that the third further ſum of five hundred pounds be alſo preſented to him, provided there ſhall be funds to make good the ſame, after the poſitive engagements of this committee ſhall have been diſcharged.

That the ſum of two thouſand pounds be applied to the erecting a ſtatue to our moſt gracious Sovereign,

appeared in the county of Louth, in conſiderable bodies in April laſt, ſeveral of them were armed, they aſſembled moſtly in the night, and forced into the houſes

Sovereign, George the Third, as a monument of our gratitude for the important privileges which we have obtained from parliament through his paternal recommendation.

That, as Sir T. H. French, J. E. Devereux, C. Dillon Bellew, J. Keogh, and E. Byrne, Eſqrs. our delegates, who preſented the petition of the Catholics of Ireland to his majeſty, decline furniſhing any account of their expences on ſaid deputation, a piece of plate of one hundred guineas value, with a ſuitable inſcription, be preſented to each of thoſe five gentlemen, as a memorial of our gratitude for their eminent ſervices on that occaſion.

That John Comerford, Eſq. be requeſted to continue treaſurer to the Catholics of Ireland; and that every county delegate, together with ſeveral delegates reſident in Dublin, to be choſen by ballot, be now appointed to ſuperintend the collection and application of money, in purſuance of the foregoing reſolutions, and for no other purpoſe whatſoever; and that it be an inſtruction to the ſaid delegates, to tranſmit to each delegate an account of the money received and expended, ſo ſoon as the objects for which they are appointed ſhall have been accompliſhed, and that five be a quorum.

The following gentlemen reſident in Dublin, were accordingly choſen:

| | |
|---|---|
| Hugh Hamil, | Edward Byrne, |
| Thomas Braughall, | R. M'Cormick, and |
| John Sweetman, | D. T. O'Brien, |
| John Keogh, | Eſqrs. |

That it be a further inſtruction to the gentlemen now appointed, to conſult, communicate and correſpond upon the beſt and moſt effectual means of procuring an improved ſyſtem of education for the Catholic youth of the kingdom of Ireland, and of forming, when practicable, ſuch eſtabliſhment as may be moſt conducive thereto.

That John Sweetman, Eſq. ſecretary to our ſub-committee, has diſcharged that truſt, with a ſpirit, activity and diligence equally honorable to himſelf and ſerviceable to the Catholic cauſe, and we embrace this opportunity to teſtify our ſenſe of his candor and integrity; and the zeal for the public tranquillity which on every occaſion he has manifeſted, qualities which have obtained him the eſteem of his fellow-citizens, and more peculiarly entitle him to the gratitude and ſupport of the Catholics of Ireland.

That our warmeſt thanks be, and are hereby preſented to Richard M'Cormick, Eſq. ſecretary to the general committee, for the many important ſervices rendered to the Catholic cauſe, by his zeal, ſpirit and diligence; and for the very honorable and diſintereſted manner, in which he has ever diſcharged the functions of that office.

That it is with pleaſure and gratitude we have obſerved the Houſe of Commons in this ſeſſion, unanimouſly taking into conſideration that moſt important object, the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament; and we do moſt earneſtly exhort the Catholics of Ireland to co-operate with their Proteſtant brethren in all legal and conſtitutional means to carry into effect that great meaſure, recognized by the wiſdom of parliament, and ſo eſſential to the freedom, happineſs, and proſperity of Ireland, a reform in the repreſentation of the people in the commons' houſe.

That by the reſtoration of the elective franchiſe, the Catholics of Ireland are now enabled to ſpeak, individually,

houſes of Proteſtants, and took from them their arms. Theſe diſorders ſoon ſpread through the counties of Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, and all other parts adjacent; at firſt they took nothing but arms, but afterwards they plundered the houſes of every thing they could find. Their meaſures appeared to have been concerted and conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy and a degree of regularity and ſyſtem, not uſual in people of ſuch mean condition, and as if directed by men of ſuperior rank. Sums of money to a conſiderable amount, had been levied and ſtill continued to be levied upon the Roman Catholics in all parts of the kingdom, by ſubſcriptions and collections at their chapels and elſewhere; ſome of which levies had been made, and ſtill continued to be made under the authority of a printed circular letter, which had been ſent into all parts of the kingdom, a copy of which letter the committee thought it their duty to inſert.

" SIR,

" BY an order of the ſub-committee, dated the 15th day " of January, I had the honor to forward you a plan for a general ſubſcrip-

individually, the language of freemen; and as we no longer wiſh to be conſidered as a diſtinct body of his majeſty's ſubjects, we render up our truſt to the people, who ſent us hither;—

And this committee is hereby diſſolved.

The following gentlemen filled the chair in ſucceſſion.

| | |
|---|---|
| Harvey Hay, Eſq. | Co. Wexford |
| T. Fitzgerald, jun. Eſq. | Co. Kildare |
| James Archbold, Eſq. | Co. Kildare |
| Owen O'Connor, Eſq. | Co. Roſcommon |
| Francis Arthur, Eſq. | City of Limerick |
| Sir Thomas Eſmond, Bart. | Co. Wexford |
| James Nangle, Eſq. | Co. Meath |
| J. Joſ. M'Donnell, Eſq. | Co. Mayo |

The general committee have voted the following ſums:

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Theobald Wolfe Tone, Eſq. agent to the committeee | 1534 | 2 | 6 |
| To the Hon. Simon Butler, for the digeſt of the popery laws, and other profeſſional buſineſs in the ſervice of the general committee | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| To W. Todd Jones, Eſq. balance of 1500l. voted to him | 1000 | 0 | 0 |
| For raiſing a ſtatue to his majeſty | 2000 | 0 | 0 |
| For five pieces of plate, to be given to the delegates who preſented the petition of the Catholics of Ireland to his majeſty | 568 | 15 | 0 |
| | 5602 | 17 | 6 |
| Balance, per Schedule | 289 | 2 | 1½ |
| Total engagement of the Catholic body £ | 5891 | 19 | 7½ |

tion,

" tion, which had for its object the raiſing a fund for defraying the heavy " and growing expences incurred by the general committee, in conducting " the affairs of the Catholics of Ireland; as ſeveral miſtakes have occurred in " the tranſmiſſion of theſe letters, owing to my ignorance of the addreſs of " many of the delegates; I am directed to inform you, that ſuch a plan is " now in forwardneſs throughout the kingdom. A meaſure ſo ſtrongly en- " forced by neceſſity, and ſo conſonant to juſtice, cannot fail to attract your " very ſerious attention; the committee having the moſt perfect reliance on " your zeal, are therefore confident, that you will uſe your beſt exertions to " carry this neceſſary buſineſs into full effect.

" Signed by the Secretary of the Sub-committee."

" *Dublin, February 5th,* 1793.

" P. S. It is hoped that you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter, " ſtating at the ſame time whatever progreſs has been made in your diſtrict."

The ſeveral ſeditious and inflammatory papers publiſhed in Dublin, and diſperſed through the country, ſeemed to have countenanced and encouraged the Defenders in their proceedings, and it appeared, that letters were written by a member of the committee of the Roman Catholics at Dublin, previous to the laſt ſummer aſſizes, to a perſon reſident at Dundalk, in one of which the ſaid perſon in the name of the ſaid Roman Catholic committee, directed enquiries to be made touching the offences, of which the Defenders then in confinement were accuſed, which enquiries will be beſt explained, by inſerting the ſaid letter in the words following.

" DEAR SIR, *Dublin, 9th Auguſt,* 1792.

" I RECEIVED this day your favor of the 8th inſtant, " encloſing the different papers reſpecting the buſineſs I wrote you. It " is with much regret that I am obliged to reply, that from the want " of information on the ſubject matter of the indictments, no preciſe opi- " nion can be formed, whether the alledged offence is or is not bailable; " the committee are conſequently in the dark as to the meaſures, that ſhould " be adopted, nor can your exertions accelerate (as it ſeems) that period " until the aſſizes, when you will be able to obtain office copies of the exa- " minations. Mr. Nugent's brother left town this day, truly diſconſolate,

" in not being able to effect ſomething towards the liberation of his kinſman, " he however did his beſt in the affair.

" I am, dear Sir,

" Your obedient ſervant,

" JOHN SWEETMAN."

" P. S. If any new occurrences ſhould happen, be good enough to in- " form me of it."

And that it appeared, that the ſaid perſon, to whom the ſaid letter was addreſſed at Dundalk, did employ, at a conſiderable expence, an agent and counſel to act for ſeveral perſons who were accuſed of being Defenders, and were indicted for offences committed by them in the county of Lowth, one of which offenders appeared to be particularly named in the above letter. But the committee thought it their duty to ſtate, that nothing appeared before them, which could lead them to believe that the body of the Roman Catholics in that kingdom were concerned in promoting or countenancing ſuch diſturbances, or that they were privy to that application of any part of the money, which had been levied upon them, however ſuſpicious the conduct of ill-diſpoſed individuals of their perſuaſion, reſident in Dublin might have been. If all the magiſtrates in the diſturbed counties had followed the ſpirited example of the few, who, much to their honor, had exerted themſelves with vigor and courage to ſupport the laws, the committee were perſuaded, that theſe diſturbances might have been ſuppreſſed; but inſtead of doing ſo, much the greater part of them remained inactive. The committee were of opinion, that the beſt means of reſtoring permanent tranquillity in the diſturbed counties, would be to procure a ſufficient number of active, reſolute, and ſteady magiſtrates therein, who would exert themſelves to maintain the public peace, and to cut off from theſe deluded people, all hope or expectation of ſupport or defence ariſing from a common fund to be levied upon perſons of their communion.

That an unuſual ferment had for ſome months paſt diſturbed ſeveral parts of the North, particularly the town of Belfaſt and the county of Antrim; it was kept up and encouraged by ſeditious papers and pamphlets of the moſt dangerous tendency, printed at very cheap and inconſiderable rates in Dublin and Belfaſt, which iſſued almoſt daily, from certain ſocieties of men or clubs in both thoſe places, calling themſelves committees under various deſcriptions, and carrying on a conſtant correſpondence with each other.

Theſe

Theſe publications were circulated amongſt the people with the utmoſt induſtry, and appeared to be calculated to defame the government and parliament, and to render the people diſſatisfied with their condition and with their laws. The conduct of the French was ſhamefully extolled, and recommended to the public view as an example for imitation; hopes and expectations had been held up of their aſſiſtance by a deſcent upon that kingdom, and prayers had been offered up at Belfaſt from the pulpit, for the ſucceſs of their arms, in the preſence of military aſſociations, which had been newly levied and arrayed in that town. A body of men aſſociated themſelves in Dublin, under the title of the Firſt National Battalion: their uniform was copied from the French, green turned up with white, white waiſtcoats and ſtriped trowzers, gilt buttons, impreſſed with a harp and letters importing "Firſt National Battalion," no crown, but a device over the harp of a cap of liberty upon a pike; two pattern coats had been left at two ſhops in Dublin. Several bodies of men had been collected in different parts of the North, armed and diſciplined under officers choſen by themſelves, and compoſed moſtly of the loweſt claſſes of the people. Theſe bodies were daily encreaſing in numbers and force, they had exerted their beſt endeavours to procure military men of experience to act as their officers, ſome of them having expreſsly ſtated, that there were men enough to be had, but that officers were what they wanted. Stands of arms and gunpowder to a very large amount, much above the common conſumption had been ſent within the laſt few months to Belfaſt and Newry, and orders given for a much greater quantity, which it appeared could be wanted only for military operations. At Belfaſt, bodies of men in arms were drilled and exerciſed for ſeveral hours almoſt every night by candle-light, and attempts had been made to ſeduce the ſoldiery, which, much to the honor of the king's forces, had proved ineffectual. The declared object of theſe military bodies was to procure a reform of parliament; but the obvious intention of moſt of them appeared to be to overawe the parliament and the government, and to dictate to both. The committee forbore mentioning the names of ſeveral perſons, leſt it ſhould in any manner affect any criminal proſecution, or involve the perſonal ſafety of any man who had come forward to give them information. The reſult of their enquiries was, that in their opinion it was incompatible with the public ſafety and tranquillity of that kingdom, to permit bodies of men in arms to aſſemble when they pleaſed without any legal authority: and that the

exiſtence

exiſtence of a ſelf-created repreſentative body of any deſcription of the king's ſubjects taking upon itſelf the government of them, and levying taxes or ſubſcriptions to be applied at the diſcretion of ſuch repreſentative body, or of perſons deputed by them, was alſo incompatible with the public ſafety and tranquillity."

The Roman Catholics being ſenſible of the calumnies attempted to be affixed to them by their enemies, and wiſhing to ſcreen themſelves againſt the miſchievous imprudence of ſome individuals, whoſe cloſe connexions with the political ſocieties of the North moſt of them condemned, agreed upon the expedient of giving the moſt ſolemn publicity to their real ſentiments, by circulating through the nation a form of prayer, which was compoſed by ſeveral of their prelates, that happened occaſionally to be then in the metropolis.*

On

* The following admonition was read on the enſuing Sunday after maſs, in all the Chapels in that city; copies of it were ſent all over the kingdom, the original having been compoſed and ſigned by the Reverend Dr. Troy, Dr. O'Reilly, Dr. Bray, Dr. Bellew, and Dr. Cruiſe, five Catholic Biſhops then in Dublin, viz.

"DEAR CHRISTIANS, *Dublin, January* 25, 1793.

"IT has been our conſtant practice, as it is our indiſpenſable duty, to exhort "you to manifeſt on all occaſions, that unſhaken loyalty to his majeſty, and obedience to the laws, "which the principles of our holy religion inſpire and command. This loyalty and obedience have "ever peculiarly diſtinguiſhed the Roman Catholics of Ireland. We do not conceive a doubt of "their being actuated at preſent by the ſame ſentiments; but think it neceſſary to obſerve, that "a moſt lively gratitude to our beloved ſovereign ſhould render their loyalty and love of order, if "poſſible, more conſpicuous. Our gracious king, the common father of all his people, has, with "peculiar energy, recommended his faithful Roman Catholic ſubjects of this kingdom to the wiſ"dom and liberality of our enlightened parliament. How can we, dear Chriſtians, expreſs our "heartfelt acknowledgments for this ſignal and unprecedented inſtance of royal benevolence and "condeſcenſion! Words are inſufficient; but your continued and peaceable conduct will more "effectually proclaim them, and in a manner equally, if not more ſatisfactory and pleaſing to his "majeſty and his parliament. Avoid then, we conjure you, deareſt brethren, every appearance "of riot: attend to your induſtrious purſuits for the ſupport and comfort of your families; fly "from idle aſſemblies; abſtain from the intemperate uſe of ſpirituous and intoxicating liquors; "practiſe the duties of our holy religion: This conduct ſo pleaſing to Heaven, will alſo prove the "moſt powerful recommendation of your preſent claims to our amiable ſovereign, to both houſes "of parliament, to the magiſtrates, and to all our well meaning fellow-ſubjects of every deſcrip"tion. None but the evil-minded can rejoice in your being concerned in any diſturbance.

"We cannot but declare our utmoſt and conſcientious deteſtation and abhorrence of the enor-

"mities

On the opening of the ſeſſions, the lord lieutenant, after lamenting the ſpirit of diſcontent, that had manifeſted itſelf in different parts of the kingdom, after having ſtated the ambitious and aggreſſive views of France, and obſerved on the uſual topics of recommendation on theſe occaſions, then continued;* "His majeſty has the fulleſt confidence that you will, on all occa- "ſions, ſhew your firm determination to enforce due obedience to the laws, "and to maintain the authority of government, in which you may depend "upon his majeſty's cordial co-operation and ſupport: and I have it in par- "ticular command from his majeſty, to recommend it to you to apply your- "ſelves to the conſideration of ſuch meaſures, as may be moſt likely to "ſtrengthen and cement a general union of ſentiment among all claſſes and "deſcriptions of his majeſty's ſubjects, in ſupport of the eſtabliſhed conſti- "tution; with this view his majeſty truſts, that the ſituation of his majeſty's "Catholic ſubjects will engage your ſerious attention, and in the conſideration "of this ſubject, he relies on the wiſdom and liberality of his parliament."

The Earl of Tyrone moved the addreſs, and was ſeconded by the Honorable Mr. Weſby. Mr. John O'Neil very warmly ſupported the addreſs. It gave him much pleaſure to obſerve, that the ſpeech recommended to the attention of parliament the ſituation of the Roman Catholics: the loyalty and good conduct of that people were rapidly removing the prejudices of the

"mities lately committed by ſeditious and miſguided wretches of every religious denomination, "in ſome counties of this kingdom; they are enemies to God and man, the outcaſts of ſociety, "and a diſgrace to Chriſtianity: We conſider the Roman Catholics amongſt them unworthy the "appellation; whether acting from themſelves, or ſeduced to outrage by arts of deſigning enemies "to us, and to national proſperity, intimately connected with our emancipation.

"Offer your prayers, deareſt brethren, to the Father of Mercy, that he may inſpire theſe de- "luded people with ſentiments becoming Chriſtians and good ſubjects; ſupplicate the Almighty "Ruler and Diſpoſer of empires, by whom kings rule and legiſlators determine what is juſt, to "direct his majeſty's councils, and forward his benevolent intentions to unite all his Iriſh ſubjects "in bonds of common intereſt, and common endeavours for the preſervation of peace and good "order, and for every purpoſe tending to encreaſe and ſecure national proſperity.

"Beſeech the throne of Mercy alſo, to aſſiſt both houſes of parliament in their important de- "liberations; that they may be diſtinguiſhed by conſummate wiſdom and liberality, for the ad- "vantage of the kingdom, and the relief and happineſs of his majeſty's ſubjects.

"Under the pleaſing expectations of your cheerful compliance with theſe our earneſt ſolicita- "tions, we moſt ſincerely wiſh you every bleſſing in this life, and everlaſting happineſs in the "next; through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Amen."

* 13 Parl. Debates, p. 3.

conſtituent

conſtituent body; and there could be no doubt, that his majeſty's recommendation would have infinite weight, not only with parliament, but with all ranks of perſons.

He concluded with exhorting all men, who loved the conſtitution, to rally round the throne, and now, in the moment of trial, manifeſt their wiſdom and courage in defending all that was valuable; and by the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of affectionate attachment, ſhew their regard to that king, who lived in the hearts of his people. But Mr. Grattan ſaid, our ſituation is certainly alarming, but by no means ſurprizing; it is the neceſſary, natural, and obvious reſult of the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters; the perſons who had oppoſed our liberty in 82, were made our miniſters; afterwards the country forgave them, but they never forgave the country: they attempted to put down the conſtitution, and now they have put down the government. We told them ſo, we admoniſhed them: we told them that their driving ſyſtem would not do: we had no objection to their private characters, or their humble, natural relationſhips of life, but that they were abſolutely, totally, radically, diſqualified to govern.

Don't they remember, how in 1790, we warned them. They ſaid we were ſevere. I am ſure we were prophetic. In 1791, we repeated our admonition: told them that a government of clerks would not do: that a government by rank majorities would not do: that the government of the treaſury would not do: that Ireland would not be long governed by the trade of parliament. We mentioned this when Lord Buckingham ran away from this kingdom, and Lord Weſtmoreland ſucceeded to his office. We told them, that a nation which had reſcued her liberties from the giant of Old England, in 82, would not long bear to be trodden on by the violence of a few pigmies, whom the caprice of a court had appointed miniſters. He concluded a very long and animated ſpeech by ſuggeſting an amendment to the addreſs. That part of it, which related to his majeſty, was cold and impolitic, his interpoſition to heal their religious animoſities was an act of diſtinguiſhed wiſdom, as ſuch it ſhould be marked particularly at a time, when attempts had been made on the thrones of princes: at ſuch a time he would mark to the Catholics the king as the deliverer of his people. He would diſtinguiſh him from his miniſters. He would mark that monarch, who had reſcued his people from the hands of thoſe miniſters, that however they might abhor their proceedings, they ſhould if neceſſary, unite, to rally in ſupport of the throne, keeping

ing pure of leaning to any French politics; or any wiſhes in favor of that nation, now on the eve of a war with a country, with whom they were by the crown, by the law, by intereſt, and by every political tie, for ever to be connected.

He then moved, an amendment, by inſerting, after the word "conſtitu-" tion," the following words, "We admire the wiſdom, which at ſo critical "a ſeaſon has prompted your majeſty to come forward to take a leading part "in healing the animoſities of your people, on account of religion: we ſhall "take into our immediate conſideration the ſubject graciouſly recommend-"ed from the throne; and at a time when doctrines pernicious to freedom "and dangerous to monarchial government are propagated in foreign coun-"tries, we ſhall not fail to impreſs your majeſty's Catholic ſubjects with a "ſenſe of the ſingular and eternal obligation they owe to the throne, and to "your majeſty's royal perſon and family."

After a very warm debate, Mr. Grattan withdrew his amendment, and the addreſs was committed.

On the next day, Mr. Grattan again moved his amendment to the addreſs, and was ſupported by Mr. Conolly, who called the attention of the houſe to that moment, as to the moſt awful and critical, that had ever exiſted. The expences, the debt of the country was great, and the corruption of the adminiſtration proportioned to both. He had always been attached to the Britiſh conſtitution; and it had been the object of his whole political life to procure for the people of Ireland the full advantages of that conſtitution. He adored that conſtitution; and while there was a drop of blood in his veins, he would ſtand by it, and he felt this attachment to the conſtitution the ſtronger, becauſe he knew it carried in its vitals an antidote to any poiſon, that could be brought againſt it: particularly againſt the poiſon of corruption, of which the operation had been ſo ſtrong as nearly to endanger its exiſtence. Had the conſtitution been worked as it ought, if he might uſe that phraſe, there would have been no need for thoſe apprehenſions of ſeditious deſigns expreſſed in the ſpeech; there would have been no need to fear either Jacobins or Levellers.

As to the addreſs, every part of it had his moſt hearty concurrence, except one, and that was the paragraph which thanked his majeſty for continuing the Earl of Weſtmoreland in the government of that kingdom. During the adminiſtration of that nobleman, every ſalutary meaſure that had been pro-

poſed, for the good of people, had been contemptuouſly rejected; the expences of government had encreaſed, and the penſion liſt had been augmented. He had very great affection for Lord Weſtmoreland in his private capacity; but for the good of the country he muſt wiſh him out of it.

A warm debate enſued, when Mr. Grattan's amendment at length paſſed without a diviſion.

The peculiar ſingularity of the ſeſſion of 1793, was the acceſſion of government to many of the great queſtions, which they had ſucceſſively reſiſted ſeſſion after ſeſſion, with imperious pertinacity.

On the 14th of January, Mr. W. B. Ponſonby introduced the ſubject of parliamentary reform, expreſſing his intention of ſubmitting, at a future day, ſome propoſal to the houſe for a more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament. Mr. Conolly avowed his warmeſt approbation of the meaſure, and pledged himſelf to ſupport it, whenever brought forward. In 1782, he obſerved, a propoſition of that kind came before the houſe: but it came from a body of armed men ſitting in the metropolis. Such a propoſition from ſuch a body, he would always think it right to reſiſt, becauſe the power of reforming the parliament reſided in the parliament itſelf; on that account he then rejected the propoſal. Since that period, public grievances had encreaſed, remedies had been in vain attempted; he would therefore recommend it to government to turn their thoughts to that one grand reform. When the houſe ſhould achieve that, as he had no doubt but they would do, they would have attained the ſalvation of their country.

Mr. Grattan obſerved, that ſince he had been in parliament, no words ever gave him more ſatisfaction. He had himſelf intended to have brought forth the queſtion of the reform of parliament, but did not wiſh to preoccupy ſuch a queſtion. Thoſe are the gentlemen, who ought to lead in that great queſtion; the men who made the ſacrifices, to them belonged the laurel.

That was not the firſt time, in which the right honorable gentleman had made ſacrifices to the country; in 1769, that gentleman, and all his connexions, were deprived of all their emoluments for ſupporting the privileges of that houſe, againſt an altered money bill. In 1789, they were alſo diſmiſſed for defending the privileges of the two houſes of parliament, againſt an unconſtitutional and condemned viceroy; and now they advanced a third time to ſurrender great power, all their monopolies, and to embark in the veſſel

veſſel of the common-wealth, and fairly or proudly to riſe or fall with the fortunes of their country.

After a long ſpeech he moved, "that a committee be appointed to enquire "whether any, and what abuſes had taken place in the conſtitution of that "country, or the adminiſtration of its government, and to report ſuch tem-"perate remedies, as might appear moſt likely to redreſs the ſame." Mr. W. B. Ponſonby ſeconded the motion; and Sir John Parnel ſaid, the motion was very wiſely and temperately introduced, by denying that force ſhould be uſed to extort any meaſure of this kind, and by aſſerting the excluſive right of the houſe to reform itſelf.

Mr. Corry, propoſed by way of amendment, that inſtead of a committee to enquire into the abuſes of the conſtitution and of the adminiſtration, a committee ſhould be appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation. Many objections were raiſed both againſt the amendment and againſt the original motion. But Mr. Grattan admitting the right of any member to ſeparate the queſtions, added, that his original motion was to the abuſes in the repreſentation of the people, to the influence of the crown in parliament, and alſo, to the corruption which had taken place in the adminiſtration of its government. All ought to be reformed. But if the houſe wiſhed to confine themſelves to a part of his motion for the preſent, that is, the ſtate of the repreſentation, he ſhould rejoice, that they pledged themſelves ſo far. The amendment was finally agreed to without a diviſion, and referred to a committee of the whole houſe on that day fortnight.

After ſo many unſucceſsful attempts to bring the queſtion of reform under the conſideration of parliament from the year 1782, to that period, this refering of it to a committee was conſidered by the gentlemen of the oppoſition, as a matter of great triumph: it was an admiſſion of the principle; it created confidence within, and afforded joy and ſatisfaction to the people without. In parliament, there appeared a moſt deſirable, though novel diſpoſition in the treaſury bench to accede to propoſals made for the good of the nation, even from the oppoſite ſide of the houſe. On the other ſide Mr. Forbes heartily approved of the miniſters bringing forth an alien bill upon the plan of the Britiſh alien act, as a wiſe and neceſſary meaſure, and tending to ſtrengthen the union with Great Britain:* and Mr. Grattan thought it more neceſſary

* Parl. Debates, p. 63.

there than in Great Britain: it was certainly a ſtrong meaſure, but at that criſis extremely neceſſary. On that ſame day (15th January) Mr. Secretary Hobart gave notice, that he ſhould at an early day, move the houſe to take into conſideration, that part of the lord lieutenant's ſpeech, where he recommended the parliament to take into conſideration the ſituation of the Roman Catholics of that kingdom: and alſo, that when a committee of ſupply ſhould ſit, he would bring forward a meaſure for modifying the hearth-money tax, ſo as to render it leſs burthenſome to the poor. This conduct of adminiſtration brought forth the heartieſt applauſes from the oppoſition bench. Mr. Duquery remarked, that miniſters had done more in the firſt week of that ſeſſion, than ever he had read of, to tranquillize the nation and reſtore confidence to that houſe. Upon Mr. Grattan's expreſſing his intention of bringing forward a libel bill, like that of Great Britain, Mr. Hobart avowed, that the attorney general had it alſo in contemplation. Leave was given to Mr. Forbes to bring in a reſponſibility bill and a penſion bill, and to Mr. Grattan to bring in a bill for the improvement of barren land. Thus paſſed one week in the Iriſh parliament without a ſymptom of oppoſition. Every thing propoſed for the good of the country, was unanimouſly adopted by both ſides of the houſe. In order to give time to digeſt the weight of important matter before the houſe, they adjourned from the 15th to the 18th of January, 1793.

On the 31ſt of January, the houſe according to order took into conſideration the lord lieutenant's and privy council's proclamation* of the 8th of December laſt, for diſperſing all unlawful aſſemblies, when Lord Headfort

* Notwithſtanding the proclamation of the 8th of December, 1792, the Goldſmith's corps paraded in Ship Street, on Sunday the 24th, but were diſperſed by Alderman Warren. Mr. Stewart (of Killymoon) ſaid, in the debate, that they were entitled to praiſe for diſperſing at the inſtance of the magiſtrate. At the cloſe of this debate, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in a very vehement tone, declared, "I give my moſt hearty diſapprobation to that addreſs, for I do think that the lord lieutenant and the majority of this houſe, are the worſt ſubjects the king has." A loud cry of "to the "bar," and "take down his words" immediately echoed from every part of the houſe. The houſe was cleared in an inſtant, and ſtrangers were not re-admitted for nearly three hours.

He was admitted to explain himſelf, and on his explaining, the houſe

"*Reſolved nem. con.* That the excuſe offered by the Right Hon. Edward Fitzgerald, commonly "called Lord Edward Fitzgerald, for the ſaid words ſo ſpoken, is unſatisfactory and inſufficient:" and he was ordered to attend at the bar on the next day, when his apology was received, though not without a diviſion upon its ſufficiency: for receiving it 135, againſt it 66. (12 *Parl. Deb. p.* 82.)

moved

moved a reſolution for an addreſs of thanks to the lord lieutenant for the proclamation, which his excellency had iſſued, and for the vigilance and attention, which he had manifeſted, to preſerve the public tranquillity; and that they applauded the wiſdom of his excellency, in ſeparating thoſe who ſo laudably aſſociated for the purpoſes of defending that country from foreign invaſion, as well as to preſerve domeſtic tranquillity from thoſe, whoſe declared objects were tumult, diſaffection, and ſedition.

Mr. George Ponſonby approved of the addreſs; at the ſame time he wiſhed that a line of diſtinction ſhould be made between the old volunteer corps, and any modern corps, who might make uſe of any diſaffected emblems.

Mr. Secretary Hobart then read a ſummons from the Goldſmith's corps; an addreſs from the ſociety of United Iriſhmen to the volunteers of Ireland; likewiſe the reſolutions entered into, at a meeting of delegates from ſeveral of the Dublin volunteer corps. He ſaid, that from theſe reſolutions, thoſe corps came within the deſcription and meaning of the proclamation, it was a matter of great ſatisfaction to him to find, that the conduct of adminiſtration in that buſineſs had met with the approbation of gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe. It appeared to be the general ſenſe of the houſe to ſhun a debate.

After a loud cry for the queſtion had ceaſed, Mr. Grattan ſaid he approved of the proclamation as much as he condemned the uſe which the miniſter attempted to make of it. The proclamation arraigned a certain body of men, whom it deſcribed to be an aſſociation aſſuming devices and emblems of diſaffection. The miniſter applied that to the volunteers of the city and the county; and under that colour propoſed to diſperſe them; and in order to juſtify that project, he produced a formal charge; viz. a ſummons purporting to be that of the corps of Goldſmiths, reciting that the delegates of the corps were to aſſemble, to celebrate the retreat of the Duke of Brunſwick, and the French victory in the Low Countries, and inciting the Goldſmith's corps to attend. He did not aſk, how far it were diſcreet to celebrate ſuch an event, but he aſked, was it a ground for diſmiſſing the volunteers? Neither did he conſider that the imitation of French ſtyle or flippery was a ſufficient ground for the miniſter to diſperſe the corps, or was it ſuch an offence as came within the deſcription of the proclamation? The miniſter,

miniſter, himſelf, aware that his firſt charge was inſufficient, had produced another. He had read a long addreſs from a ſociety called the United Iriſhmen, inviting the people of Ireland to aſſemble in a national convention, and containing an abundance of other matter; and he then produced a ſucceſſion of reſolutions from ſome of the corps of Dublin, one of which reſolutions returns thanks to the ſociety of United Iriſhmen. The miniſter was doing the very thing, which he wiſhed to prevent; he was provoking a general armament; he was doing more, he was detaching that armament from parliament. In his charge againſt the volunteers he had mentioned a national convention. He hoped that houſe would, by reforming the parliament, prevent ſuch an aſſembly, the conſequences of which might be very unfortunate; but if the miniſter wiſhed to give ſuch an aſſembly an army at its back, he was taking the method, by committing that houſe as well as himſelf, with the volunteers, and attempting to detach them from the eſtabliſhed conſtitution. The object of the right honorable mover, in 1779, of reſolutions of thanks to the volunteers, was to attach them to the Houſe of Commons: he thought the object was a right one. That of the miniſter was to detach them from the houſe: he thought the object was an evil one, and the manner in which the miniſter proceded convicted him of imprudence. He therefore deſired, in giving his approbation to the proclamation, to be diſtinctly underſtood. He approved of it, becauſe it did propoſe to diſperſe the national guard, and becauſe it did not propoſe to diſperſe the volunteers. The addreſs paſſed unanimouſly.

On the 4th of February, 1793, Mr. Secretary Hobart preſented to the houſe a petition of certain Roman Catholics biſhops of Ireland and others, on behalf of themſelves and their fellow ſubjects of the ſame perſuaſion, which was read, and ordered to lie on the table.*

Then

* 15 Com. Journ. p. 141. The petition of John Thomas Troy, Roman Catholic Archbiſhop of Dublin; Dominick Bellew, Roman Catholic Biſhop of Killala; Richard O'Reilly, Roman Catholic Biſhop of Ulſter; Thomas Bray, Roman Catholic Archbiſhop of Caſhel; Richard M'Cormick, Thomas Fitzgerald, Edward Byrne, Thomas Warren, Denis Thomas O'Brien, Valentine O'Connor, Hugh Hamill, Chriſtopher Bellew, and ſeveral others, whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed, on behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the Catholics of Ireland; ſetting forth, that the petitioners are ſubject to a variety of ſevere and oppreſſive laws, inflicting on them inabilities and diſqualifications unknown to any other deſcription of his majeſty's ſubjects, the further continuation of which they humbly conceived their dutiful demeanour and unremitting loyalty for above one hundred years, muſt evince

Then Mr. Hobart ſaid, he was aware that many of thoſe gentlemen whom he moſt reſpected were not likely to concur in the meaſures he ſhould propoſe; but in that point he truſted that he differed from them for the real advantage of the country. He was alſo aware that in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament a petition for the very meaſure he ſhould now propoſe had been rejected, and that he himſelf had voted for that rejection; but he declared that under the ſame circumſtances, he would again vote for its rejection; it was then evident to every man that the ſentiments of the country on that ſubject had materially altered ſince that time; it was well known, that at that time the opinion of the country was not ripe for ſuch a meaſure. The circumſtances of the preſent time would juſtify a very material alteration in the ſentiments of that houſe. The conduct of the Roman Catholics had proved that they were perfectly attached to the conſtitution; and at that particular period, every man who was attached to the conſtitution ſhould receive encouragement from the houſe. He truſted ſuch would ever be their conduct, and ſuch would ever be the encouragement received by men attached to the conſtitution.

His firſt object, and what the Roman Catholics ſeem to have moſt at heart, was the right of voting at elections for members of parliament; this he wiſhed to have reſtored to them, and would recommend the unlimited extenſion of this franchiſe.

For that purpoſe it would be neceſſary to repeal a clauſe in the 1ſt of Geo. II. and that would extend to permitting Roman Catholics to vote in cities and towns corporate for magiſtrates.

The next propoſition would be to repeal the 6th of Anne, ſo far as prohibits Papiſts from being grand jurors, unleſs there are not a ſufficient number of Proteſtant freeholders to ſerve.

The next would be to repeal the 29th of George II. ſo far as allowing a challenge againſt any Papiſt on a petit jury, in cauſes where a Proteſtant and Papiſt were the parties.

evince to be equally impolitic and unneceſſary; that this ſyſtem of injurious excluſion had operated not leſs to the particular depreſſion of the Catholics of Ireland, than to the general obſtruction of the true and manifeſt intereſts of the country; the petitioners therefore humbly prayed, that the houſe might be pleaſed to take the whole of their caſe, into conſideration, and in conformity to the benign wiſhes of his majeſty, for the union of all his people in ſentiment, affection, and intereſt, to reſtore the petitioners to the rights and privileges of the conſtitution of their country.

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He alſo would propoſe, that his majeſty might be empowered and authorized to enable the Roman Catholics to endow a college or univerſity, and ſchools.

That the laws which prevented them from carrying arms, ſhould be ſo far repealed as to perſons poſſeſſing a certain degree of property; but by no means ſo as to put arms into the hands of the lower order of the people.

As to the army and navy, it was, he ſaid, in the contemplation of the government of England, to admit Roman Catholics to bear commiſſions in theſe departments of the ſtate; and that in due time meaſures for the ſame purpoſe would be propoſed there, when a communication with the Engliſh government ſhould have been had upon that point.

As to civil offices, he wiſhed Roman Catholics might be enabled to hold them; but in that inſtance, he would ſuggeſt the propriety of neceſſary limitations.

He underſtood that Roman Catholics laboured ſtill under ſome ſeverities with reſpect to perſonal property; which appeared merely accidental, and to exiſt from inadvertence, and theſe he would propoſe to repeal. In thus endeavouring to bring forward ſuch meaſures as were likely to carry into effect his majeſty's recommendation to parliament, he hoped and truſted he was acting for the advantage of the country, and in conformity to that diſpoſition, which government had manifeſted to meet the wiſhes of the people. Government had proved it by having in that ſeſſion taken up the idea of relieving the lower order of people from the hearth-money tax, and it was the determination of government, in that ſeſſion, to adopt ſuch meaſures as would tend to promote the happineſs and proſperity of the kingdom in general.

He had almoſt omitted a material point in his propoſitions, which is, that the executive government might be enabled to grant to Roman Catholics commiſſions of the peace.

He then moved for leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of his majeſty's ſubjects profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion.

The motion was ſeconded by Sir Hercules Langriſhe: and moſt vehemently oppoſed by Dr. Duigenan, who in a very long and elaborate ſpeech collected together whatever the acrimonious bigotry of former days had ſuggeſted againſt the Catholics, and retailed it with new and enthuſiaſtic bitterneſs. He and Mr. Ogle were the only two upon the diviſion, who oppoſed the bringing in of the bill.

On

On the 5th of February, Lord Hilſborough moved for leave, which was granted, to bring in a bill to eſtabliſh a militia, which, as nearly as circumſtances would permit, he would wiſh to form on the ſame plan as that of England. The whole number of men he propoſed to be 16,000, upon a rough eſtimate 500 for each county. Mr. Grattan made ſome obſervations on the ſtate of the country, as apparent in the public accounts. His remarks were followed by a motion "for an addreſs to his majeſty, for the better ſe-"curing a reform in parliament, and for manifeſting the loyalty of the people "of Ireland." This motion he introduced with a ſpeech of conſiderable length; the tendency of which was to ſhew, that while parliament was giving government an extraordinary ſupply, greater than ever that houſe had granted, and a great addition to the army, it ought at the ſame time to ſecure to the people a reform of parliament. It had been ſtated, that their revenues were deficient 153,000*l.* per annum, and their expences were to be increaſed 100,000*l.* per annum, for the further augmentation of the army; 100,000*l.* for a contingent encampment; and, perhaps, 50,000*l.* more for a militia. All thoſe expences to be ſuperadded to a peace eſtabliſhment, already exceeding their revenues 153,000*l.* The miniſter propoſed a lottery, two loans, a vote of credit, and ſome new taxes, a great army and a militia. It was a new and a ſerious propoſition. He wiſhed to give the government every neceſſary ſupport, and the people every conſtitutional redreſs: he conſidered the latter neceſſary to effectuate the former, becauſe they were to combat French principles by the ſuperiority of their conſtitution, as well as the ſuperiority of their arms. But, for the better underſtanding his principles, he referred them to an addreſs which he then moved: the reception it would receive, would be the teſt of their ſincerity on the ſubject of reform.

"That we ſee with juſt alarm the tranquillity of theſe realms in danger of "being diſturbed by the ambition of France, connected with the propaga-"tion of principles that lead to the ſubverſion of peace and order.

"That we feel a deep ſorrow at the atrocious conſequences of ſuch crimi-"nal deluſions, and an immediate intereſt in common with the throne to "defend the faith of treaties againſt violation, and the ſettled principles of "government againſt anarchy and plunder. The advantages we have de-"rived under his majeſty's reign; his late gracious interpoſition; the paſſions "and pride of his people, as well as their duty and intereſt attacked in his "royal perſon and dignity, have induced us to ſeize the firſt moments to

" aſſure his majeſty of our unalterable attachment to his royal houſe, and of " the unanimous and cordial determination of his ſubjects of Ireland, to ſtand " ever by the throne, and to preſerve at all times our connexion with Great " Britain.

" That we are now directing our attention to ſuch meaſures, as may give " his majeſty's government, at this critical juncture, every neceſſary and ho- " norable ſupport; and that if for ſuch an important ſubject we now for a " ſhort time delay, among other buſineſs, the conſideration of what we con- " ceive to be the general and juſt wiſh of his majeſty's ſubjects, a more equal " repreſentation of the people, in the digeſting of which much time may be " required; we, his majeſty's faithful commons, moſt humbly requeſt, that his " majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to continue the ſeſſion even beyond the " uſual period, if neceſſary, in order to give his faithful commons full time, " this preſent ſeſſion, to apply their faculty and induſtry to mature and com- " plete ſo important a buſineſs as a reform of parliament, that by giving his " majeſty's ſubjects, purſuant to the gracious recommendation from the " throne, every reaſon to be ſatisfied; and by giving his government every " neceſſary ſtrength, we may more effectually unite in ſupport of the king " and conſtitution."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer objected to the addreſs, as combining ſubjects not naturally connected.

The 9th of February, 1793, proved a conſiderable check upon the confidence which the oppoſition had during the firſt week of the ſeſſion, placed in the ſincerity of adminiſtration. According to order, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament. When *Mr. Grattan, who took the lead on this queſtion, opened a very intereſting ſpeech, with the obſervation, that a more important queſtion was never agitated in parliament. In 1782, the queſtion was, " Whether Ireland ſhould be governed by the parliament of another country:" the preſent was, " Whether ſhe ſhould enjoy a parliament of her own. " As the ſubject of parliamentary reform was then poſted, it was impoſſible for government to retreat from it. Their declaration on the 4th day of the ſeſſion, the words of the lord-lieutenant's ſecretary, the liberal grants of the houſe had eſtabliſhed the neceſſity of acceding to a reform in parliament, and had ſealed the doom of every rotten borough in the kingdom. Whence

* 13 Parl. Debates.

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he collected two inferences; that the parliament would be reformed, and that the reform would take place that ſeſſion. In this confidence he moved the three following reſolutions: 1ſt. "That the repreſentation of the people is at-"tended with great and heavy charges and payments, in conſequence of elec-"tions and returns of members to ſerve in parliament, and that ſaid abuſes "ought to be aboliſhed. 2dly. That of the three hundred members elected "to ſerve in parliament, the counties, and counties of cities and towns, toge-"ther with the univerſity, return eighty-four members; and that the re-"maining two hundred and ſixteen are returned by boroughs and manors. "3dly. That the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament re-"quires amendment." Upon the firſt of theſe having been moved, the chancellor of the exchequer objected to it, on account of the danger of teaching the public to deſpiſe the preſent ſyſtem before a better was provided. He did not mean to oppoſe a parliamentary reform; but to prevent premature and "unneceſſary deciſion. The wiſe way would be to produce a ſyſtem of reform, by it to remove the exiſting defects, not to libel them. He cautioned gentlemen againſt appealing from that houſe to the public; and moved, as an amendment, the following reſolutions:—"That under the preſent ſyſtem of "repreſentation, the privileges of the people, the trade and the proſperity of "the country, have greatly encreaſed; and that if any plan be produced "likely to encreaſe thoſe advantages, and not hazard what we already poſ-"ſeſs, it ought to be taken into the moſt ſerious conſideration."

Mr. Forbes objected to the amendment, as it was unparliamentary to move as an amendment, what went entirely to ſupercede the original motion. A very warm debate enſued, which, on the part of government, was evidently aimed at checking and damping the progreſs of the great queſtion of reform, to which they never cordially acceded. At the cloſe of the debate, Mr. Hobart begged to be underſtood as having given no opinion regarding the queſtion of reform, but was againſt any reſolution which reflected on parliament: he therefore recommended to the chairman to report progreſs, and beg leave to ſit again. Mr. Grattan, in reply, lamented what the right honorable gentleman had ſaid: it damped his joy, but ſhould not ſlacken his efforts.*

The

* In a converſation on the 15th of February, about the Catholic bill's taking the precedency of the queſtion of reform, Mr. Grattan (13 Parl. Debates, p. 195) thus ſpoke:—"Let me aſſure his

The houſe divided: for the amendment 153, againſt it 71. Thenceforth was revived the old ſyſtem of oppoſition, and the hope of a coalition in the great national queſtion became evaneſcent.

On the next day Mr. Hobart informed the houſe, that he was directed by his excellency to deliver the following meſſage:

" WESTMORELAND.

" I HAVE his majeſty's commands to acquaint the Houſe " of Commons, that the aſſembly now exerciſing the powers of government " in France, have, without previous notice, directed acts of hoſtility to be " committed againſt the perſons and property of his majeſty's ſubjects, in " breach of the law of nations, and of the moſt poſitive ſtipulations of treaty; " and have ſince, on the moſt groundleſs pretences, actually declared war " againſt his majeſty, and the United Provinces. Under the circumſtances " of this wanton and unprovoked aggreſſion, his majeſty has taken the neceſ- " ſary ſteps to maintain the honor of his crown, and to vindicate the rights " of his people: and his majeſty relies with confidence on the firm and effec- " tual ſupport of the Houſe of Commons, and on the zealous exertions of a " brave and loyal people, in proſecuting a juſt and neceſſary war; and in en- " deavouring, under the bleſſing of Providence, to oppoſe an effectual bar- " rier to the further progreſs of a ſyſtem, which ſtrikes at the ſecurity and " peace of all independent nations, and is purſued in open defiance of every " principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and juſtice.

" In a cauſe of ſuch general concern, his majeſty has every reaſon to hope " for the cordial co-operation of thoſe powers who are united with his ma- " jeſty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an intereſt in preventing the exten-

" majeſty's miniſters and this houſe, that if they propoſe to maintain in this country a particle of au- " thority, they muſt accede to a redreſs of grievances. The nation begins to doubt the ſincerity of " thoſe miniſters. I know on our ſide every thing is ſincere: I apprehend it is not ſo on their's. " We found in the queſtion of Monday a change in their language and their conduct; but we " tell them it is in vain to trifle with the country; you are now in a ſituation, in which it may be " neceſſary to call out the exertions of the nation for its defence: you never will command thoſe " exertions until you agree to redreſs her grievances, and to reform her repreſentation, which is " one of them. My friend has now introduced two bills, a penſion bill, and a reſponſibility bill. " He introduces his place bill I believe to-morrow. Two of thoſe bills conſtitute the internal part " of the reform of parliament: we will debate them the next week, and put the queſtion to his ma- " jeſty's miniſters, whether they are friends or enemies to the reform, that the nation may know " what ſhe is to expect from them."

" ſion

" ſion of anarchy and confuſion, and contributing to the ſecurity and tran-
" quillity of Europe."

Addreſſes for this meſſage to his majeſty and the lord-lieutenant, were immediately voted. When Mr. Hobart, on the 16th of February, preſented the Roman Catholic bill to the houſe: he made no comments upon it, but only moved, that it ſhould be read a ſecond time on the following Friday. Some few members oppoſed the motion, though it paſſed without a diviſion. Sir Lawrence Parſons ſpoke very much at large againſt it; as did alſo Dr. Duigenan, though not ſo diffuſely as on the preſentation of the petition.

Although the houſe had adopted the principle of reform, by going into a committee upon the queſtion, yet their ſincerity in adopting it was highly queſtionable, from the oppoſition the majority of them gave to every preliminary meaſure, which tended to forward it. Mr. Forbes, on the 19th of February, moved, " That the clerks of the peace, and other returning
" officers in the ſeveral boroughs throughout the kingdom, do lay before
" this houſe, on or before this day fortnight, liſts of the electors in their re-
" ſpective boroughs, with the reſpective qualifications, on which they exer-
" ciſed the elective franchiſe."

Moderate and neceſſary as ſuch a ſtep appeared to the friends of reform, it was reſiſted with all the force of government, and loſt by a diviſion of 137 againſt 48.* The addreſs of Mr. Grattan in this debate to the government, after

* As this debate produced a warm perſonal altercation between Mr. Corry and Mr. G. Ponſonby; and as both theſe gentlemen were leading men in their reſpective parties, it will throw ſome light upon the views and motives of the government and oppoſition of thoſe days, to expoſe to the judgment of the unbiaſſed reader the reciprocal attacks of ſuch men upon each other. Mr. G. Ponſonby had obſerved, that the committee had been moved for by a gentleman, a friend of government; and he could not help taking notice, that from the moment he made the motion, that gentleman had never taken one ſtep in the committee of his own appointing; never had opened his mouth; never had uttered one ſyllable. What then could the public think of parliamentary reform, or of that gentleman's ſincerity, when they ſaw that the committee moved by him was merely a pit, into which it was intended parliamentary reform ſhould fall and be ſmothered? But miniſters will find they have deceived themſelves in this, as upon other occaſions, where they acted with the ſame art and duplicity; they may be aſſured they will not ſo eaſily get rid of the ſubject, for we will follow it up from day to day, and from year to year, and never be deterred until we have ſucceeded.

Mr. Corry felt himſelf ſo perſonally called upon, that he ſhould think himſelf wanting in reſpect to

after a long ſpeech, was too remarkable to be omitted. "You ſay to us, (addreſſing himſelf to the treaſury bench), do not enquire into particular facts, to the houſe, were he not to ſtate his conduct to them. A right honorable gentleman having given notice, that he intended to move for leave to bring in a bill for a parliamentary reform; and the ſame evening a motion having been made for "a committee to enquire into the abuſes in the com-"mons repreſentation;" that motion falling immediately upon the ſpeech on the ſubject of reform, did not appear to them very well calculated to attain the end it pretended to purſue. He had always been a friend to parliamentary reform; many years ago he took it up; he liked it upon principles, and was pledged to the meaſure: the motion was an attack upon government; it was likely to defeat the meaſure, and therefore he thought it highly objectionable. Having voted both nights with the honorable gentleman, he could only ſay, that he was ſorry he had given two votes on queſtions ſo trifling, introduced upon a ſubject, which ought to have been taken on a greater ſcale.

He then aſked, which acted with more ſincerity, the honorable gentleman, who voted for the committee againſt his judgment; or he who endeavoured to make the committee as much as poſſible effectual? Did he talk of ſincerity, whoſe life had been one tiſſue of inſincerity? Did he talk of ſincerity? He would talk with him on that theme until the blood ſhould ruſh back to his heart affrighted from his countenance. Did he talk of ſincerity? Why, ſir, if inſincerity were to be perſonified, it would take the ſhape of the honorable gentleman.

Let not then the gentleman who had given the moſt unqualified and unlimited ſupport to every meaſure of every adminiſtration that would truſt him, pretend to character; he never would recover character in that country.

Mr. Ponſonby ſaid, I wiſh the honorable gentleman had gone on as he aſſerted he might, to animadvert on my conduct, he had no reaſon to ſtop. I am able to defend myſelf againſt his ability, and againſt his malevolence. His firſt charge is, that I voted againſt a parliamentary reform: I did, ſir: I voted againſt it, when an armed convention introduced it to the Houſe of Commons on the point of the bayonet; and would again oppoſe it, if brought forward in the ſame manner. I did ſo, becauſe I had ſpirit enough to do what he would not venture to attempt. He ſays, that I was degraded: the charge is falſe. I ſpurned the deſpicable adminiſtration of Lord Buckingham, which he ſupported: and though I might have returned with increaſed influence, I rejected them with abhorrence and contempt. So much for the truth of the honorable gentleman.

He ſays, I voted againſt a penſion bill: I did ſo, and would do ſo again, if it were not coupled with a reſponſibility bill, and other meaſures which the country demands. He ſays, the public do not give me their confidence: Sir, I am not vain enough to ſay they do; but I will give them ſuch proofs, that whatever confidence they may have in my motives, they will be convinced by my actions that I am their friend.

We, ſir, who act on this ſide of the houſe, are not afraid of the aſperſions, that are thrown upon us as men combined to force ourſelves into power, while we ſee miniſters every now and then taking up one of our meaſures, in order to conciliate the people: they take great credit to themſelves for reducing the hearth-money, which was our meaſure; for a barren land-bill, which was our meaſure. What drives them to this? Their want of character. And thus they will proceed; and when they have adopted our meaſures one by one, they will then vaunt their popularity, and cry, Lord, what an upright adminiſtration we are!

but

but go at once to the great principle; that very principle, which you reſiſted but the other night. What are we to infer from this conduct? But that you are inſincere on the ſubject of parliamentary reform? But I muſt ſay, in no caſe would your inſincerity be ſo miſchievous both to yourſelves and to the nation. The credit which you took to yourſelves for favoring this object early in the ſeſſion has rendered your retreat not only dangerous, but impoſſible; by urging public expectation to the very utmoſt, in order to court popularity, you have become more miſchievous than thoſe, whom you call inſurgents.

He went into a recital of charges againſt adminiſtration. He was ſorry to be betrayed, he ſaid, into perſonality, or particular accuſation; he was grown too old for thoſe things, but he muſt vindicate himſelf from the charge of embarraſſing government wantonly, and he declared, that if they ſupported this meaſure warmly and decidedly, he would ſerve them, though he never would act with them, he would vote with them unplaced, unpenſioned, and unofficed, if they conceded his favourite object to the wiſhes of the people.

On the 22d of February, 1793, the Catholic bill was read a ſecond time, and produced a very warm and intereſting debate. Moſt of the ſpeeches on this memorable occaſion were in favor of the bill. Mr. G. Ponſonby and Mr. D. La Touche ſpoke againſt it. On a queſtion of ſo much importance to the nation, and concerning which deeply rooted prejudices had grown up with moſt of the members from the dawn of their intellects, it was to be expected, that thoſe, who were the moſt ſincere in their former convictions, ſhould be the moſt reluctantly brought to abandon their early prejudices. The general change of opinion in the Houſe of Commons, upon the full notification of the will of the caſtle, and conſequently of the Britiſh cabinet, more irrefragably than any other argument proved the ductile quality of that houſe to every dictate of the power, to which they had vowed unqualified obeiſſance. Some few independent members beyond the reach of that didactic ſway diſdained to ſubject their opinions to the ſuggeſtions or commands of a Britiſh miniſter. They ſpoke firmly and reſolutely upon the queſtion; they drew forth from Mr. Hobart (the oracle and index of the Britiſh cabinet) a ſpecies of apology for them, which illuſtrates to demonſtration the tenure of ſubmiſſion and concurrence, by which the majority of that houſe held their ſeats and influence. It had (he ſaid) been truly

*truly ſtated, that no man had a right to argue, that a ſubject debated in that houſe was ſuppoſed to be influenced by the command of his majeſty; his majeſty in his good pleaſure might recommend a ſubject to the conſideration of parliament: parliament in their duty and affection would give the moſt reſpectful and attentive conſideration to what his majeſty recommended to their notice; but when the meaſure came before parliament in the ſhape of a bill, it then was the meaſure of the member, who introduced it, and his majeſty's name was no longer to be uſed in its ſupport; and therefore the gentleman who ſpoke early in the debate was not juſtified in ſaying, this bill was by his majeſty's command.

He agreed alſo with the honorable gentleman, that his majeſty had recommended to them the care of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, and that it was their duty to guard it from injury; and therefore the queſtion was, how far could they go in behalf of the Roman Catholics without ſhaking the ſecurity of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment? On that queſtion he had conſulted with ſome of the moſt experienced and beſt informed men in the country, and it did appear to them, that the meaſure now offered would give effectual relief to the Roman Catholics, without ſhaking the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment; the Roman Catholics themſelves felt it ſo; and he was convinced it would not injure the Proteſtant. Though he differed from ſome gentlemen, for whom he entertained the higheſt regard, he knew that what they were doing would eſſentially ſerve the country; it would conciliate the Roman Catholics, it would cement a common union of intereſt and affection amongſt his majeſty's ſubjects, and enable that country to repel all her enemies.

After a very intereſting and warm, though not intemperate, debate, the queſtion was carried in the affirmative, againſt only one negative: and the bill was committed for the Monday following with three negatives. Of all the parliamentary friends to Catholic emancipation, Mr. Grattan† was the moſt

* 13 Par. Deb. p. 271-2.

† That gentleman ſeldom failed to add to the ſtupendous powers of his oratory much hiſtorical illuſtration upon every ſubject, which he took in hand. Alluding to an objection, that had been raiſed againſt the Iriſh brigade being conſtantly recruited and officered from Ireland: he ſaid, the fact was not ſo. The Iriſh brigade was not conſtantly recruited and officered from Ireland, but on the contrary few of its officers, and very few of its men, were recruited from Ireland. Gentlemen would diſtinguiſh between officers of Iriſh families and of Iriſh birth, and they would diſtinguiſh alſo

moſt conſiſtent, zealous, and perſevering. His ſentiments ſwayed many opinions in the nation; they alſo created diſcontent and oppoſition in another part of the community. He wiſhed the bill under their conſideration had gone further. He could wiſh that it had given the Roman Catholics the privileges of other Diſſenters. Sure, he was, that was the only ſound policy. He thought however the bill deſerved thanks, becauſe it contained much, and alſo becauſe it led to much more; but the mover would have diſcovered more ſenſe, if he had then given to the Catholics the whole, and had ſettled with them for ever.

When the Catholic bill was in the committee, ſo far had ancient prejudices and prepoſſeſſions given way to the royal recommendation of humanity and juſtice towards three millions of loyal ſubjects, that Mr. George Knox after

alſo between a regiment bearing an Iriſh name, and a regiment filled with Iriſhmen. The firſt was the caſe of the Iriſh brigade, the latter was not; for the refutation of that part of the objection, he appealed to the knowledge and the candour of gentlemen, who had ſeen ſervice, and who muſt know the charge, that the Iriſh brigade was conſtantly officered and recruited from Ireland, to be abſolutely deſtitute of foundation. The objection proceeded and ſtated, that 16,000 Iriſh Catholics fought againſt Great Britain in the American war. He believed the number of thoſe Iriſh to be greatly magnified, and ſure he was that deſcription was not juſt; thoſe Iriſh were great in numbers. Preſbyterians of the North, not Catholics of the South; they emigrated in great bodies, and they continued even then to emigrate to America from the North of Ireland, not for rebellion, but for land, or a better condition. Their fellow ſubjects had emigrated from poverty at home, and ſometimes had met war; and if they wiſhed never to meet them in arms in other countries, their method ſhould have been to give them a better condition at home. The objection proceeded, and ſtated, that great bodies of Iriſh fought againſt England at St. Euſtatia and St. Lucia; here again the objection failed in point of fact; great bodies of Iriſhmen did not fight againſt England at St. Euſtatia and St. Lucia. There was indeed a regiment of 1800 commanded by General Dillon, the Iriſh brigade, and that he ſuppoſed the objector conceived to have been thoſe great bodies of Iriſhmen; but that regiment was chiefly compoſed of Dutch, and of the recruits of various nations, and of very few Iriſh; here again he appealed to the gentlemen in the ſervice, whether that part of the objection was not, like the other parts, entirely unfounded. The objection proceeded and ſtated, that the Iriſh Catholics ſupplied the fleets and armies of the enemies in a much greater proportion than thoſe of Great Britain; that he poſitively denied. They ſupplied the fleets and armies of the enemy in a very trifling proportion, and they ſupplied the fleets and armies of Great Britain in a very great and abundant proportion. In the laſt war, of 80,000 ſeamen, 50,000 were Iriſh names; in Chelſea, near one third of the penſioners were Iriſh names; in ſome of the men of war almoſt the whole complement of men were Iriſh. With reſpect to the recruiting ſervice, it was a fact known to the gentlemen of the army, that ſince they had recruited for the foot in Ireland, the regiments had been filled in a great proportion with Iriſh Catholics.

a moſt liberal and able ſpeech moved, that the committee might be empowered to receive a clauſe to admit Roman Catholics to ſit and vote in the Houſe of Commons. Major Doyle ſeconded the motion, which was ſtrongly ſupported by Mr. Daly, Col. Hutchinſon, Mr. M. Smith, Mr. John O'Neile, Mr. Hardy and ſome other gentlemen friendly to Catholic emancipation; it was however rejected upon a diviſion by 163 againſt 69. When the Catholic bill had paſſed its ſecond reading in the lords, the Biſhop of Killala (Dr. Law, the brother of Lord Ellinborough) expreſſed his ready and moſt chearful aſſent to a bill for the relief of his long oppreſſed and loyal Catholic brethren, and their return to that portion of the conſtitution, to which the bill before the houſe went to admit them. His lordſhip went into an hiſtory of the origin and progreſs of the penal ſtatutes, and deprecated the whole ſyſtem, as founded in the prejudices of a bigoted and perſecuting age, and continued for near a century with equal impolicy and injuſtice to a loyal body of ſubjects, whoſe conduct for that period was a full refutation of every argument that could be offered in ſupport of that code, under which they had ſo long groaned with patient ſubmiſſion. In times like the preſent, when threatened by foreign enemies, and agitated by domeſtic diſſentions, he wiſhed to unite the great maſs of the country in ſupport of that conſtitution, to which they had ever been loyal, rather than turn them againſt it by perpetuating reſtrictive ſyſtems and oppreſſive excluſions, which no exiſting neceſſity could warrant, no policy approve.

He felt it his duty to declare fully his ſentiments on theſe points, becauſe he looked upon his Roman Catholic brethren as fellow ſubjects, and fellow Chriſtians, believers in the ſame God, and partners in the ſame redemption. Speculative differences in ſome points of faith from him were of no account; they and he had but one religion—the religion of Chriſtianity. Therefore, as children of the ſame father—as travellers in the ſame road—and ſeekers of the ſame ſalvation, why not love each other as brothers? It was no part of Proteſtantiſm to perſecute Catholics, and without juſtice to the Catholic, there could be no ſecurity for the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment; as a friend, therefore, to the permanency of that eſtabliſhment, to the proſperity of the country, and the juſtice due to his Catholic brethren, he ſhould chearfully give his vote that the bill be committed.

The Earl of Glandore and the Marquis of Waterford ſpoke very warmly upon the ſubject. Lord Portarlington obſerved, much to the credit of the Catholic

Catholic body, and ſomewhat againſt the tendency of certain parts of the lords' report upon the late diſturbances, that he was one of the committee lately appointed by their lordſhips to enquire into certain alarming events of late prevalent in that country, and if he were not fully convinced, that the Catholic body had no concern whatever in the diſturbances created by ſome of their communion in the north, he ſhould never give to this bill the ſupport he then meant by voting chearfully for its committal.

The lord chancellor declared his moſt earneſt wiſh was, to have made no oppoſition to the bill, to have let it paſs without any obſervation, as the ſtate of the country ſeemed to render it abſolutely neceſſary; but when the general principles of anarchy, the rage of innovation, and the epidemical phrenzy ſeemed to have reached that houſe; when inflammatory declamation, and ill-adviſed misſtatements came from the reverend bench, it attached upon the exiſting government, and he felt it neceſſary to riſe in defence of the conſtitution. Before he alluded more particularly to the right reverend prelate, he muſt aſſume the office of his apologiſt, and the apology he had to offer for him, was an utter and radical ignorance of the laws and conſtitution of the country, from whence he came, and the laws and conſtitution of the country, in which he lived. Then after having diſclaimed any perſonal bigotry or acrimony, he entered into a wide field of juſtification of the whole penal code on the ſcore of temporary neceſſity, and enlarged upon the pernicious tendency of Catholic tenets, as even recently defended by their primate Doctor Troy. He concluded a very long and elaborate ſpeech with a reflection, which gives ſtrong room to believe, that the committee of the lords received that tint of crimination, which is ſo viſible in it from his lordſhip's influence and ſuggeſtions. He mentioned the powers aſſumed by the Popiſh covention, of levying taxes upon their community for defraying the expences of their claims and proceedings, which, were they fair, juſt and open, required no ſuch ſupport. He wiſhed to reſiſt further innovation; he foreſaw, in granting more than the preſent bill gave, a total ſeparation from England, or an union with her---each to be equally dreaded.

The archbiſhop of Caſhel delivered a virulent Philippic againſt the Catholics; and was particularly ſevere upon the biſhop of Killala for having extended his liberality towards them, beyond what became a Proteſtant prelate. Several of the clauſes were debated in the progreſs of the bill: but

the debate, which took place upon that clauſe, which enabled Catholics to accept military employments, calls moſt upon our attention.

Lord Farnham, in a ſpeech of ſome extent, argued, that until a law ſimilar to the preſent, was paſſed in England, Catholic officers could not attend their regiments, if ordered on duty into England. His lordſhip was, therefore, for amending the clauſe, by wording it ſo, as that a Roman Catholic ſhould not be eligible to a military commiſſion in Ireland, until the principle were adopted by a ſimilar law of England, which would render the brave and loyal Catholic eligible to military ſervice in any part of the Britiſh empire, wherever exigency might call him.

The lord chancellor oppoſed the principle of this amendment, the clauſe merely went to enable the Catholics to accept a military employment; but it could not be ſuppoſed his majeſty would appoint a man to ſuch a poſt, until the laws of the empire ſhould fully qualify him to act in every part of it. It was more than probable, a ſimilar law to this would be adopted in England, before the lapſe of two months, and on this ground the amendment would be wholly unneceſſary. The Duke of Leinſter oppoſed the amendment as unneceſſary, and wiſhed to raiſe the bravery and proweſs of the Iriſh Catholic, attached to the ſervice of his country. Lord Bellamont ſupported the amendment, as tending to accelerate a law in England, ſimilar to the preſent. After ſome further debate, the amendment was withdrawn.

Ten years have elapſed ſince the chancellor's ſuppoſition of a ſimilar law being paſſed in England. None ſuch has yet paſſed: but the incorporate union of the kingdoms muſt neceſſarily diſcloſe to every thinking mind, the neceſſity of ſome imperial regulation of the army and navy of Great Britain.*

It

* Incredible as it may appear, that during the courſe of the laſt war upwards of 270,000 men were recruited from Ireland to ſerve his majeſty in the navy and the army, the wonder will encreaſe, when it is known, that by 1 Geo. I. c. 13. ſ. 1. every perſon who ſhall receive pay, ſalary, fee or wages in the ſervice or employment of his majeſty muſt take and ſubſcribe the oaths of ſupremacy and abjuration within three months from entering into ſuch capacity. By ſection viii, every ſuch perſon neglecting and refuſing ſo to do, is diſabled from thenceforth to ſue or uſe any action, bill, plaint, or information in any court of law, or to proſecute any ſuit in any court of equity, or to be guardian of any child, or executor or adminiſtrator of any perſon, or capable of any legacy or deed of gift, or to be in any office within the realm of Great Britain, or to vote at any election for members to ſerve in parliament, and ſhall forfeit the ſum of 500*l.* to be recovered by him or them, that ſhall ſue for the ſame. And to ſhew, that this civil death is intended to be inflicted

It is impoſſible to expect, that the Britiſh navy and army ſhould be fairly and cordially recruited from that fertile nurſery of ſailors and ſoldiers, whilſt the Britiſh act ſubſiſts, which renders it illegal and penal even for a common ſoldier or ſailor profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion, to ſerve his country in either of thoſe capacities.

The paſſing of the Roman Catholic bill in this ſeſſion was a matter of the moſt ſerious importance to the political exiſtence of that kingdom.* It was undoubtedly

inflicted upon common ſoldiers and ſailors as well as officers, ſection xxx eſpecially enables his majeſty to grant commiſſions under the great ſeal to ſuch perſon or perſons, as to his majeſty ſhall ſeem meet, to empower him and them to adminiſter theſe oaths to ſeamen and private ſoldiers, and ſeamen and ſoldiers are thereby enjoined and required to take the ſame, upon the pains and penalties in the act mentioned, in caſe of refuſal thereof: and ſection xxxi provides, that no ſeaman or ſoldier, under the degree of a commiſſion or warrant officer, ſhall be obliged to pay any fee or reward on taking the ſaid oaths. Serious doubts muſt have ariſen upon the operation of this act of Geo. I. in Ireland: ſome doubt may be entertained, whether the words of the Iriſh ſtatute enabling Catholics to enjoy civil and military offices, or places of truſt or profit under his majeſty in that kingdom, repealed the act of Geo. I. as to ſeamen or common ſoldiers in Ireland: certainly the Iriſh act could not ſcreen a ſeaman or ſoldier from the penalties of the Britiſh act, from the moment he quitted the juriſdiction of the late parliament of Ireland.

* By this act the preſent ſtate of the Roman Catholics of Ireland is ſettled. The vague term of Catholic emancipation was uſed before the paſſing of this act: it has ſurvived it. Every man appears to annex his own meaning to it. I ſubmit to the view of the reader the form of the act, that he may fairly judge of the civil freedom, which the Iriſh Catholic now enjoys, and that which he is deprived of.

" 33 Geo. III. c. xxi.

" *An Act for the Relief of His Majeſty's Popiſh or Roman Catholic Subjects of Ireland.*

" WHEREAS various acts of parliament have been paſſed, impoſing on his majeſty's ſubjects " profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion, many reſtraints and diſabilities, to which other ſubjects " of this realm are not liable; and from the peaceable and loyal demeanor of his majeſty's Popiſh " or Roman Catholic ſubjects, it is fit that ſuch reſtraints and diſabilities ſhall be diſcontinued: " Be it therefore enacted, by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent " of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by " the authority of the ſame, That his majeſty's ſubjects, being Papiſts, or perſons profeſſing the " Popiſh or Roman Catholic religion, or married to Papiſts or perſons profeſſing the Popiſh or Ro- " man Catholic religion, or educating any of their children in that religion, ſhall not be liable or " ſubject to any penalties, forfeitures, diſabilities, or incapacities, or to any laws for the limitation, " charging, or diſcovering of their eſtates and property, real or perſonal, or touching the acquiring " of property or ſecurities effecting property; ſave ſuch as his majeſty's ſubjects of the Proteſtant " religion are liable and ſubject to; and that ſuch parts of all oaths as are required to be taken by " perſons in order to qualify themſelves for voting at elections of members to ſerve in parliament;

" and

undoubtedly a vaſt acceſſion of benefit to that body, whether it were to be called indulgence, conceſſion, or recognition of right. Conſidering the long ſeries

" and alſo ſuch parts of all oaths required to be taken by perſons voting at elections for members " to ſerve in parliament, as import to deny that the perſon taking the ſame is a Papiſt or married " to a Papiſt, or educates his children in the Popiſh religion, ſhall not hereafter be required to be " taken by any voter, but ſhall be omitted by the perſon adminiſtering the ſame; and that it ſhall " not be neceſſary, in order to entitle a Papiſt, or perſon profeſſing the Popiſh or Roman Catholic " religion to vote at an election of members to ſerve in parliament, that he ſhould at, or previous " to his voting, take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any ſtatute now in force to the contrary " of any of the ſaid matters in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

" II. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That all Papiſts or perſons profeſſing the " Popiſh, or Roman Catholic religion, who may claim to have a right of voting for members to " ſerve in parliament, or of voting for magiſtrates in any city, town corporate, or borough, within " this kingdom, be hereby required to perform all qualifications, regiſtries, and other requiſites, " which are now required of his majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects, in like caſes, by any law or laws " now of force in this kingdom, ſave and except ſuch oaths and parts of oaths as are herein before " excepted.

" III. And provided always, That nothing hereinbefore contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued " to extend to repeal, or alter any law or act of parliament now in force, by which certain qualifi- " cations are required to be performed by perſons enjoying any offices or places of truſt under his " majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, other than as herein after is enacted.

" IV. Provided alſo, That nothing herein contained, ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend to " give Papiſts, or perſons profeſſing the Popiſh religion, a right to vote at any pariſh veſtry, for " levying of money to rebuild or repair any pariſh church, or reſpecting the demiſing or diſpoſal " of the income of any eſtate belonging to any church or pariſh, or for the ſalary of the pariſh " clerk, or at the election of any church-warden.

" V. Provided always, That nothing contained in this act ſhall extend to, or be conſtrued to " affect any action or ſuit now depending, which ſhall have been brought or inſtituted previous to " the commencement of this ſeſſion of parliament.

" VI. Provided alſo, That nothing herein contained, ſhall extend to authorize any Papiſt, or " perſon profeſſing the Popiſh or Roman Catholic religion, to have or keep in his hands or poſ- " ſeſſion, any arms, armour, ammunition, or any warlike ſtores, ſword-blades, barrels, locks, or " ſtocks of guns, or fire arms, or to exempt ſuch perſon from any forfeiture, or penalty inflicted by " any act reſpecting arms, armour, or ammunition, in the hands or poſſeſſion of any Papiſt, or " reſpecting Papiſts having or keeping ſuch warlike ſtores, ſave and except Papiſts, or perſons of " the Roman Catholic religion, ſeized of a freehold eſtate of one hundred pounds a year, or poſ- " ſeſſed of a perſonal eſtate of one thouſand pounds or upwards, who are hereby authorized to keep " arms and ammunition as Proteſtants now by law may; and alſo, ſave and except Papiſts or " Roman Catholics poſſeſſing a freehold eſtate of ten pounds yearly value, and leſs than one hun- " dred pounds, or a perſonal eſtate of three hundred, and leſs than one thouſand pounds, who ſhall " have at the ſeſſion of the peace in the county in which they reſide, taken the oath of allegiance

" preſcribed

ſeries of oppreſſion and bondage which they had groaned under, the happineſs of their delivery was in a peculiar manner owing to the parental tenderneſs

" preſcribed to be taken by an act paſſed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his preſent ma-
" jeſty's reign, entitled, *An Act to enable His Majeſty's Subjects, of whatever Perſuaſion, to teſtify*
" *their Allegiance to him*; and alſo in open court, ſwear and ſubſcribe an affidavit, that they are
" poſſeſſed of a freehold eſtate, yielding a clear yearly profit to the perſon making the ſame, of ten
" pounds, or a perſonal property of three hundred pounds above his juſt debts, ſpecifying therein
" the name and nature of ſuch freehold, and nature of ſuch perſonal property, which affidavits
" ſhall be carefully preſerved by the clerk of the peace, who ſhall have for his trouble a fee of ſix-
" pence, and no more, for every ſuch affidavit; and the perſon making ſuch affidavits, and poſ-
" ſeſſing ſuch property, may keep and uſe arms and ammunition as Proteſtants may, ſo long as
" they ſhall reſpectively poſſeſs a property of the annual value of ten pounds, and upwards, if
" freehold, or the value of three hundred pounds if perſonal, any ſtatute to the contrary notwith-
" ſtanding.

" VII. And be it enacted, That it ſhall and may be lawful for Papiſts, or perſons profeſſing the
" Popiſh or Roman Catholic religion, to hold, exerciſe, and enjoy all civil and military offices, or
" places of truſt or profit under his majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, in this kingdom; and to hold
" or take degrees, or any profeſſorſhip in, or be maſters, or fellows of any college, to be hereafter
" founded in this kingdom, provided that ſuch college ſhall be a member of the Univerſity of
" Dublin, and ſhall not be founded excluſively for the education of Papiſts, or perſons profeſſing
" the Popiſh or Roman Catholic religion, nor conſiſt excluſively of maſters, fellows, or other per-
" ſons to be named or elected on the foundation of ſuch college, being perſons profeſſing the Popiſh
" or Roman Catholic religion, or to hold any office or place of truſt in, and to be a member of
" any lay-body corporate, except the college of the holy and undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth,
" near Dublin, without taking and ſubſcribing the oaths of allegiance, ſupremacy, or abjuration,
" or making or ſubſcribing the declaration required to be taken, made, and ſubſcribed, to enable
" any ſuch perſon to hold and enjoy any of ſuch places, and without receiving the ſacrament of the
" Lord's ſupper, according to the rights and ceremonies of the Church of Ireland, any law,
" ſtatute, or by-law of any corporation to the contrary notwithſtanding; provided that every ſuch
" perſon ſhall take and ſubſcribe the oath appointed by the ſaid act paſſed in the thirteenth and
" fourteenth years of his majeſty's reign, entitled, An Act to enable His Majeſty's Subjects, of
" whatever perſuaſion, to teſtify their Allegiance to him; and alſo the oath and declaration follow-
" ing, that is to ſay:

" I A. B. do hereby declare, that I do profeſs the Roman Catholic religion. I A. B. do ſwear,
" that I do abjure, condemn, and deteſt, as unchriſtian and impious, the principle that it is lawful
" to murder, deſtroy, or any ways injure any perſon whatſoever, for, or under the pretence of be-
" ing an heretic; and I do declare ſolemnly before God, that I believe, that no act in itſelf unjuſt,
" immoral, or wicked, can ever be juſtified or excuſed by, or under pretence, or colour, that it was
" done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any eccleſiaſtical power whatſoever. I
" alſo declare, that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither am I thereby required to believe
" or profeſs, that the Pope is infallible, or that I am bound to obey any order in its own nature

" im

neſs of his majeſty to his Iriſh Catholic ſubjects, whom he thus relieved, as it were in defiance of the bigotry and cruelty of their own countrymen. This great

" immoral, though the Pope or any eccleſiaſtical power ſhould iſſue or direct ſuch order, but, on " the contrary, I hold, that it would be ſinful in me to pay any reſpect or obedience thereto; I fur- " ther declare, that I do not believe that any ſin whatſoever committed by me can be forgiven at " the mere will of any Pope, or any prieſt, or of any perſon whatſoever; but that ſincere ſorrow " for paſt ſins, a firm and ſincere reſolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous " and indiſpenſible requiſites to eſtabliſh a well-founded expectation of forgiveneſs, and that any " perſon, who receives abſolution without theſe previous requiſites, ſo far from obtaining thereby " any remiſſion of his ſins incurs the additional guilt of violating a ſacrament; and I do ſwear, " that I will defend to the utmoſt of my power the ſettlement and arrangement of property in this " country as eſtabliſhed by the laws now in being; I do hereby diſclaim, diſavow, and ſolemnly " abjure any intention to ſubvert the preſent church eſtabliſhment for the purpoſe of ſubſtituting " a Catholic eſtabliſhment in its ſtead; and I do ſolemnly ſwear, that I will not exerciſe any " privilege, to which I am or may become entitled, to diſturb and weaken the Proteſtant religion " and Proteſtant government in this kingdom. So help me God.

" VIII. And be it enacted, That Papiſts, or perſons profeſſing the Popiſh or Roman Catholic " religion, may be capable of being elected profeſſors of medicine, upon the foundation of Sir Patrick " Dunn, any law or ſtatute to the contrary notwithſtanding.

" IX. Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or be " conſtrued to extend to enable any perſon to ſit or vote in either houſe of parliament, or to hold, " exerciſe, or enjoy the office of lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or other chief governor or governors " of this kingdom, lord high chancellor or keeper, or commiſſioner of the great ſeal of this king- " dom, lord high treaſurer, chancellor of the Exchequer, chief juſtice of the Court of King's Bench, " or Common Pleas, lord chief baron of the Court of Exchequer, juſtice of the Court of King's " Bench or Common Pleas, or baron of the Court of Exchequer, judge of the High Court of Ad- " miralty, maſter or keeper of the Rolls, ſecretary of ſtate, keeper of the privy ſeal, vice-treaſurer, " or deputy vice-treaſurer, teller and caſhier of the Exchequer, or auditor-general, lieutenant or " governor, or cuſtos rotulorum of counties, ſecretary to the lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or other " chief governor or governors of this kingdom, member of his majeſty's moſt honorable privy " council, prime ſerjeant, attorney-general, ſolicitor-general, ſecond and third ſerjeants at law, or " king's council, maſters in chancery, provoſt, or fellow of the college of the holy undivided " Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin; poſt-maſter-general, maſter, and lieutenant-general " of his majeſty's ordnance, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces, generals on the ſtaff, and " ſheriffs, and ſub-ſheriffs of any county in this kingdom; or any office contrary to the rules, " orders and directions made and eſtabliſhed by the lord lieutenant and council in purſuance of the " act paſſed in the ſeventeenth and eighteenth years of King Charles the Second, entitled, An Act " for the explaining of ſome doubts ariſing upon an act, entitled, An Act for the better Execution " of his Majeſty's gracious Declaration for the Settlement of this Kingdom of Ireland, and Satis- " faction of the ſeveral Intereſts of Adventurers, Soldiers, and other his Subjects there, and for

" making

great act of national juſtice and policy was wrung from the Iriſh parliament by the irreſiſtible power of royal benevolence and liberality. Few indeed were

" making ſome Alterations of, and Additions unto the ſaid Act, for the more ſpeedy and effectual " Settlement of this Kingdom, unleſs he ſhall have taken, made, and ſubſcribed the Oaths and " Declarations, and performed the ſeveral Requiſites, which by any law heretofore made, and now " of force, are required to enable any Perſon to ſit or vote, or to hold, exerciſe, and enjoy the ſaid " offices reſpectively.

" X. Provided alſo, and be it enacted, That nothing in this act contained ſhall enable any " Papiſt, or perſon profeſſing the Popiſh or Roman Catholic religion, to exerciſe any right of pre- " ſentation to any eccleſiaſtical benefice whatſoever.

" XI. And be it enacted, That no Papiſt, or perſon profeſſing the Popiſh or Roman Catholic " religion, ſhall be liable or ſubject to any penalty for not attending Divine ſervice on the Sabbath- " Day, called Sunday, in his or her pariſh church.

" XII. Provided alſo, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained, ſhall be conſtrued to " extend to authorize any Popiſh prieſt, or reputed Popiſh prieſt, to celebrate marriage between " Proteſtant and Proteſtant, or between any perſon, who hath been or profeſſed himſelf or herſelf " to be a Proteſtant, at any time within twelve months before ſuch celebration of marriage, and " a Papiſt, unleſs ſuch Proteſtant and Papiſt ſhall have been firſt married by a clergyman of the " Proteſtant religion, and that every Popiſh prieſt, or reputed Popiſh prieſt, who ſhall celebrate " any marriage between two Proteſtants, or between any ſuch Proteſtant and Papiſt, unleſs ſuch " Proteſtant and Papiſt ſhall have been firſt married by a clergyman of the Proteſtant religion, " ſhall forfeit the ſum of five hundred pounds to his majeſty, upon conviction thereof.

" XIII. And whereas it may be expedient, in caſe his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors ſhall be " pleaſed ſo to alter the ſtatutes of the college of the holy and undivided Trinity near Dublin, and " of the Univerſity of Dublin, as to enable perſons profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion to enter " into or to take degrees in the ſaid univerſity, to remove any obſtacle, which now exiſts by ſtatute " law; be it enacted, That from and after the firſt day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and " ninety-three, it ſhall not be neceſſary for any perſon upon taking any of the degrees uſually con- " ferred by the ſaid univerſity, to make or ſubſcribe any declaration, or to take any oath, ſave the " oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any law or ſtatute to the contrary notwithſtanding.

" XIV. Provided always, That no Papiſt or Roman Catholic, or perſon profeſſing the Roman " Catholic or Popiſh religion, ſhall take any benefit by or under this act, unleſs he ſhall have firſt " taken and ſubſcribed the oath and declaration in this act contained and ſet forth, and alſo the ſaid " oath appointed by the ſaid act paſſed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his majeſty's reign, " entitled, An Act to enable his Majeſty's Subjects of whatever Perſuaſion to teſtify their Alle- " giance to him, in ſome one of his Majeſty's four Courts in Dublin, or at the general Seſſions of " the Peace, or at any adjournment thereof to be holden for the county, city, or borough wherein " ſuch Papiſt or Roman Catholics, or perſon profeſſing the Roman Catholic or Popiſh religion, doth " inhabit or dwell, or before the going judge or judges of aſſize in the county wherein ſuch Papiſt

were the inſtances of thoſe, who dared openly to reſiſt the recommendation of their ſovereign. Upon this point, which came under the ſanction of royal pupillage and government ſupport, the majority which occupied the treaſury benches and their ſeveral dependents were all of accord: the bulk of the minority found no other fault with the Catholic bill, than that it did not go far enough. They wiſhed to leave nothing to ranckle in the hearts of three millions of the people. But upon other points, the changes in the conduct of the miniſterial party in the houſe were ſingularly marked. At the opening of the ſeſſion many things concurred to abate the confidence of the miniſters, which tended proportionably to raiſe that of the oppoſition. They felt a humiliation in yielding more to the Catholics under the influence of royal recommendation, than they had indignantly rejected from their own will and judgment; they were ſenſible of the weight of the power and influence

" or Roman Catholic, or perſon profeſſing the Roman Catholic or Popiſh religion, doth inhabit and " dwell in open Court.

" XV. Provided always, and be it enacted, That the names of ſuch perſons as ſhall ſo take and " ſubſcribe the ſaid oath and declaration, with their titles and additions, ſhall be entered upon the " rolls, for that purpoſe to be appointed by ſaid reſpective courts; and that the ſaid rolls once in " every year ſhall be tranſmitted to, and depoſited in the Rolls Office in this kingdom, to remain " amongſt the records thereof, and the maſters or keepers of the rolls in this kingdom, or their law- " ful deputy or deputies, are hereby empowered and required to give and deliver to ſuch perſon or " perſons ſo taking and ſubſcribing the ſaid oaths and declaration, a certificate or certificates of ſuch " perſon or perſons having taken and ſubſcribed the ſaid oaths and declaration, for each of which " certificates the ſum of one ſhilling and no more ſhall be paid.

" XVI. And be it further provided and enacted, That from and after the firſt day of April, one " thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-three, no freeholder, burgeſs, freeman, or inhabitant of this " kingdom, being a Papiſt or Roman Catholic, or perſon profeſſing the Roman Catholic or Popiſh " religion, ſhall at any time be capable of giving his vote for the electing of any knight or knights " of any ſhire or county within this kingdom, or citizen or burgeſs to ſerve in any parliament, until " he ſhall have firſt produced and ſhewn to the high ſheriff of the ſaid county, or his deputy or " deputies, at any election of a knight or knights of the ſaid ſhire, and to the reſpective chief officer " or officers of any city, borough, or town-corporate, to whom the return of any citizen, or burgeſs " to ſerve in parliament doth or ſhall reſpectively belong, at the election of any citizen or burgeſs to " ſerve in parliament, ſuch certificate of his having taken and ſubſcribed the ſaid oath and decla- " ration, either from the Rolls Office, or from the proper officer of the court in which the ſaid oaths " and declaration ſhall be taken and ſubſcribed; and ſuch perſon being a freeholder, freeman, " burgeſs, or inhabitant ſo producing and ſhewing ſuch certificate, ſhall be then permitted to vote, " as amply and fully as any Proteſtant freeholder, freeman, burgeſs, or inhabitant of ſuch county, " city, borough, or town-corporate, but not otherwiſe."

which

which the opinions of the great landholders of the kingdom, who were at the head of the oppoſition, carried with them, and they dreaded the unanimous ſupport, which, it was expected, would have been given from without to the efforts of the oppoſition within their walls. Hence aroſe that ſpirit of reconciliation and conceſſion, which ſo ſtrongly marked the conduct of the miniſters for the firſt week of the ſeſſion. The undertaking of government to bring forward ſeveral of the popular meaſures, and which were actually brought forward, probably blunted the edge of the oppoſition, which would otherwiſe have been offered againſt the paſſing of ſome of the ſtrong meaſures of government. The firſt of theſe was the gunpowder bill;* the next was the convention bill.

The gunpowder bill was deſigned to defeat a conſpiracy, which was ſuppoſed and reported to have been then on foot; though the truth of it were never proved, nor credited by many. It is indeed doubtful (as muſt generally be the effects of every preventative meaſure) whether the conſpiracy muſt not have failed, had it exiſted, unleſs the French had at that time ſucceeded in Holland; their failure rendered this cautionary meaſure actually

* 33 Geo. III. c. 2. "An Act to prevent the Importation of Arms, Gunpowder, and Ammu-"nition into this Kingdom, and the removing and keeping of Gunpowder, Arms, and Ammu-"nition without Licence." This bill was not at all oppoſed in parliament; it was a temporary act to be in force only until the 1ſt of January 1794, and the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament. Although many gentlemen of no mean reputation in Ireland have ſtrenuouſly, and ſome of them ſincerely, oppoſed the opinions of Mr. Grattan, they have on all hands been allowed to be conſiſtent; nor has his political character been ever repreſented as temporiſing. It is fair then to conclude, that he thought and felt upon that meaſure in 1793, as he expreſſed himſelf in 1798, in a petition of the Whig Club, which was tranſmitted to be preſented by the Earl of Moira and Mr. Fox to his majeſty; this petition was drawn up by Mr. Grattan, and received the ſanction of moſt of the leaders of oppoſition who were members of it. (p. 5.) "On the ſame plan of unconſtitutional and ſcandalous influence "did they ſell the peerage to procure ſeats in the commons for the dependency and the diſhonour "of both houſes of parliament: and having from this conduct, aggravated by a moſt unſeemly "and unbecoming intemperance of manner, and incontinence of language, loſt the confidence of "the country, and greatly agitated the ſame, they then proceeded to a ſyſtem of coercion, to ſup-"port their plans of corruption, and to dragoon the people, as they had bought the parliament. "They began that ſyſtem by an act, which tended, in a qualified manner, to diſarm his majeſty's "ſubjects, under certain regulations, named a gunpowder bill, and had principally in view, to put "down the Iriſh volunteers; and to check the diſcontent which grew from this meaſure, as well "as from their other meaſures, further meaſures of violence, and new cauſes of diſcontent were "reſorted to."

inoperative; though if any underſtanding between the United Iriſhmen or other ſocieties in the North, and the French government and their forces in the Netherlands, did exiſt, or were likely to exiſt, it was indiſpenſible on the part of government to take every cautionary ſtep to defeat their rebellious projects. The general and real motive, with which the miniſter propoſed the convention bill was to prevent the prevalence of the ſucceſsful example of the Catholic convention. Mr. Grattan ſpoke againſt the bill, and moved for the ſecond reading at a diſtant day. His grand objection was, that it was a falſe declaration of law, and deprived the ſubject of his conſtitutional right of petitioning againſt grievances, by rendering the previous meaſure of conſultation and deliberation criminal. The debate on this motion laſted till four o'clock in the morning; ſeveral of the oppoſition ſpoke for the bill and againſt the motion; which was negatived by a majority of 128 againſt 27.* This act (33 Geo. III. c. 29.) to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful aſſemblies, under pretence of preparing or preſenting public petitions or other addreſſes to his majeſty or the parliament, recites, that the election or appointment of aſſemblies, purporting to repreſent the people, or any deſcription of the people, under pretence of preparing or preſenting petitions, complaints, remonſtrances, and declarations, and other addreſſes to the king, or to both or either houſes of parliament, for alteration of matters eſtabliſhed by law, or redreſs of alledged grievances in church and ſtate may be made uſe of to ſerve the ends of factious and ſeditious perſons, to the violation of the public peace, and the great and manifeſt encouragement of riot, tumult, and diſorder: and it enacts, that all ſuch aſſemblies,

* On this occaſion Mr. Hobart declared nothing gave him more pain, than that the debate on this bill ſhould have extended to ſuch length, or that it ſhould, on the cloſe of the ſeſſion, create any thing like a diſunion of ſentiment. He declared, that nothing but the very alarming ſtate, to which the country had been reduced by a ſpirit of popular commotion, excited by conventions, uſurping the privileges of repreſentation, and aſſuming to controul parliament, could have induced him to conſent to the introduction of this bill; and even the nobleman, who had brought it into the other houſe, before he had done ſo, had conſidered it over and over again, and did not bring it forward until abſolute neceſſity called for ſome effectual meaſure to ſtem the torrent of ſedition, at a time when writs had been iſſued by the ſociety, called United Iriſhmen, for the purpoſe of aſſembling the convention at Athlone, and under a conviction, that if parliament ſhould break up without adopting the bill, which in his idea never did, nor never was intended to meddle with the conſtitutional rights of the people, the conſtitution itſelf might be ſubverted before parliament could be aſſembled.

committees,

committees, or other bodies of perſons elected, or otherwiſe conſtituted or appointed are unlawful aſſemblies, and that all perſons giving or publiſhing notice of the election to be made of ſuch perſons or delegates, or attending, or voting or acting therein by any means are guilty of an high miſdemeanor. The act concludes with a declaration, "that nothing in it ſhall impede the "undoubted right of his majeſty's ſubjects, to petition the king or parlia- "ment for redreſs of any public or private grievance."

The convention bill was not combated by Mr. Grattan, and thoſe who agreed with him, ſo much, becauſe the legiſlative interference was not wanted to prevent the intended convention of Athlone, or other ſuch meetings: but becauſe the words and tendency of the bill went directly to declare, that every convention and delegation that had exiſted in that kingdom, were illegal: they objected againſt the declaratory quality of the act, whereby it bore retroſpectively upon paſt tranſactions, not upon the enacting part, which, had it been properly framed, would have operated proſpectively by way of inhibition againſt future conventions and delegations.* Confident reports were afloat, about

* When this bill was in committee, Mr. Grattan, amongſt many ſtrong things, ſaid, (13 Parl. Debates, p. 546) "This bill is ſaid to be an expedient to reſtore peace; why, then, is it a reflec- "tion? Why do the preamble and the declaration pronounce every man who has been a delegate, "all the volunteers, the delegates at Dungannon, the delegates of the convention, the commit- "tee of the lawyers corps, and the corps that appointed that committee; the committee of the "Catholics, their late conventions, and all the Catholics who appointed that convention; that is, "the whole Catholic body, offenders; men guilty of an unlawful aſſembly, and this moment lia- "ble to be proſecuted? For ſo much has the bill in object, not the peace of the country, but reflec- "tion on great bodies, and the gratification of ſpleen at the expence of the conſtitution, by "voting falſe doctrine into law, and the brighteſt paſſages of your hiſtory into unlawful aſſemblies.

"Gentlemen have conceived this bill an expedient to quell the inſurgents; let them read the "bill. It is not a riot act; the riot act ſeemed forgotten, until a friend of mine put it into his "temporary ſtatute bill; it does not go againſt riots that are, but conventions that are not. The "title of the bill as firſt brought in, was to prevent riots and tumults ariſing from conventions: "but as the bill had nothing to ſay to riots, and no riots appeared to have ariſen from conventions, "ſuch title was in decency dropped, and the real object of the bill profeſſed an act againſt con- "ventions.

"The bill neither is, nor profeſſes to be a bill againſt riots; it is only an expedient againſt "conventions, and only an expedient for peace, as far as conventions now diſturb it, there were "none.

"But gentlemen ſaid, a national convention at Athlone was intended. He did believe that "ſuch a one had been intended ſome time ago, and that then it was not ſo; or if then intended, "that

about the beginning of the ſeſſion, that there would be a change in the Iriſh miniſtry: but to effect it without a change in the Britiſh miniſtry, was found impracticable, unleſs by a reform in parliament. The additional motive therefore of keeping their places, operated powerfully upon miniſters in reſiſting reform with all their powers both within and without the walls of parliament. It was not ineptly imagined, that by government's patronizing the cauſe of Catholic emancipation, by bringing forward ſome, and by acceding to other popular queſtions, their reſiſtance to the cauſe of reform might be the more imperceptible, and therefore the more ſure. Artful means were alſo uſed to irritate the United Iriſhmen againſt the gentlemen of the oppoſition, for not ſupporting the cauſe of the French: every attack made by them upon the oppoſition, was an accumulation of ſtrength to the miniſtry.

The ſeveral great objects, which had been urged by the oppoſition ever ſince the laſt parliament with great perſeverance and ability, were the reſponſibility bill, the place and the penſion bill. There were alſo other meaſures of great conſequence, but of leſs general importance; ſuch as the diſqualifying of revenue officers from ſitting in parliament, and the repeal of the police act. By the reſponſibility bill, no money could be diſpoſed of by the ſole order from the king, as was before the caſe; for Iriſh officers were to ſign all warrants; and every warrant and officer came before parliament. The neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a bill was, that the hereditary revenue was given up, and like the additional ſupply, voted annually. The great effect and conſequence of ſuch a meaſure, any man who underſtood government, muſt ſee at a glance.

By the penſion bill all penſioners for years or during pleaſure were excluded; and the ſum, which then was near 120,000*l.* a year, was reduced to 80,000*l.*

By the place bill, all new places from the date of the bill were diſqualified.

" that it would be trifling and contemptible. His objection to the bill was, that it was a trick, " making a ſuppoſed national convention at Athlone in 1798, a pretext for preventing delegation " for ever.

" Such a meeting as was invited to aſſemble at Athlone, ſhould be underſtood; for ſuch a meet- " ing would not be an aſſembly to promote the reform of parliament, but to put itſelf in the place " of parliament.

" The real object of that bill was, to prevent in future all popular effect whatſoever, particularly " at that time when reform had been propoſed by the houſe; a meaſure offenſive to all men, who " diſliked the people; offenſive to moſt of thoſe, who diſliked the Catholics; and deteſtable to thoſe " men, who hated both."

officers

officers of revenue, whoſe duty required their abſence from Dublin, were excluded: and the principle of excluding them all was carried. The queſtion of reform certainly was not ſupported by the people out of doors with ſpirit and perſeverance equal to its importance: for after Mr. Ponſonby's promiſe to bring in a bill of reform and after Mr. Grattan's carrying the principle of its neceſſity, by his motion for a committee, which were almoſt at the opening of the ſeſſion, except ſome of the northern counties and the city of Dublin, no inſtruction, addreſs, or petition, came from any of the counties, cities, or great towns; and what would hardly be credited, the people, who had been crying out for the reform of parliament againſt the ariſtocracy and the government, would not aſk for it when both gave it up; and did juſt with regard to reform, what they did before with regard to the abſentee tax. "A miſtreſs, (ſaid Mr. Flood), which the people of Ireland ſought for with "a lover's appetite, was, when brought to their embraces, repudiated with a "lover's inconſtancy."

The people did not take the ſame means to obtain a reform in parliament, which they had taken to obtain a free trade: for the addreſs had hardly paſſed the Houſe of Commons, when there poſted in volumes of inſtructions from the people for "free trade, or a ſhort money bill."

The reform of parliament was in fact loſt by the people; when the oppoſition took it up, and the borough patrons were engaged to ſupport it: all were ready but the people; for when another attempt was made by the oppoſition for a reform in parliament, in a motion by Mr. Forbes, and a third attempt by Mr. Ponſonby, who laid before the Houſe of Commons his plan of reform, it is very ſurpriſing, in theſe different attempts, and in theſe different intervals, the people did nothing: all the attempts of oppoſition, and the offers of the owners of boroughs were not ſeconded.* It was, however, ſingular, that there was to be ſeen in the Roman Catholic convention, what could not be found in the counties at large, a reſolution in aid of the reform of parliament. The cauſes of this, perhaps, may be diſcovered in different circumſtances: one was, that the Catholic queſtion, which of neceſſity took the ſtart of reform, prevented any of the ſouthern or weſtern counties from interfering

* It has been much queſtioned, whether many of the loudeſt advocates for reform were actually ſincere in their profeſſions, from the paucity of the offerers to ſurrender up their borough rights. A tolerably accurate liſt of the boroughs, and their proprietors or patrons at that time in Ireland, may be ſeen in the Appendix, No. XCVI.

until

until that matter was ſettled, and gave the government time to rally: but this would only account for the ſilence of the people when the firſt motions were made, not when Mr. Ponſonby propoſed his plan, which was after the Catholic buſineſs was ſafe in harbour. Another circumſtance was, the jealouſy of the Proteſtant aſcendants, who dropped reform when the Catholics were admitted to vote at elections, becauſe they were more afraid of the Catholics than of the boroughs. A further circumſtance, was the change of affairs in Europe: during the delay of the Catholic bill, the face of the French war was changed; the French were beaten out of Flanders, and the government were no longer afraid of the Iriſh: and then, indeed, if the counties had interfered, it would have been of no ſignification: but before that their inſtructions would probably have been attended to. There was another circumſtance, which gave a fatal blow to the reform of parliament; the ſociety of United Iriſhmen were harſhly ſpoken of by the oppoſition. Suppoſing their intentions to be as bad as the country believed them to be, theſe men could not raiſe an inſurrection, nor bring over a French army, nor plan or execute a gunpowder plot; but they could, and did help to damn reform, and ſave the miniſtry. The Roman Catholics carried their meaſures by avoiding the rock on which the United Iriſhmen ſplit. The Catholics were conducted by men of capacity; their views were enlarged, their language moderate; Engliſh principles and Engliſh words: they availed themſelves of every circumſtance, and every ally; the oppoſition; the court; the French ſucceſs; the people of Belfaſt; and even the United Iriſhmen, without binding themſelves ſo far to any as to exclude them from the aſſiſtance of the other. The French ſucceſs, by terrifying their enemies, ſerved very much the Catholics; but the Catholics had too much ſenſe to expreſs their approbation of French principles, or to diſplay any treaſonable French devices, which damned one of the ſocieties. Their prudent conduct made the king himſelf their patron; and the lord-lieutenant's ſecretary moved their bill. The oppoſition had the merit of ſupporting the whole of their claims: the oppoſition did not adviſe the Catholics to inſiſt on all or nothing: the ſuggeſtion of a deſperate ſet, that wanted to make the Catholics not their fellow-ſubjects, but their inſtruments: but the oppoſition ſtruggled to get for them every thing; but if not every thing, as much as they could; and not break with government becauſe they could not get all at once: the Catholics very prudently therefore, did not in terms aſk for every thing, while they left every thing open for themſelves to aſk,

and

and parliament to give. The oppoſition was not unanimous in the Catholics petition not joining the twenty-five in the ſeſſion before the laſt, by whom their cauſe was preſerved, which otherwiſe would have fallen.

This long and important ſeſſion* was put an end to on the 16th of Auguſt, 1793, when his excellency made a very intereſting and impreſſive ſpeech† from

* Beſides the acts already mentioned, the following popular acts were paſſed in the ſeſſion of 1793, viz. 33 Geo. III. c. xxv. An act to encourage the improvement of barren land. xxxi. An act for regulating the trade of Ireland to and from the Eaſt-Indies, under certain conditions and proviſions for a time therein mentioned. 33 Geo. III. c. xxxiv. An act for the ſupport of the honor and dignity of his majeſty's crown in Ireland, and for granting to his majeſty a civil liſt eſtabliſhment, under certain proviſions and regulations. 33 Geo. III. c. xli. An act for ſecuring the freedom and independence of the Houſe of the Commons, by excluding therefrom perſons holding any offices under the crown, to be hereafter created, or holding certain offices therein enumerated, or penſions for term of years, or during his majeſty's pleaſure. 33 Geo. III. c. xlviii. An act to remove doubts reſpecting the functions of juries in caſes of libel. 33 Geo. III. c. lii. An act for the advancement of trade and manufactures, by granting the ſums therein mentioned for the ſupport of commercial credit. The ſame cauſes which had combined to give a temporary check to the commercial credit of Great Britain, had operated with equal alarm in the ſiſter kingdom. The parliament of Ireland, therefore, evinced the ſame prompt and preventive care as had been manifeſted by the Engliſh government, by undertaking to make good the ſum of 200,000*l.* which the bank had engaged to advance to certain mercantile houſes, with intereſt at five per cent; a meaſure, which renewed and enlivened the current of commercial credit, and prevented its ſhort ſuſpenſion from being attended with any conſequences prejudicial to the trade of the country. In ſhort the conduct of the government of Ireland during this ſeſſion, was evidently calculated to reſtore tranquillity and defeat the deſigns of thoſe, who wiſhed to raiſe public diſcontent, and to introduce the principles of French anarchy; while theſe ſalutary laws ſtrengthened the executive power in ſecuring the bleſſings of domeſtic peace and public ſecurity.

† "My Lords and Gentlemen.

"THE wiſdom and liberality, with which you attended to his majeſty's recommendation in favor of his Roman Catholic ſubjects, are highly pleaſing to the king. You muſt "be fully ſenſible of his majeſty's gracious condeſcenſion in committing to your judgement the application of the hereditary revenue; and I am ordered by his majeſty to ſignify his approbation "of the proviſions which have been made for the ſupport of his civil government, and the honor "and dignity of his crown; and to expreſs his confidence, that your liberal conceſſions to the Roman Catholics, and the meaſures for the regulation of the public expenditure, and for the limitation of offices and penſions, to which his majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to conſent, with a "view to the advantage of the public, will cement a general union of ſentiment among all claſſes "of his majeſty's ſubjects, in ſupport of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution.

"His majeſty has ſeen with real ſatisfaction that friendly diſpoſition which has been manifeſted "by the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, for ſtrengthening the connection of the two

from the throne; the moſt prominent feature of which was the expreſſion of his majeſty's pleaſure at the paſſing of the bill in favor of the Roman Catholics. It juſtly portrayed the gratitude which that body owes to the perſonal tenderneſs and regards of their ſovereign for the great benefits of his reign.

" kingdoms by mutual acts of conceſſion. I am authorized to acquaint you, that an act has paſſed " the Britiſh parliament to permit goods of Aſia, Africa or America, legally imported into Ireland, " to be imported from thence into Great Britain. This is a ſignal proof of her attention to your " intereſts; whilſt the confirmation of the charter of the Eaſt India Company by the parliament of " Ireland, diſplays on your part a cordial zeal for the ſupport of Great Britain, and a judicious con- " ſideration of the great and eſſential intereſts of the empire.

" I am to make my acknowledgements for the many ſalutary laws you have enacted to ſtrengthen " the executive government, which will materially tend to defeat the deſigns of the enemies to the " freedom and happineſs of this kingdom.

" The apprehenſions of embarraſſments, which for a time hung over commercial tranſactions, " were to me a ſubject of the utmoſt anxiety; and I am to return you my thanks for ſanctioning " thoſe meaſures which I took in ſupport of credit, and which, I truſt, have had the happieſt effect " in preventing the ill conſequences of ſuch apprehenſions.

" The ſpirit of diſcontent which prevailed amongſt the lower claſſes of the people at the beginning " of the ſeſſion, has ſince burſt into acts of riot and inſurrection; and I have been under the painful " neceſſity of employing his majeſty's forces, whoſe ſteadineſs and good conduct have on all occa- " ſions been manifeſted, and by whoſe exertions the civil magiſtrates have been enabled, in a great " meaſure, to reſtore the general tranquillity.

" Under all the circumſtances of the country, I thought it proper to call forth a very conſiderable " portion of the militia of this kingdom, I am to expreſs his majeſty's approbation of a meaſure " which affords at preſent material aſſiſtance, and lays the foundation of a permanent conſtitutional " force, that has been found by experience in Great Britain of great reſource in public emergen- " cies.

" His majeſty feels with the greateſt concern the expence brought upon his people by domeſtic " diſturbances, added to the conſequences of a foreign war, into which we have been forced by the " wanton and unprovoked aggreſſion of France, but you will reflect that you are contending for " the preſervation of your property, and for the ſecurity of your happy conſtitution.

" The ſucceſſes with which it has pleaſed the Divine Providence to bleſs the arms of his majeſty " and his allies, afford the beſt proſpect of a happy iſſue to this important conteſt; and it is his ma- " jeſty's earneſt hope, that a continuance of vigorous exertions will finally obtain a ſecure and laſting " peace.

" I have entire confidence that in your reſpective counties, you will exert your utmoſt influence " in maintaining the public tranquillity, and in carrying the laws into full execution. You may be " aſſured that I ſhall on all occaſions take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures, in the exerciſe of " thoſe powers with which I am inveſted, for the repreſſion of outrage and tumult, and the protec- " tion of his majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects."

Although

Although ſeveral excellent laws were paſſed in the year 1793, yet the adminiſtration did not altogether gain popularity by any of them. The leading meaſures of grace, which affected the great bulk of the people, were attributed to the perſonal interference of a benign and fatherly ſovereign over the heads and againſt the wiſhes of thoſe, who had the preceding year rejected their application for leſs favors with indignation and inſult. The paſſing of the act ſo emphatically calculated to deſtroy all odious diſtinctions between Iriſhmen of different religious perſuaſions, altered the laws, but cruſhed not the ſpirit, which kept them up. Great difficulties at firſt prevailed in raiſing the different regiments of militia; for although Catholics were rendered capable of ſerving in them, no Catholic officers were appointed: this marked reprobation of all gentlemen of that communion ſo directly in teeth of the act, diffuſed a general diffidence amidſt the lower orders, and it was found neceſſary to appoint ſeveral Catholic officers, before the militia corps could be completed.*

There

* A ſtill ſtronger inſtance of the inefficacy of the act to overcome the virulence of bigotry and prejudice occurred at the quarterly meeting of the guild of merchants in Dublin: about 130 freemen were preſent, which was conſidered a full hall. The principal buſineſs of the day was, to take into conſideration the petitions of thirty Roman Catholic merchants, praying admiſſion into the guild: the firſt petition in the order being that of Mr. Edward Byrne, was read, and on the queſtion for granting its prayer being put by the roaſter a ballot was demanded by Sir Edward Newenham, ſeconded by Mr. Edward Druit, of the cuſtom houſe; the ballot having accordingly taken place, there appeared,

| | |
|---|---|
| For Mr. Byrne's admiſſion, | 63 |
| Againſt it, | 67 |
| Majority againſt admiſſion | 4 |

The next petition read was that of Mr. Valentine O'Connor, and a ballot on that being inſiſted upon, the admiſſion was alſo rejected by nearly the ſame majority.

The petitions were ſupported by Mr. Joſhua Pim, Mr. James Hartley, and Mr. Jeremiah D'Olier, with manly eloquence and irrefragable argument, in which they clearly demonſtrated the illiberality and the impolicy, as well as the refractory inſult offered to the king and the legiſlature of the kingdom, in oppoſing the operation of a bill calculated to unite the people of Ireland, by removing the unwiſe diſtinction and incapacity which ſo great a part of the community had laboured under.

One of the gentlemen (Mr. D'Olier) among other things remarked, that it ill became thoſe, who received the public bounty in penſions, to ſtand foremoſt in oppoſing franchiſe to the moſt eminent merchants of the kingdom, who ſo largely contributed by the enormous duties they paid, to ſup-

There were few or no parts of the kingdom, in which attempts were not made by a certain party to traduce and vilify the Catholics, in order to defeat that confidence and conſequence, which the patronizing countenance of their ſovereign had given them throughout the nation. Not only the excluſive diſtinctions were publicly kept up in corporations, but anonymous charges and ſlanders were publiſhed and circulated with all the induſtry of envenomed acrimony. The Catholics publiſhed proteſtations againſt theſe anonymous attacks, with freſh reſolutions and avowals of their loyalty and affection to the king and conſtitution.* The growth and progreſs of defenderiſm,

port the fund from which theſe penſions were provided. It was obſerved on that occaſion on an accurate enquiry and inveſtigation of the buſineſs, that the majority conſiſted of

| | |
|---|---|
| Plain men who really thought church and ſtate in danger, | 25 |
| Penſioners, placemen, and hangers on, — — | 25 |
| Cuſtom houſe officers, &c. &c. — — — | 17 |
| | 67 |

* The following reſolutions of the Catholics of Wexford is given as a ſpecimen of thoſe charges and Defences.

" AT a meeting of the Catholics of the town and neighbourhood of Wexford, on Tueſday, the 30th " of July, 1793; James Edward Devereux, in the Chair.

" We, the Roman Catholics of the town and neighbourhood of Wexford, having acquieſced in " the reſolution and recommendation of our late General Committee, notwithſtanding the many " degrading and injurious diſtinctions ſtill exiſting againſt us, to act no more as a body, but as " Iriſhmen, united by one will and intereſt, find ourſelves moſt reluctantly compelled by different " attacks, immediately pointed at our honor, to defend ourſelves as a diſtinct people; our loyalty " has been traduced, our views miſrepreſented, and our conduct defamed; we conceive that ſink- " ing under ſuch infamous and audacious ſlander would be the ruin of our country, and bereave us " of the affections of our king and our fellow ſubjects, for we have learnt from the hiſtory of all " nations, but particularly from our own, that unrefuted calumnies lead from the extinction of the " honeſt fame of a nation, to the final extinction of her liberties.

" *Reſolved* therefore, That it is a baſe and ſcandalous falſhood that the Catholics of Ireland ever " entertained the thought or harboured the project, either in private or public, of ſevering the ſiſter " countries from each other, or of renouncing their loyalty and gratitude towards a ſovereign, to " whom, of all who ever ſat upon the throne, they are the moſt indebted.

" *Reſolved*, That the Catholics of Ireland never ſought any other boon but that of equal law and " equal liberty, ſuch as Engliſhmen poſſeſs, and ſuch as is equally the right of Iriſhmen, and that " they are ſatisfied for ever to abide by one common fate with Engliſhmen, ſo as they may for ever " enjoy the common bleſſings of the conſtitution as eſtabliſhed in king, lords, and commons, under " a ſeparate legiſlature and a common king.

" *Reſolved*, That the general committee of the Catholics never exerciſed the right of legation in " any

deriſm, particularly in the county of Meath, afforded fuel to the enemies of the Catholic body, which they ſtudied to implicate in the crimes of thoſe ferocious miſcreants. Painful induſtry was employed to work up the imaginations of the inhabitants into the expectation of a general maſſacre of all the Proteſtants throughout that county. No arts were left untried to criminate the Catholic body: every exceptionable word or action of an individual, however contemptible, was charged on the entire body; and the object was now, not ſo much to ſuppreſs the Defenders, as to faſten their enormities on the Catholic body.

This ſtate of affairs was moſt favorable to the cauſe of the defenders. They committed depredations without control; and aſſembling in large bodies by night to learn the uſe of arms, they went through military evolutions under their captains, the moſt infamous individuals of the community; generally the proſcribed objects of civil or martial law. Their neceſſities multiplied, under the ſpecious name of defenders, they indulged in all ſorts of crimes. They talked of liberty and equality. They threatened to cut off heads, to burn and to deſtroy wherever enmity appeared, or oppoſition was made to them. The evil gained ſtrength and vigor with the ſeaſon, and raged for ſix

" any one inſtance, nor any other right but in abſolute ſubordination to the laws of their country,
" nor can we underſtand how theſe proceedings and purſuits can be accounted criminal, unleſs it is
" proved that the Britiſh Conſtitution, the ſole object of thoſe purſuits, is a code of iniquity and vice,
" which ought to be rejected with deteſtation, and not contended for at the hazard of every thing
" dear to man.

" *Reſolved*, That we are unalterably attached to the peace, happineſs, union, and liberty of Ire-
" land, and therefore from our hearts abhor and reprobate any diſturbances, which may endanger
" the poſſeſſion of thoſe invaluable objects, and that we recommend moſt ſeriouſly and earneſtly to
" our Catholic brethren to join and co-operate in every loyal and conſtitutional meaſure to ſuppreſs
" them, *be their authors who they may*.

" *Reſolved*, That we highly approve of the conduct of our late committee, who have proved us
" not unworthy of freedom, by evincing our loyalty to our king, our gratitude to the legiſlature and
" our friends, and our unceaſing deſire to fulfill his majeſty's gracious wiſh to unite all claſſes and
" deſcriptions of the people, in ſupport of our moſt excellent conſtitution.

" *Reſolved*, That the ſilly aſſertion which has been publicly made, that the Catholics of the
" county of Wexford were induced to join the committee by the promiſe of ten pounds a year,
" freehold, to the lower claſſes, is equally devoid of probability and truth, and deſerves nothing
" but our contempt.

" *Reſolved*, That theſe reſolutions be publiſhed, and that our chairman do tranſmit a copy to each
" of the gentlemen who were delegated to the late general committee."

or

or eight months without control: unprejudiced men could not ſuppreſs their aſtoniſhment, that theſe enormities happened under the very eyes of ſome right honorable gentlemen of great weight and influence, and no exertions made to protect the peaceful ſubject, or to puniſh the lawleſs plunderer. Subſequent events have ſtrengthened the ſuſpicion, that ſome of thoſe gentlemen wiſhed to ſee things arrive at a degree of maturity in order to ſerve a moſt baſe purpoſe.

The diſturbances had now riſen to ſuch a height in certain parts of the county, that ſociety could no longer exiſt in ſuch a ſtate. A meeting was holden in Navan for the purpoſe of repreſſing them, and a ſecret committee was formed. Subſcriptions were entered into; and rewards offered for diſcovering and proſecuting to conviction the diſturbers of the public peace. Through theſe means this moſt nefarious gang of villains was broken; many of them, and chiefly their ringleaders, were taken and lodged in gaol, and the reſt fled the country. Of thoſe taken, ſome turned approvers; the Reverend Mr. Butler made ſo judicious an uſe of their and other informations, that peace and ſecurity were rapidly returning to the diſtracted inhabitants. This amiable gentleman was a magiſtrate, though not a native of the country; he was chaplain to the Biſhop of Meath, and a member of the ſecret committee; he was a man of a good and well cultivated underſtanding; benevolent and charitable; firm and undaunted in his purſuits; and his great efforts to reſtore the peace of the country, were moſt ſucceſsful and moſt generally applauded, becauſe they were well directed. His activity had effectually checked the ſpirit of defenderiſm in its progreſs weſtward: it ſcarcely appeared on the weſtern ſide of the Boyne and Blackwater. This check had been moſt opportunely given; for now other diſturbances aroſe in the neighbourhood of Athboy, which, if ſtrengthened by the aſſociation of defenders, would in all probability have been more permanent, more extenſive, and more deſtructive.

The injudicious and corrupt modes of carrying the militia act into execution, and the ſtrange miſconceptions entertained of it by the common people, gave riſe to theſe diſturbances. They had conceived, that they were to be duped as the Green Boys (or Green Linnets as they were called) in the American war by falſe promiſes; and they were confirmed in their falſe opinion by ſome Proteſtant gentlemen, who aſſured them, that notwithſtanding the profeſſions of government they were all to be ſent to Botany Bay; and that they might thank

thank their prieſts for it, who, in procuring their ſignatures to the declaration ſigned *Edward Byrne*, had abſolutely diſpoſed of them to government. To render the militia act more palatable, ſeveral inſurance offices were opened, in which, extravagant ſums were exacted from all, as well from thoſe who did not come under the act, as from thoſe who did. The ignorance of the country people afforded a full ſcope for impoſition. From thoſe cauſes the common people in the neighbourhood of Athboy roſe in tumult. For ſeveral days they overran the country to the number of ſeveral hundreds; they robbed all the gentlemen and peaceable inhabitants of their arms; ſwore them not to be inimical to their intereſt, and ſet all the forges to work in the fabrication of warlike weapons: but during all this time they diſclaimed the very name of defenders. For ſeveral days, the magiſtrates and other leading men of the country were perfectly inactive, one only excepted, who was not ſeconded: and on the rioters hearing that this gentleman had ſent for a military force, they aſſembled to the number of about a thouſand men, in the town of Athboy; forced many innocent and peaceable inhabitants into their ranks, and appointed a general. This ruffian billeting his men through the town for breakfaſt, and promiſing them better fare in the evening, ſoon marſhalled them in military array. Feeling themſelves in force, they talked of attacking property and of dividing the ſpoils of the country; and they awaited with impatience the approach of the military, whom they had already vanquiſhed in their wild imaginations. The military had been ſummoned from Kells, Navan, and Trim. A company of foot from Kells, with the magiſtrate already mentioned at their head, arrived long before the reſt; and without waiting to be reinforced, inſtantly marched up to the mob, and very imprudently cloſed with them, ſo that they were ſoon ſurrounded. Four or five of the mob, and two of the military fell on the occaſion. This engagement might be called a drawn battle; the military and the mob retreated at the ſame time, and the mob as eagerly diſperſed, as they had aſſembled in the morning; ſo that the cavalry, who arrived afterward, could only pick up ſome ſtragglers, whom they lodged in the county jail. Theſe wretches were condemned at the enſuing aſſizes to be confined for three years, and to be whipped; which latter part of their ſentence was executed with exemplary ſeverity. This popular phrenzy was conſumed by its ſudden violence: all ſymptoms of tumult or diſorder inſtantly ſubſided, and no part of the kingdom has been more peaceable ever ſince, than the neighbourhood of Athboy.

The

The Reverend Mr. Butler ſtill continued his exertions with unabating vigor. Not content with having effectually checked the progreſs of the defenders; he advanced upon them into thoſe parts, in which their chief ſtrength lay. He ſeized upon ſeveral perſons, againſt whom he had information in the baronies of Slane and Morgallion; and now the expiring cauſe of defenders was to be cloſed by a deſperate act. Mr. Butler, it is ſaid, was often threatened by the unprincipled miſcreants, to whom he was ſo obnoxious, ſometimes by anonymous letters, and at other times by verbal meſſages. He deſpiſed thoſe threats ſo far, as to go alone by night: he was way-laid, on the 25th of October, 1793; and about eight o'clock in the evening, within ſome perches of the back gate of Ardbraccan, the ſeat of the Biſhop of Meath, he was ſhot through the body from behind a hedge.

The indignation raiſed by this atrocious act ſoon rouſed a divided and inactive people. A meeting was called in Navan, to which the firſt men of rank, of fortune, and of conſequence in the county repaired. Amongſt them were the Earl of Bective, the Right Honorable Burton Conyngham, the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, and Doctor Maxwell, Biſhop of Meath, his brother in law. Subſcriptions were entered into to a very large amount; and a very conſiderable reward was offered for the conviction of the infamous wretches concerned in the murder of Mr. Butler: and in order to ſuppreſs or to prevent in future ſuch diſorders, as had, for ſome time paſt diſturbed the country, that part of the act, which paſſed the ſeſſion before in favor of Roman Catholics, pointing out the conditions under which Papiſts might poſſeſs, or carry arms, was recited; and a reward of four guineas was offered to the informer of every gun found in the poſſeſſion of any Papiſt not ſo qualified. As this meaſure was ſeemingly ſanctioned by law, it met with no oppoſition at the firſt meeting, even from the Roman Catholics who were preſent: but it was ſoon found to encreaſe rather than check the evil: the meaſure was eminently calculated to promote the intereſt of defenders, robbers, and thieves, to whom honeſt men became an immediate and certain prey from the moment they were diſarmed. At the ſecond meeting the Earl of Bective propoſed an alteration of this meaſure, but was violently oppoſed by Mr. Foſter the ſpeaker: he inſiſted upon the ſtrict execution of the law, and denounced vengeance againſt every magiſtrate, that ſhould be found ſlack in his duty. In purſuance of this injunction the military for ſome weeks were nightly called out, and headed by a conſtable, (not always ſober) paid

paid domiciliary viſits to the decent farmers in the neighbourhood after midnight, ſummoned them to deliver up their arms, and put their families in extreme terror. The outrageous attacks of the defenders were ſcarcely more formidable. This ſyſtem was at laſt found too violent to be continued.

Mr. Foſter openly profeſſed himſelf at all times an enemy to all Catholic indulgence, and was prominently active in his zeal againſt them. The Earl of Bective's natural mildneſs prevented him from oppoſing the new-born influence in the county of Meath, which Mr. Foſter aſſumed on this, for the firſt occaſion, from the overflowing of his zeal againſt Popery. One of the members of the ſub-committee was a Catholic, and this right honorable gentleman undertook to new model it by excluding from it every member that was not a magiſtrate. After theſe exertions at Navan, he went to Ardbraccan, and thence returned to Navan, of which he ſeemed to take a ſurvey. Strange rumours were immediately circulated, that the dark buſineſs of defenderiſm was traced to its ſource, and that the diſcovery would aſtoniſh the nation. On the next public market day, Mr. John Fay, a moſt reſpectable and amiable character of that town, was arreſted in the open ſtreet: bail was refuſed, and he was ignominiouſly hurried under a military eſcort to the county gaol. He was charged with having conſpired againſt the life of Mr. Butler. The town of Navan was chiefly inhabited by Catholics, and had lately been moſt groſsly traduced; it had been termed a ſink of iniquity, and the judges in their way from Trim to the county of Louth had been warned as they tendered their perſonal ſafety not to paſs through the town of Navan. The impriſonment of Mr. Fay gave riſe to ſerious apprehenſions on one part of a general proſcription of the Catholics, and on the other to the belief of a Popiſh conſpiracy to maſſacre all the Proteſtants. Thus were the feelings of the whole diſtrict made the ſport of the wicked, who were attempting to play the baſeſt game under theſe fictitious plots.

There evidently was a deep plot laid by perſons of political influence in the country to criminate Mr. Fay, and ſeveral other reſpectable perſons of his perſuaſion as aiders and abettors of treaſon, murder, and every outrage, that can diſturb ſociety and diſſolve civil government: the immediate object of which was to ſtigmatize the body of Roman Catholics. But juſtice providentially prevailed, and opened to view the baſe machinations and perjuries of the wretched informer Lynch, and other miſcreants, raked out of the neighbouring gaols, who had been hired and ſuborned to ſwear away the

lives of innocent and meritorious men.* The honorable acquittal of Mr. Fay, and the public expoſure of the attempts of the junto, to criminate by the like means, Mr. Dowdal of Clown, Mr. Bird of Drogheda, and ſome other Catholic gentlemen of the firſt commercial conſequence, upon whom the moſt ferocious ſeverity had been exerciſed whilſt under the control of the magiſtrates, caſt ſuch diſgrace and infamy upon the perpetrators of this dark conſpiracy, that for a time the Catholics were no longer moleſted† by this ſpecies of perſecution. The Catholics in theſe parts of the country moſt infeſted by the defenders, had from their numbers ſuffered more from thoſe depredators than the Proteſtants, and although it evidently were a plebeian league againſt property, yet it is to be remarked, that in every aſſize for the county of Meath ſince the defenders firſt appeared there, no Roman Catholic was admitted on juries on the crown ſide, although formerly thoſe juries had generally conſiſted of Catholics. The malice, prejudice, falſehood, and infamy, that appeared at the aſſizes at Trim upon the trial of Mr. Fay, were too rank for the moſt ſanguinary bigot. The judge was ſhocked: every honeſt man cried ſhame: the junto were confounded at the failure of their own ſchemes.‡

In

* A ſubſequent diſcovery providentially confirmed the innocence of Mr. Fay, Mr. Gibney, Mr. Byrne, and other reſpectable gentlemen, the intended victims of a moſt bigotted and malevolent junto. On the 9th of Auguſt, 1794, at Trim, the execution of Thomas Shieran, who at the laſt aſſizes was convicted of a robbery in that neighbourhood, was attended by ſome of the moſt reſpectable magiſtrates and gentlemen in the vicinity. The culprit a few moments before his being launched into eternity, declared with all the contrite ſolemnity becoming a dying penitent, that he and three men of the name of Lawleſs, all of whom lived contiguous to the Biſhop of Meath's demeſne, had concerted and conſpired the death of Mr. Butler; that they lay in wait for him ſome nights previous to the fatal one; that one of the Lawleſſes was the perſon who fired the ſhot, which killed Mr. B. and that no other perſon whatever was concerned in the plot. On a former day he voluntarily came forward, and made this diſcovery to one of the Biſhop of Meath's ſervants; after which he and the Lawleſſes were lodged in the ſame priſon, where it is feared an intercourſe with ſome dark villain occaſioned his afterwards denying his firſt atteſtation, and accuſing men innocent of the fact; this of courſe invalidated his evidence againſt the Lawleſſes, who were enlarged.

† The moſt active inſtrument in haraſſing and attempting by various arts and ſtratagems to criminate the Catholics of Navan, was a young relative of a man of conſequence in the county of Louth, who wantonly jeſted about his expeditions to Navan, by ſaying, that he had been *buck hunting*.

‡ Of theſe trials Mr. Curran thus ſpoke in a debate in the commons (17 P. D. p. 31.) "Of "the trials of Mr. Fay, and of the principal Catholic merchants of Drogheda, he ſaid he could ſpeak

"as

In order to counteract theſe attempts to calumniate and criminate the body of the Catholics by identifying the cauſes of Roman Catholics, united Iriſhmen, defenders, French levellers, and ſworn enemies to the conſtitution, the Catholic biſhops preſented an humble addreſs to his excellency on the 17th of December, 1793, to be tranſmitted to his majeſty, expreſſive of their unſhaken loyalty and grateful affection to his majeſty's perſon and government, which was moſt graciouſly received by his majeſty.* Similar efforts,

" as an eye witneſs, and he declared them to be ſcenes of more atrocity and horror than he had " ever ſeen exhibited in a court of juſtice; it was he ſaid, what the Catholics might have expected " when they found their avowed enemies continued in authority, and the malice of an implacable " government left to indemnify itſelf by vengeance what it had loſt by law."

" * The humble Addreſs of the Prelates of the Roman Catholic Communion in Ireland to the " King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

" MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

" WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects the underſigned, for our- " ſelves, and on behalf of the other prelates of the Roman Catholic Communion in Ireland, im- " preſſed with the lively ſentiments of inviolable attachment to your majeſty's ſacred perſon and " government, which, we truſt, will ever diſtinguiſh thoſe of our order in this kingdom, are happy " on this occaſion, the earlieſt that has offered, of humbly adding the tribute of our acknowledg- " ments to the general voice of a grateful people.

" The recollection of our paſt, and the contemplation of our preſent condition, will beſt illuſ- " trate the character of a patriot king, impartially attending to the wants and deſerts of his people. " Under your majeſty's auſpicious reign, and particularly through your late paternal recommenda- " tion to parliament, heavy penalties to which we were ſubject, have been removed. We were " patient under diſabilities; we are thankful for the happy change. Miniſters of a goſpel, which " enjoins meekneſs in adverſity, and ſubmiſſion to thoſe who are conſtituted in authority over us, " we have not at any time omitted to inculcate the leſſon of obedience and loyalty. The favors we " have received add private feeling to public obligation; we ſhall continue with unremitting zeal " to diſcharge that indiſpenſable duty.

" We have never ceaſed to admire the many eminent virtues, which adorn your royal character, " and attract the applauſe of every lover of morality; a brilliant example in your elevated rank, " and in an age too prone to neglect the impulſe of truth, and the ſacred injunctions of religion.

" Whilſt we lament the neceſſity that inflicts the calamities of war upon any, even the moſt " depraved of our fellow-creatures, we inceſſantly ſupplicate the Almighty Diſpoſer of events, " that, bleſſing your majeſty's arms with ſucceſs, he may crown you with the glory of ſtopping " the progreſs of that atheiſtical faction, which aims at the ſubverſion of every religious and moral " principle.

" We look towards that unhappy nation, which is the object of hoſtility, and acknowledge with " humble thankſgiving the goodneſs of Divine Providence, which, under the beſt of conſtitutions,

forts, prejudicial to the body of the Catholics, were about the ſame time attempted in different parts of the kingdom; but neither ſo openly, nor ſo virulently,

" has beſtowed on the land we live in, freedom exempt from anarchy, protection guarded againſt " oppreſſion, and a prince calculated by his wiſdom and virtue to preſerve that happy condition " of ſociety.

" If, Sire, in our peculiar ſituation we preſume to approach your majeſty, it is, but that we " may bleſs that royal goodneſs, to which we are ſo deeply indebted. May the God of truth and " harmony, to whom your pious endeavours to unite your ſubjects cannot fail to be acceptable, " cement and ſtrengthen their union. May he grant to your majeſty long to reign over a people, " whoſe happineſs you have effectually laboured to promote. May your wiſdom long continue to " give energy to the counſels, your benevolence to form the character of the kingdoms committed " to your charge, and may your deſcendants, to the lateſt poſterity, filling the throne of theſe " realms, poſſeſs, like your majeſty, the affections and approbation of their ſubjects.

" JOHN THOMAS TROY, Roman Catholic Archbiſhop of Dublin.
" RICHARD O'REILLY, Roman Catholic Archbiſhop of Armagh.
" THOMAS BRAY, Roman Catholic Archbiſhop of Caſhel.
" BOS. EAGAN, Roman Catholic Archbiſhop of Tuam.
" FRANCIS MOYLAN, Roman Catholic Biſhop of Cork.
" P. J. PLUNKETT, Roman Catholic Biſhop of Meath.
" JAMES CAULFIELD, Roman Catholic Biſhop of Ferns.
" DOMINICK BELLEW, Roman Catholic Biſhop of Killala.
" GERALD TEAHAN, Roman Catholic Biſhop of Kerry."

" To his Excellency JOHN Earl of WESTMORLAND, Lord Lieutenant General, and Governor Ge-
" neral of Ireland.

" The humble Addreſs of the Prelates of the Roman Catholic Communion in Ireland.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

" WE the underſigned, for ourſelves, and on behalf of the other prelates of " the Roman Catholic Communion in Ireland, laying at the foot of the throne the ſolemn aſſurance " of thoſe ſentiments of allegiance and gratitude, which are cheriſhed in the breaſt of every indivi- " dual of our order, beg leave to expreſs our feelings to your excellency, by whom our gracious " ſovereign is repreſented with ſo much honor to yourſelf, and advantage to this kingdom.

" We have ſubmitted patiently to the reſtrictions, which the legiſlature thought it expedient to " impoſe, and we do now moſt thankfully receive the relaxation of theſe laws, the boon of a more " enlightened age, and a milder temper. With emotions of the moſt lively gratitude we acknow- " ledge the wiſdom and benignity of your excellency's adminiſtration, by which, under Divine " Providence, ſuch favorable diſpoſitions have been promoted in our Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects.

" We have obſerved, with deep regret, that your excellency's government, although conci- " ciliatory and conceding, has not been entirely exempt from ſome outrages of the miſguided and " unreflecting poor, deviating equally from the dictates of law, reaſon, and of religion. The " Roman Catholic clergy have never ceaſed, though ſometimes with great hazard to themſelves,

" to

virulently, as at Navan and Drogheda. As the whole combination of that party in parliament, which had monopolized the political power of the country, was inadequate to reſiſt the forcible recommendation of a benign ſovereign to unchain three millions of his loyal ſubjects, ſo did their maſked batteries fail out of parliament, from which they played upon the credulous bigotry and antiquated prejudices of the unenlightened or ſelf-intereſted part of the community. Individually, the aſperities of religious rancour were

" to repreſent the wickedneſs of tumult, to explain the advantages, which every rank derives " from ſubordination, and to exhort their flocks to practiſe that obedience to eſtabliſhed authority, " which our religion ordains, and which is indiſpenſable to the exiſtence of ſociety. Bound by " feeling and inclination, as well as by a more ſacred duty, we ſhall ever continue to inſtill into " thoſe committed to our care every ſentiment of loyalty and affection to our good king, every " principle of ſubmiſſion to the laws, and of veneration for that happy conſtitution, which has " produced ſo much good to theſe realms, and of which the benefits have been of late ſo liberally " imparted to the Roman Catholics of this kingdom.

" And we earneſtly beſeech Almighty God, to bleſs your excellency, and prolong your days, " that you may live to ſee that land flouriſh, in which the ſeeds of proſperity have been ſown " under your auſpices.

" We humbly requeſt, that your excellency will be pleaſed to tranſmit our dutiful addreſs to our " moſt gracious ſovereign."

HIS EXCELLENCY's ANSWER.

" I RETURN you my ſincere thanks for this dutiful addreſs. Your declara- " tions of loyalty and gratitude are highly becoming and honourable; and your determination to " inſtil into the perſons committed to your ſpiritual care, the principles of duty to the king, of ſub- " miſſion to the laws, and veneration of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution, prove your attention to their " welfare and happineſs.

" I will immediately tranſmit your dutiful and loyal addreſs to be laid before his majeſty."

*Dublin Caſtle, 13th January, 1794.*

" SIR,

" I HAVE the honor to acquaint you, by command of the lord lieutenant, " that his excellency has received a letter from the Right Honorable Henry Dundas, one of his " majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, dated the 8th inſtant, ſignifying, that he had laid before " the king the addreſs to his majeſty from the prelates of the Roman Catholic Communion in Ire- " land, expreſſing their inviolable attachment to his majeſty's perſon and government, and that " his majeſty was pleaſed to receive the ſame in the moſt gracious manner.

" I have the honor to be, Sir,

" Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

" S. HAMILTON.

" *Rev. Dr. Troy.*"

daily

daily wearing out: though it be to be lamented, that a certain party, which very ſoon after this time ſhewed itſelf openly under the appellation of *Orangemen*, was prominently active in renovating and extending the flame of religious feuds, diſcord, and animoſity. The ſpirit and end of which combinations emphatically counteracted that union of affection and intereſt, ſo ſtrongly recommended to the people by the parental tenderneſs of their ſovereign. Since the paſſing of the act of the laſt ſeſſion, the Catholics began to feel themſelves admitted into the boſom of their country, and to buſy themſelves about forming ſettlements in it, as if they no longer looked to foreign aid or protection for the benefits of improving their minds or morals. Their prelates on the 14th of February, 1794, preſented a very impreſſive memorial to the Earl of Weſtmorland, to obtain his majeſty's licence to found and endow ſeminaries for the education of their clergy within their own native kingdom.*

The

" * To his Excellency JOHN Earl of WESTMORLAND, Lord Lieutenant General, and General
" Governor of Ireland.

" The humble Memorial of the Prelates of the Roman Catholic Communion in Ireland.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

" YOUR memorialiſts beg leave, with the greateſt deference, to repreſent to
" your excellency,

" That a great number of his majeſty's ſubjects in this kingdom are attached to the Roman Ca-
" lic religion, inſomuch that they have ſubmitted to legal penalties, rather than abandon it.

" That the duties of morality have been taught, and religious rites adminiſtered, in the manner
" moſt acceptable to this portion of his majeſty's ſubjects, by a body of clergymen educated ac-
" cording to the diſcipline of the Roman Catholic church. The conduct of theſe clergymen has
" never ſuffered the reproach of diſaffection or irregularity; on the contrary, they have been com-
" plimented, on many occaſions, for aſſiduouſly inſtructing their reſpective flocks in the ſacred
" precepts of Chriſtianity, and for inculcating obedience to the laws, and veneration for his ma-
" jeſty's royal perſon and government. Memorialiſts humbly apprehend, that the labors of a body
" of men thus occupied are uſeful to the ſtate, and that conſiderable detriment would enſue to
" the cauſe of religion, and to that of good order, which is connected with it, if the public were
" to be deprived of their ſervices.

" Under the laws which formerly exiſted, your excellency's memorialiſts were obliged to reſort
" to foreign countries for education, particularly to the kingdom of France, where they had pro-
" cured many valuable eſtabliſhments: four hundred perſons were conſtantly maintained and
" educated therein, for the miniſtry of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland. In the anarchy
" which at preſent afflicts that kingdom, theſe eſtabliſhments have been neceſſarily deſtroyed;
" and, even although lawful authority ſhould be reſtored, memorialiſts conceive the loſs to be ir-
" reparable;

The confidence and boldneſs, with which the popular ſocieties had lately expreſſed their political ſentiments had become very obnoxious to government,

" reparable; for the revenues would not eaſily be recovered; and as the profligate principles of " rebellion and atheiſm, propagated by the faction, which now rules that kingdom, may not be " ſpeedily effaced, they would expoſe their youth to the contagion of ſedition and infidelity, and their " country to the danger of thus introducing the pernicious maxims of a licentious philoſophy. Me- " morialiſts therefore are apprehenſive, that it may be found difficult to ſupply the miniſtry of the " Roman Catholic church in Ireland with proper clergymen, unleſs ſeminaries, ſchools, or acade- " mies be inſtituted, for educating the youth deſtined to receive holy orders according to the diſci- " pline of their own church, and under eccleſiaſtical ſuperiors of their own communion; and they " beg leave further to repreſent, with all due reſpect and deference to your excellency's wiſdom, " that ſaid inſtitution would prove of advantage to the nation at large, and be a matter of great in- " dulgence to his majeſty's ſubjects profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland.

" Whilſt ſentiments unfavourable to the members of their communion prevailed, your excel- " lency's memorialiſts were diſcouraged from ſeeking the means of education in their native coun- " try; but conceiving that the demeanor of the Roman Catholics has removed ſuch ill opinion, " they humbly hope, that the moral inſtruction of a people who have been legally authorized to " acquire landed property in this kingdom, and upon whom many other valuable privileges have " been conferred under your excellency's adminiſtration and auſpices, may appear to his majeſty's " miniſters a ſubject not unworthy of his royal conſideration and bounty. Your excellency's me- " morialiſts are confirmed in this hope, by the opinion often and publicly expreſſed by reſpectable " individuals of their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, that it would conduce to the public good to edu- " cate the Iriſh eccleſiaſtics of the Roman Catholic religion within his majeſty's dominions.

" Your excellency's memorialiſts alſo beg leave humbly to repreſent, that although the mode " of education practiſed in the univerſity of Dublin, may be well adapted to form men for the " various departments of public buſineſs, yet it is not alike applicable to the eccleſiaſtics of a very " ritual religion, and by no means calculated to impreſs upon the mind thoſe habits of auſtere diſ- " cipline, ſo indiſpenſable in the character of a Roman Catholic clergyman, that without them he " might become a very dangerous member of ſociety.

" That a diſtinct place of education is alſo neceſſary, becauſe the regulations of the Roman Ca- " tholic church enjoin, that candidates for holy orders ſhall be proficients in certain branches of " learning, which are not included in the exerciſes of the univerſity of Dublin.

" That even where the Roman Catholic is the eſtabliſhed religion, candidates for holy orders " are obliged to receive the moſt important part of their education in ſeminaries, diſtinct from the " public univerſities.

" That many perſons, who deſtine themſelves to the miniſtry of the Roman Catholic religion in " Ireland, are not ſufficiently opulent to bear the expence of education in the univerſity of Dub- " lin, and of conſtant reſidence in the metropolis; it is therefore the more neceſſary to provide " literary inſtruction for them on more eaſy conditions; and although the liberality of the preſent " heads of the univerſity might induce them to receive perſons on the foundation, yet neither

" could

ment, and in order to check the pruriency of civil liberty, which now was conſidered as a mere cloak for ſedition or treaſon, the attorney-general was directed to file an information *ex officio* againſt Mr. A. Hamilton Rowan for diſtributing *a ſeditious libel with the intent and deſign of exciting and diffuſing

" could a ſufficient number be thus accommodated, nor would it prove grateful to the feelings of " the parties; and many other inconveniencies might ariſe, if young men ſhould obſerve great " temporal advantages conferred upon their fellow ſtudents, whilſt they were reſtricted to the hum- " ble walk of a ſubordinate miniſtry.

" From theſe conſiderations, and conceiving that piety, learning, and ſubordination would be " thereby eſſentially promoted, your excellency's memorialiſts are induced to undertake the eſta- " bliſhment of proper places for the education of the clerical youth of their communion. Being " adviſed by counſel, that his majeſty's royal licence is neceſſary, in order legally to ſecure the " funds which they may appropriate for that purpoſe, they humbly beg leave to ſolicit your excel- " lency's recommendation to our moſt gracious ſovereign, that he will be pleaſed to grant his royal " licence for the endowment of academies or ſeminaries, for educating and preparing young per- " ſons to diſcharge the duties of Roman Catholic clergymen in this kingdom, under eccleſiaſtical " ſuperiors of their own communion.

" JOHN THOMAS TROY, Roman Catholic Archbiſhop of Dublin,

*January* 14, 1794. " For myſelf, and on Behalf of the Prelates of the Roman " Catholic communion in Ireland."

* The libel laid in the information, was to the following effect:

" The Society of United Iriſhmen at Dublin to the Volunteers of Ireland.

" William Drennan, Chairman.

" Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Secretary.

" CITIZEN ſoldiers, you firſt took up arms to protect your country from foreign enemies and " from domeſtic diſturbance; for the ſame purpoſes it now becomes neceſſary, that you ſhould re- " ſume them; a proclamation has been iſſued in England for embodying the militia, and a procla- " mation has been iſſued by the lord lieutenant and council in Ireland for repreſſing all ſeditious " aſſociations; in conſequence of both theſe proclamations, it is reaſonable to apprehend danger " from abroad and danger at home, from whence but from apprehended danger are theſe me- " nacing preparations for war drawn through the ſtreets of this capital, or whence if not to create " that internal commotion which was not found, to ſhake that credit which was not affected, to " blaſt that volunteer honour which was hitherto inviolate, are thoſe terrible ſuggeſtions and ru- " mours and whiſpers that meet us at every corner, and agitate at leaſt our old men, our women, " and children; whatever be the motive, or from whatever quarter it ariſes, alarm has ariſen, and " you volunteers of Ireland are therefore ſummoned to arms at the inſtance of government as well " as by the reſponſibility attached to your character, and the permanent obligations of your conſti- " tution. We will not at this day condeſcend to quote authorities for the right of having and of " uſing arms, but we will cry aloud, even amidſt the ſtorm raiſed by the witchcraft of a proclama- " tion, that to your formation was owing the peace and protection of this iſland, to your relaxa-

" tion

diffuſing amongſt the ſubjects of that realm diſcontent, jealouſies, and ſuſpicions of his majeſty, and diſaffection and diſloyalty to his perſon and government,

" tion has been owing its relapſe into impotence and inſignificance, to your renovation muſt be " owing its future freedom and its preſent tranquillity: you are therefore ſummoned to arms, in " order to preſerve your country in that guarded quiet, which may ſecure it from external hoſtility, " and to maintain that internal regimen throughout the land, which, ſuperſeding a notorious po- " lice, or a ſuſpected militia, may preſerve the bleſſings of peace by a vigilant preparation for war.

" Citizen ſoldiers, to arms, take up the ſhield of freedom and the pledges of peace—peace; " the motive and end of your virtuous inſtitution: war, an occaſional duty, ought never to be " made an occupation; every man ſhould become a ſoldier in the defence of his rights; no man " ought to continue a ſoldier for offending the rights of others; the ſacrifice of life in the ſervice " of our country is a duty much too honourable to be intruſted to mercenaries; and at this time, " when your country has, by public authority, been declared in danger, we conjure you by your " intereſt, your duty, and your glory, to ſtand to your arms, and in ſpite of a police, in ſpite of a " fencible militia, in virtue of two proclamations, to maintain good order in your vicinage, and " tranquillity in Ireland; it is only by the military array of men in whom they confide, whom " they have been accuſtomed to revere as the guardians of domeſtic peace, the protectors of their " liberties and lives, that the preſent agitation of the people can be ſtilled, that tumult and licen- " tiouſneſs can be repreſſed, obedience ſecured to exiſting law, and a calm confidence diffuſed " through the public mind in the ſpeedy reſurrection of a free conſtitution, of liberty and of " equality, words which we uſe for an opportunity of repelling calumny, and of ſaying, that by " liberty we never underſtood unlimited freedom, nor by equality the levelling of property, or the " deſtruction of ſubordination: this is a calumny invented by that faction, or that gang, which " miſrepreſents the king to the people, and the people to the king, traduces one half of the na- " tion to cajole the other, and by keeping up diſtruſt and diviſion wiſhes to continue the proud " arbitrators of the fortune and fate of Ireland; liberty is the exerciſe of all our rights, natural " and political, ſecured to us and our poſterity by a real repreſentation of the people; and equality " is the extenſion of the conſtituent to the fulleſt dimenſions of the conſtitution, of the elective " franchiſe to the whole body of the people, to the end, that government, which is collective power, " may be guided by collective will, and that legiſlation may originate from public reaſon, keep " pace with public improvement, and terminate in public happineſs. If our conſtitution be im- " perfect, nothing but a reform in repreſentation will rectify its abuſes; if it be perfect, nothing " but the ſame reform will perpetuate its bleſſings. We now addreſs you as citizens, for to be " citizens you become ſoldiers; nor can we help wiſhing, that all ſoldiers partaking the paſſions " and intereſt of the people would remember, that they were once citizens, that ſeduction made " them ſoldiers, but nature made them men. We addreſs you without any authority, ſave that of " reaſon; and if we obtain the coincidence of public opinion, it is neither by force nor ſtratagem, " for we have no power to terrify, no artifice to cajole, no fund to ſeduce; here we ſit without " mace or beadle, neither a myſtery nor a craft, nor a corporation; in four words lies all our " power—univerſal emancipation and repreſentative legiſlature; yet we are confident, that on the

vernment, and raiſing dangerous ſeditions and tumults within the kingdom of Ireland. To this information Mr. Rowan appeared by his attorney, and

" pivot of this principle, a convention, ſtill leſs—a ſociety, ſtill leſs—a ſingle man, will be able firſt " to move, and then to raiſe the world: we therefore wiſh for Catholic emancipation without any " modification, but ſtill we conſider this neceſſary enfranchiſement as merely the portal to the tem- " ple of national freedom; wide as this entrance is, wide enough to admit three millions, it is " narrow when compared to the capacity and comprehenſion of our beloved principle, which " takes in every individual of the Iriſh nation, caſts an equal eye over the whole iſland, embraces " all that think, and feels for all that ſuffer: the Catholic cauſe is ſubordinate to our cauſe, and " included in it; for, as united Iriſhmen, we adhere to no ſect, but to ſociety; to no cauſe, but " Chriſtianity; to no party, but the whole people. In the ſincerity of our ſouls do we deſire " Catholic emancipation; but were it obtained to-morrow, to morrow would we go on as we do " to-day, in the purſuit of that reform, which would ſtill be wanting to ratify their liberties as well " as our own. For both theſe purpoſes it appears neceſſary, that provincial conventions ſhould " aſſemble preparatory to the convention of the Proteſtant people; the delegates of the Catholic " body are not juſtified in communicating with individuals, or even bodies of inferior authority, " and therefore an aſſembly of a ſimilar nature and organiſation is neceſſary to eſtabliſh an inter- " courſe of ſentiments, an uniformity of conduct, an united cauſe, and an united nation; if a con- " vention on the one part does not ſoon follow, and is not ſoon connected with that on the other, " the common cauſe will ſplit into the partial intereſt, the people will relapſe into inattention " and inertneſs, the union of affection and exertion will diſſolve, and too probably ſome local " inſurrections, inſtigated by the malignity of our common enemy, may commit the character and " riſque the tranquillity of the iſland, which can be obviated only by the influence of an aſſembly " ariſing from, aſſimilated with the people, and whoſe ſpirit may be, as it were, knit with the ſoul " of the nation, unleſs the ſenſe of the Proteſtant people be on their part as fairly collected, " and as judiciouſly directed, unleſs individual exertion conſolidates into collective ſtrength, unleſs " the parts unite into one maſs; we may perhaps ſerve ſome perſon or ſome party for a little, but " the public not at all; the nation is neither inſolent, nor rebellious, nor ſeditious; while it knows " its rights, it is unwilling to manifeſt its powers; it would rather ſupplicate adminiſtration to " anticipate revolution by well-timed reform, and to ſave their country in mercy to themſelves. " The fifteenth of February approaches, a day ever memorable in the annals of this country as the " birth-day of new Ireland; let parochial meetings be held as ſoon as poſſible, let each pariſh re- " turn delegates, let the ſenſe of Ulſter be again declared from Dungannon on a day auſpicious to " union, peace and freedom, and the ſpirit of the North will again become the ſpirit of the nation. " The civil aſſembly ought to claim the attendance of the military aſſociations, and we have addreſſed " you, citizen ſoldiers, on this ſubject, from the belief, that your body uniting conviction with " zeal, and zeal with activity, may have much influence over your countrymen, your relations " and friends. We offer only a general outline to the public, and meaning to addreſs Ireland, " preſume not at preſent to fill up the plan, or pre-occupy the mode of its execution; we have " thought it our duty to ſpeak—anſwer us by actions; you have taken time for conſideration; " fourteen long years are elapſed ſince the riſe of your aſſociations; and in 1782 did you imagine, " that in 1792 this nation would ſtill remain unrepreſented? How many nations, in this interval, " have gotten the ſtart of Ireland? How many of your countrymen have ſunk into the grave?"

pleaded

pleaded the general iſſue. The trial came on the 29th of January, 1794, though the information had been filed as far back as the 8th of the preceding June. Upon calling over the jury one of them was objected againſt, as holding a place under the crown, but the attorney general inſiſted upon the illegality of the objection, and obſerved, that it went againſt all that was honorable and reſpectable in the land. It was therefore over-ruled by the court. After a trial of about ten hours, the jury found him guilty. This was very unexpected by Mr. Rowan's party. A motion was afterwards made in court to ſet aſide the verdict, and grant a new trial grounded on ſeveral affidavits. The motion was argued for ſix days, and was at laſt diſcharged. The grounds, upon which the defendant's counſel reſted their caſe, were 1. Upon the declaration of a juror againſt Mr. Rowan, viz. that the country would never be quiet till he was hanged or baniſhed. 2. Upon the partiality of Mr. Giffard, the ſheriff, who had ſo arrayed the pannel as to have him tried by an unfair jury. 3. Upon the incredibility of one Liſter, the chief and only witneſs againſt him: and 4. The miſdirection of the court. The ſentence of the court upon Mr. Rowan was to pay to his majeſty a fine of 500*l.* and be impriſoned two years, to be computed from the 29th of January, 1794, and until the fine were paid, and to find ſecurity for his good behaviour for ſeven years, himſelf in 2000*l.* and two ſureties in 1000*l.* each. The verdict and judgment of the court gave great diſſatisfaction to the popular party. Their diſapprobation of the verdict was expreſſed in court by the moſt indecent groans and hiſſes.

On the 21ſt of January, 1794, the parliament was convened, and the lord lieutenant in his ſpeech from the throne expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction, that by the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms, and thoſe of his allies, the hopes of France, in their unprovoked declaration of war, to impair the ſtability or ſhake the conſtitution of Great Britain and Ireland, had been utterly diſappointed.*

So

* "The forces of his majeſty, and his allies, were in poſſeſſion of many important fortreſſes, "which had belonged to the French, and many of their oppreſſive and unjuſt conqueſts had been "wreſted from them; and while the trade of the empire had been generally protected, the re- "ſources which their enemies derived from their wealthy ſettlements and extenſive commerce had "been almoſt entirely cut off. He had the further ſatisfaction to acquaint them, that the ſpirit of "inſurrection, which had been for ſome time prevalent among the lower orders of the people, was "in general ſuppreſſed, and no exertion ſhould be wanting on his part to bring them to a due ſenſe

So much had been done in the late buſy ſeſſion, that one ſingle point only was debated in the preſent. On the 4th of March, Mr. W. Brabazon Ponſonby preſented his promiſed bill,* for amending and improving the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament. The bill, which towards the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſions had been preſented by his right honorable relative in his abſence, had been received in ſuch a manner as induced him to hope, that its principle met the approbation of the houſe. He knew not whether the country or the houſe had changed their opinion on the ſubject, for himſelf he certainly had not changed his opinion. One capital objection, which then exiſted againſt the meaſure, was now done away. The country was then in a ſtate of diſturbance, it was now in perfect tranquillity.

Having moved, that the bill ſhould be read a ſecond time on the morrow, Sir Hercules Langriſhe, who had always been a determined enemy to every thing in the ſhape of reform, oppoſed it in a vehement harangue upon the fatal warning of France. It was impoſſible they ſhould for a moment, under the exiſting circumſtances, engage themſelves in problematical experiments,

" of order and ſubordination, and to prevent and puniſh the machinations of thoſe, who might aim " to ſeduce them from their accuſtomed loyalty into acts of ſedition and outrage.

" The law for rendering a militia in that kingdom effectual had been carried ſucceſsfully into " execution; and he was happy to find, that the people were at length fully reconciled to that " inſtitution, which had already been attended by the moſt beneficial conſequences, in producing " internal tranquillity, and contributing to the general ſtrength and force of the empire. He alſo " had it in command to acquaint them, that his majeſty had appointed a commiſſion, under the " great ſeal, to execute the office of lord high treaſurer of that kingdom, in order that the payment " of the civil liſt granted to his majeſty, and a regular appropriation of the revenue to diſtinct ſer- " vices, might be carried into execution in a manner as conformable to the practice of Great Bri- " tain, as the relative ſituation of this kingdom would permit.

" His majeſty had the fulleſt reliance upon the loyalty and attachment of his people of Ireland: " they were now, by the unjuſt aggreſſion of France, involved in a conteſt for their religion, for " their conſtitution, and for the preſervation of every principle which upheld ſocial order, or gave " ſecurity to their perſons or properties. In ſuch a cauſe, his majeſty had no doubt of being cor- " dially ſupported by the efforts of all his ſubjects, in reſiſting the deſperate deſigns of men, who " were endeavouring to erect their own power and dominion on the ruins of law and order, and to " involve every government of Europe in a general ſcene of confuſion and anarchy.

" His majeſty's object was peace, and he would exert himſelf, in conjunction with his allies, " whenever an occaſion ſhould preſent itſelf, for obtaining that deſirable end, without ſurrendering " the honor of his crown, or ſacrificing the preſent or future ſecurity of his people and the reſt of " Europe."

* The form of this bill is to to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. XCVII.

on a conſtitution, which they knew was competent to all the ends of civil liberty and progreſſive happineſs: that they ſhould turn the minds of the people from the duties of a critical ſituation: that they ſhould, as it were, tamper with turbulence, and favor diſquiſitions, which would make the people politicians inſtead of huſbandmen, and agitators inſtead of defenders of their country: the objections to the bill itſelf, though great and numerous, were loſt in the predominant objection to their agitating the queſtion at all at that time. It was incompetent to the end propoſed, and would be utterly unſatisfactory to the people it profeſſed to gratify; it did not improve or extend the baſis of repreſentation, it rendered the repreſentation of the people ſtill more unequal; and on the whole it was a transfer of power, and not a reform in parliament. The Houſe of Commons, conſtituted and compoſed as it was, had for ſeveral years paſt been engaged in the uniform practice, ſeſſion after ſeſſion, of adding ſome new protection to conſtitutional liberty, ſome new advancement to the proſperity of the country; and that to hazard ſuch a condition of progreſſive happineſs in the lottery of experiment or adventure, would at all times be raſhneſs, and at that time infatuation. Under ſuch impreſſions, he wiſhed to put an end to the diſcuſſion, moved, "That "the bill be read a ſecond time on the 1ſt of Auguſt."

Mr. Grattan obſerved, that if France were to be a leſſon, they ſhould take the whole of that leſſon; if her frantic convention be a monitreſs againſt the vices of a republic, let the cauſes which produced that convention be an admonition againſt the abuſes of monarchy. France would reform nothing until abuſes accumulated, and government was ſwept away in a deluge, until an armed force redreſſed the ſtate, and then, as will be generally the caſe, united on becoming the government. It was not a progreſs from reformation to innovation, but from one modification of a military government, that is, of one anarchy to another; in principle, therefore, the caſe of France did not apply, in policy ſtill leſs; for if there were an attempt to introduce the rebellious graces of a republic into theſe countries, the beſt precaution was to diſcountenance them by the ſober attractions of a limited monarchy, and the worſt precaution was to preſerve all the abuſes of the latter, to pre-engage men againſt the vices of the former.

Several other gentlemen ſpoke largely and warmly upon the ſubject. Sir Lawrence Parſons was violent for the bill; he would not give a ſilent vote, though he very pertinently obſerved, that whatever might be ſaid that night upon

upon the ſubject, would not make the people leſs deſirous to obtain a reform on one ſide, or the majority of that houſe more willing to adopt it on the other.* About midnight they divided upon Sir Hercules Langriſhe's motion for reading the bill on the 2d of Auguſt, when there appeared for it 142, againſt it 44. Thus ended the cauſe of parliamentary reform.

The 25th of March put an end to this jejune ſeſſion of parliament. His excellency's ſpeech to both houſes was expreſſive of the cordial pleaſure his majeſty felt in the loyalty of his people of Ireland, and the affectionate determination they had always ſhewn to ſtand or fall with Great Britain. In the conteſt, in which they were engaged, by the unprovoked aggreſſion of France, meaſures of the moſt vigorous nature continued to be requiſite, and his majeſty would perſevere in his exertions, in conjunction with his allies, againſt the common enemy.

He applauded their wiſdom in paſſing an act for preſerving the property within that kingdom of perſons reſident in France from becoming the plunder of thoſe who had uſurped the government of that unhappy country. It was particularly their duty to ſupport the ſecurity of private property, and to maintain the principles of juſtice, when doctrines had been advanced, and attempts endeavoured to be carried into execution for the deſtruction of both.

He was ſorry to inform them, that in ſome parts of the county of Cork, the people, deluded by the artifices of wicked and deſigning men, had aſſembled in numerous bodies, and had compelled many to take unlawful oaths. The timely exertions of the magiſtrates, aided by the ſpirited conduct of his majeſty's regular militia forces, had nearly ſuppreſſed thoſe diſturbances. No attention ſhould be wanting on his part to the protection of the peaceable and induſtrious, and to the puniſhment of offenders againſt the law, and eſpecially of thoſe, who had inſtigated the ignorant to the commiſſion of ſuch dangerous crimes.

In the warmth of party it has too frequently been a practice to attempt to identify their political opponents with the moſt degraded and wicked of the community; this practice is malevolent and miſchievous in the extreme. It then was and unfortunately ſince has been the ſtudy of a certain deſcription of perſons in Ireland, and ſome of no mean pretenſions, to connect the

* 14 Parl. Deb. p. 100.

views

views, ſpirit and principles of the minority in parliament and the Whig club with the ſocieties of United Iriſhmen, and other ſuch popular inſtitutions. A notable inſtance of their radical difference occurred in the courſe of this ſeſſion. The ſociety of United Iriſhmen of Dublin had amongſt other publications upon the ſubject of parliamentary reform ſtrongly inculcated the neceſſity of annual parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage; which Mr. Grattan, in his ſpeech upon Mr. Ponſonby's bill, moſt ſeverely reprobated* and expoſed to deriſion and ſcorn.

It

* 14 Parl. Deb. p. 80. "Worſe even than the abuſes ſo defended is a plan I have ſeen for their "reformation—perſonal or individual repreſentation.

"The principle of ſuch a plan is a complete, avowed, and unqualified departure from the vital "and fundamental article of the Britiſh conſtitution, in practice and in theory; and I muſt ſay, "ſuch an outſet requires no ſmall degree of miſchievous and ſenſeleſs temerity. With equal folly "does this plan violate the deareſt rights of man, for if there be one right of man intirely indiſputa-"ble, it is that which gives to the individual in particular, and the community in general, the "fruits of his and their induſtry; thus the paſſenger through your field, or the labourer on "your farm, has no right to make rules for the management of the ſame, nor have the aggregate "of labourers or of non-proprietors a right to make rules or ordinances for the land, farms, or "trade of the community.

"This reaſoning applies very ſtrongly to the caſe of Ireland, becauſe it appeared on the hearth-"money ſurvey of the laſt year, that thoſe who were to be exempted from the hearth-money for "want of property were more than half of our inhabitants. It was beſides inſiſted on by the "objectors to reform on the principle of property, that ſuch a principle excluded the majority; "it follows, that the plan, which gives votes to all the inhabitants, and gives away to that majority "the fruits of the induſtry of the community, gives away the eſtate of the landholder, the farm "of the freeholder, the leaſe of the leaſeholder, and the trade of the citizen, to be ordered and "diſpoſed of by a majority, who are confeſſed to have neither eſtate, nor farm, nor leaſe, nor "trade. That is the plan that robs the individual and the community of the fruits of their induſ-"try, and deſtroys the repreſentation of property. Under the pretence of eſtabliſhing a repreſent-"ation of exiſtence, it deſtroys a principle which is real and ſacred, to eſtabliſh a concert which is "affected and nonſenſical.

"But it is not merely to thoſe who have neither farm, freehold, nor trade, that this plan extends "the right of voting,—it gives the return of members to ſerve in parliament to all the common "ſoldiers, to the reſident army, horſe, foot and dragoons—to the police—to the ſcavenger. It "goes farther, it gives that right to all hoſpitals—to almſmen—to Channel row—and every beg-"gar-man in the kingdom of Ireland. It goes farther, it gives that right to every criminal—"white boys that break laws, and defenders who ſteal arms; and would thus preſent you with "a repreſentation of felony as well as of paupers. To ſuch a monſtrous conſtitution, whoſe "frenzy, folly, and wickedneſs, muſt excite at once your ſcorn and horror, the objection is not

"merely

It appears from an addreſs of this ſociety to the people of Ireland, which was publiſhed as widely as poſſible, what their avowed ſentiments were of the gentlemen

" merely that ſuch perſons would be repreſented, but the perſons who have no property in land, " leaſe, freehold, or trade, being confeſſedly the majority, it follows under ſuch a plan that ſuch " perſons alone would be repreſented, and that the landholder, leaſeholder, farmer and tradeſman, " confeſſedly the minority with their one vote only, this plan allows them no more, would not be " repreſented at all; it follows, that thoſe who have nothing in land, leaſe, farm, or trade, would " return the parliament; that is, thoſe who had nothing in the common ſtock would make the " laws, and the men who receive alms would vote the taxes. You held the Catholic to be a ſlave " when his property was taxed without his conſent by the Proteſtant; the plan of perſonal repre- " ſentation does away the franchiſe of the Catholic bill, and taxes both Proteſtant and Catholic " without the conſent of either, by introducing a new ſet of voters who ſhall out-number both; " a body who have not with reſpect to you, like the Catholics in property, a common, but have " a diſtinct and oppoſite intereſt, and are not politically the ſame, but eſſentially different; a body " which puts nothing into the common ſtock, and is to take every thing out of it; ſome of them " are the objects of your charity, others the objects of your juſtice, and all of them now invited " to become inſtruments of miſchief and members of government. A plan, which inſults the beg- " gar with a power in the ſtate, and which robs the people of their influence in the conſtitution, " which goes againſt the rights of man and the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, which deſtroys " all the counties; which takes away from every citizen and freeholder one vote by regulation, " and extinguiſhes by the voice and votes of the multitude the effect of the other; and which by " its direct and indirect operation, taken together, disfranchiſes all the property in the kingdom, " with ſuch electors as have none, and whoſe condition alone however ſubdivided their multitude, " would make an election a riot; with ſuch an unqualified rout the plan of perſonal repreſentation " becomes more alarming by doubling the number of electors and making the parliament an- " nual; that is, by diminiſhing the franchiſe and doubling the confuſion, afterward making that " confuſion eternal, ſo that inſtead of 150 elections once in eight years, we ſhould have every year " 300 elections.

" Suppoſe a potwalloping borough without even the reſtraint of a potwalloping qualification; " ſuppoſe an election, of which Swords gives you an orderly and tranquil image, multiplied into " 300 inſtances, and blazing out every year at the ſame moment in every part of the kingdom; " trade, induſtry, government, order, liberty, external conſequence and internal repoſe, in ſhort, " young Ireland what muſt be your lot, while the buſineſs of your legiſlation, your trade and your " agriculture ſtand ſtill to give way to this univerſal canvas and univerſal diſorder, to this perma- " nent intoxication and revolutionary riot?

" To deſtroy the influence of landed property is the object of individual repreſentation, but its " immediate effect would be to extinguiſh the people. The rich might for a time make a ſtruggle; " they might in ſome places buy a mob, who by ſuch a plan would be all electors; they might " beſet the huſtings with their retainers, who by ſuch a plan would be all electors, or they might " purchaſe the votes of that great body of electors introduced by ſuch a plan into the conſtitution, " all the beggars in the neighbourhood. The miniſter too, for the ſhort time ſuch a plan ſuffered

" king

gentlemen of the oppoſition, and particularly of Mr. Grattan, the leader of that party. Hitherto the United Iriſhmen were bounden by no ſecret oath, nor any criminal or illegal tie. Their addreſs was publiſhed ten days after the debate on the introduction of Mr. Ponſonby's bill of reform. They firſt gave a ſpecimen of their own doctrines upon the ſubject, they then very freely expreſs their opinions of Mr. Grattan, and the minority in parliament. "It is ſaid, that the lower claſſes of the community, being without property, "have no ſtake in the country, and therefore ought not to vote for any "part of the legiſlature. In conſequence of the repreſentative ſyſtem every "man is ſuppoſed to be either individually or by his delegate, a party to "making the laws by which he is to be bound. The elective right cannot "therefore be denied, on conſtitutional principle, to any one: even the "pooreſt ſhould be allowed the exerciſe of that right, as they are bound by "law as well as others.

"Laws operate on life, liberty, and property. Why is property repre-"ſented? becauſe it is valuable to the poſſeſſor, and may be affected by the "law. Why ſhould liberty and life not be repreſented? Are they not more

"king or miniſter, could, in the corrupt confuſion of ſuch election, preſerve ſome influence by the "application of the treaſury and the command of the army, he could have all the ſwords and votes "of all the common ſoldiers. But the farmer and the citizen could have none of thoſe advantages, "and indeed what farmer or citizen would go to the huſtings of a medley of offenders met on "a plan, where bayonets, bludgeons and whiſky, elected the Houſe of Commons? In the mean "time the reſpect which the landlord and candidate now pay to the farmer and to the citizen "would be at an end, and inſtead of reſorting to the farmer for his vote and intereſt, the ſquire "would go to the farmer's dung-yard and canvas the boys of his lawn, who would have more votes, "though neither farm nor freehold; the conſequence of the citizen would be at an end alſo, and "inſtead of going to his ſhop to aſk the tradeſman for his vote, the candidate would apply to the "beggar on the bridge, or the ſcavenger in the kennel, or to the hoſpitals or Channel-row, and "thoſe places where the poor are now wiſely ſupplied with bread, inſtead of being intoxicated with "hand-bills, offering, in the place of bread, the hopes of returning the parliament, and becoming "a third conſtitutive part of the legiſlature.

"Such would be the ſtate of election under this plan of perſonal repreſentation, which from "a revolution of power would ſpeedily lead to a revolution of property, and become a plan of plun-"der as well as a ſcene of confuſion; for if you transfer the power of the ſtate to thoſe who have "nothing in the country, they will afterwards transfer the property, and annex it once more to "the power in their own perſons; give them your power and they will give themſelves your pro-"perty; of ſuch a repreſentation as this plan would provide, the firſt ordinance would be robbery, "accompanied with the circumſtance incidental to robbery—murder."

" valuable to their poſſeſſor, and may they not alſo be affected by the law? " Since liberty and life are the moſt important objects of legiſlation, the " poorer claſs have a right to ſome controul over the legiſlature, and it is " juſt they ſhould exerciſe it. The ſpirit of many of our laws is ariſtocratic, " and by no means calculated for the protection of the poor.

" If the lower claſſes of the community had been repreſented in parliament, when their neceſſities firſt urged them to inſurrection and outrage, " under the denomination of White Boys and Defenders, parliament would " have enquired into and redreſſed their grievances, inſtead of making laws " to puniſh them with death.

" The pooreſt man in the land pays taxes for his fire, his candle, for his " potatoes and cloathing; and the poorer he is, the greater occaſion he has " for a vote to protect what little he has, which is neceſſary not to his qualification merely, but to his very exiſtence. He has a property in his " labour, and in the value it will bring in the market, the field, or the manufactory; a property, on account of its ſmallneſs, of more real value to " him than thouſands of pounds to the rich and luxurious; a property, " which muſt render him more intereſted in the honeſt diſpoſal of the public " money, ſince one additional tax may cruſh him, than thoſe can be who " receive that public money by virtue of places without employment, and " penſion without merit.

" Property is merely the collection of labour, it poſſeſſes the very ſame " qualities before, as after it is collected into a heap; and the labour of the " loweſt rank is as real, and ought to be as really repreſented as the moſt " fixed and ſolid property.

" Oppoſition ſeemed ſurpriſed, that the people ſhould view their debates " with indifference. We will tell them the reaſon. It is becauſe nothing " paſſes of a nature to animate and intereſt that people. Nothing from " which an individual can promiſe himſelf more happineſs, or the community " more ſplendour; it is becauſe enthuſiaſm no longer lights up the countenance of Grattan, and ſwells every heart with ſomething great and good, " and with a proſpect of ſomething greater and better; it is becauſe there " appears no internal ſpring of action, no fixture of character! but good and " bad qualities, as it were external; and neither virtues nor vices of their own. " It is becauſe once in ſeven years the people are treated as majeſty, and in " the interval mal-treated as mob.

" We

" We have not in our plan of reform paled ſo little parks of ariſtocracy.
" Our plan has not been deſcribed with a pair of compaſſes, nor have we
" defaced with childiſh circles the ſyſtem of nature, and the chart of the
" conſtitution. There is no truth in any political ſyſtem, in which the
" ſun of liberty is not placed in the centre, with knowledge to enlighten,
" and benevolence to warm and invigorate; with the ſame ray to gild the
" palace and illuminate the cottage.

" Sooner or later the meaſure muſt come. The eternal principle of juſtice will be repeated in louder and louder tones, until at length it muſt be
" heard and obſerved. Why not now? Why leave behind a ſource of new
" reforms, perhaps, of convulſions?

" Contemplating this grateful proſpect, we ſmile with much internal
" ſatisfaction, on hearing thoſe intemperate and abuſive expreſſions, which
" the members of oppoſition make uſe of againſt this ſociety. We ſmile at
" their inability to conceal the vexation and diſappointment they have felt
" on finding themſelves forſaken by the people (that people, whoſe majeſty
" they inſult, but whoſe forbearance they at ſome times ſolicit); on finding
" themſelves falling, like the oſtentatious balloon, from that height, to which
" they had ariſen by a ſort of inflammable levity, and there ſuſtained by the
" breath of popular favour.

" We ſmile at the curious coalition of political parties againſt our ſociety;
" to ſee them all club their wiſdom and their wit to manifeſt to the whole
" country, that we are really formidable; but we are rather inclined to
" pity that forced fraternity, that monſtrous conjunction, which, in ſpite of
" the horror of inſtinct, and the antipathy of nature, can join in one common
" effort the higheſt genius with the loweſt ribaldry; how great muſt be the
" panic that can unite ſuch extremes! We can bear, as we have borne,
" the common place invective againſt this ſociety; but we feel ſome indig-
" nation, when they, who ſhould look on themſelves as the purchaſed pro-
" perty of the people; to whoſe fortune every man, even 'the beggar on
" the bridge,' has contributed; whom the 'ſhouts of the mob' have raiſed
" to the height of their fame; when ſuch men inveigh againſt armed beggary
" and ſhabby ſedition; we cannot but remember a time, when the uſual
" adjunct to their own names was 'ſhabby and ſeditious incendiaries.' It
" is not manly, it is not decorous to deal out this contumelious language
" againſt the great maſs of mankind. The uſe of contemptuous terms diſ-

" poſes to contemptuous treatment, and thoſe, whom we vilify as mob, we " ſoon learn to ſlight as men. It is the unequal partition of rights: and what " reſults from this? The arrogance of power, and the abaſement of poverty, " which make mob, inſtigate to tumult, and goad to inſurrection.

" If the people were reſpected, they would reverence the conſtituted autho- " rities; but to gain this reſpect, they muſt poſſeſs thoſe rights, which are " the prerogative of their nature, and the worth of manhood."

Whatever were the various and immediate cauſes of the growth and extenſion of that turbulent and ſeditious ſpirit, which agitated the kingdom during the year 1794, certain it is, that defenderiſm ſpread rapidly, the Right Boys gained confidence, and became ſyſtematic in their outrages, and the United Iriſhmen aſſumed a tone of political language, that ſhocked the ſteady ſupporters of conſtitutional freedom, and gave but too plauſible a handle to their enemies to faſten upon them intentions and views, which at that time the ſociety actually had not, whatever may have been the ultimate ſuppreſſed deſigns of ſome few of their body. It would be unjuſt to ſtain the conduct of thouſands in their efforts to attain a lawful end with the guilt of ſome few, who afterwards ran into exceſſes, the tendency to which they either totally ſuppreſſed from others, or were at the time inſenſible of themſelves. Yet hitherto, the Defenders, the Right Boys, and United Iriſhmen were in principle and conduct eſſentially different from each other. As early as the month of February 1794, a numerous body of the Right Boys aſſembled near Bandon in the county of Cork, and ſwore ſeveral perſons not to pay tithes, taxes, or hearth-money. They went ſo far as to threaten to attack the town of Bandon: and in the next month they diſperſed a body of police men aſſembled by a magiſtrate: at another time they attacked a party of the Carlow militia and wounded a magiſtrate, whilſt he was reading the riot act. The Defenders, became daily more numerous and extended their depredations into the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Weſtmeath, Longford, Cavan, Leitrim, and a part of Down. They had now laid aſide their original principle of defence, and had become outrageous aggreſſors; ſtill under the pretence of ſearching for arms in ſelf defence. Their nocturnal viſits were terrific: they not only plundered houſes of their arms, but took whatever money and portable effects of value, they could find; and not unfrequently committed ſevere outrages upon the inhabitants. No one of any property, conſequence, or character was ever found to belong to or to be connected with theſe lawleſs banditti: they were

ſtill

ſtill of the loweſt and moſt deſperate orders of ſociety; enemies of courſe to all that poſſeſſed property, character, and an intereſt in the preſervation of the community. In the county of Longford, and elſewhere, the nobility, clergy, and freeholders united, reſolved to levy money by ſubſcription for raiſing and maintaining a body of horſe for their defence, and obtained permiſſion from the viceroy ſo to do. Meetings and reſolutions of a ſimilar tendency became frequent and were attended with happy effects.

It was obſervable, that the ſociety of United Iriſhmen of Dublin became more daring after the confinement of Mr. H. Rowan. They had great confidence in him, and he commanded very extenſive influence upon them. From that time they roſe in their tone and ſentiments upon all political ſubjects. His eſcape out of priſon on the 1ſt of May, 1794, made a very deep, though very oppoſite impreſſion upon different parts of the nation. 1000*l.* reward was offered for apprehending him;* for after his committal to

* "By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland. A Proclamation.

"WESTMORLAND.

"WHEREAS, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, late of Rathcoffey, in the county "of Kildare, Eſq. was, in the laſt Hilary term, committed to the gaol of Newgate, in the city of "Dublin, under a ſentence of the court of King's Bench, of impriſonment for two years, for publiſhing a ſeditious libel.

"And whereas the ſaid Archibald Hamilton Rowan has lately been charged with high treaſon; "and whereas we have received information on oath, that the ſaid Archibald Hamilton Rowan did "on the night of Thurſday, the 1ſt day of May, make his eſcape from ſaid gaol.

"Now we, the lord lieutenant and council being determined to bring the ſaid Archibald Hamil"ton Rowan to condign puniſhment, do hereby offer a reward of one thouſand pounds to any per"ſon or perſons who ſhall diſcover and apprehend the ſaid A. H. Rowan, wherever he may be "found, or ſo diſcover the ſaid A. H. Rowan that he may be apprehended and committed to priſon.

"And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all juſtices of the peace, mayors, ſheriffs, bai"liffs, conſtables, and all other his majeſty's loving ſubjects, to uſe their utmoſt diligence in appre"hending the ſaid Archibald Hamilton Rowan.

"Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 2d of May 1794.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| R. Dublin | Clonmell | H. Langriſhe |
| Chas. Caſhel | Ely | Theo. Jones |
| Clanricarde | Dillon | W. Conyngham |
| Shannon | G. L. Kildare | R. Cunninghame |
| Bective | Muſkerry | J. Cuff |
| Glandore | Carleton | J. M. Maſon |
| Carhampton | B. Yelverton | A. Wolfe |
| Mount Norris | H. Cavendiſh | J. Fitzgerald. |

"GOD SAVE THE KING."

Newgate

Newgate for the ſeditious libel in Hilary term, he had been charged with high treaſon. About the ſame time, viz. on the 28th of April, 1794, the Reverend Mr. Jackſon, a Proteſtant clergyman, was committed to Newgate on a charge of high treaſon. Popular diſcontent encreaſed through the nation from a variety of cauſes. Notwithſtanding government had in the ſeſſion of 1793, paſſed ſeveral good and popular acts, they had thereby acquired but a ſmall, if any, encreaſe of popularity. Their rejection of the queſtion of reform had produced nothing but diſpleaſure out of doors: at that time the people at large were all for reform: ſome for univerſal ſuffrage, moſt for a qualified and temperate improvement of the repreſentation of the people in parliament. Upon the whole two great objects of political attainment now occupied the public mind; parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation. Moſt perſons out of parliament were common advocates for both objects, each tending to promote and improve the other. Such for ſeveral years had been the rage for politics in Ireland, that it was rare to find an individual in the nation, who had not ranged himſelf on one ſide or the other of the conteſting parties. The government party in parliament of courſe drew to it all perſons throughout the kingdom, who in any manner received favors from them. But in as much as that intereſt was generally conſidered an Engliſh intereſt, it met with few independent Iriſhmen, who did not ſyſtematically oppoſe it. Of the real ſenſe of the people upon theſe two important objects there could at that time be no queſtion of doubt. Above three out of four millions eſſentially were for Catholic emancipation; as ſo many individuals would be thereby emancipated: out of the remaining million above 500,000 were Diſſenters, and the great bulk of that body avowedly were for the meaſure: of the remainder of the population who were Proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, the great landed intereſts of the country in parliament with their proportionate number of Proteſtant friends and dependents were alſo warm advocates for the meaſure of Catholic emancipation. As for parliamentary reform the actual number of its advocates was certainly ſmaller, than for the other meaſure: but they were more vehement in their efforts and leſs circumſpect in the means of attaining their object. The accompliſhment of it threatened the more ſure and immediate overthrow of that ſyſtem of government patronage, by which the oppoſers of both meaſures were knit together in a common cauſe of reſiſtance. Some of the Catholics were as warm in the cauſe of reform, as their Proteſtant brethren, and they

they openly avowed their ſentiments: many of them conceiving that government was againſt that meaſure, and fatally knowing the weight of government in determining their own queſtion, either harboured oppoſite, or diſguiſed, or ſuppreſſed their real opinions upon that ſubject.

Nothing leads more directly to miſrepreſentation, than the confuſion of times with the actions of particular perſons: crimes have their dates: and though the progreſs to conſummation be gradual and ſometimes imperceptible, yet the criminal volition is generally to be traced to its ſource. The retention of the term or title of *United Iriſhmen* has been productive of much miſconception and much miſrepreſentation concerning the principles and conduct of the individuals known at different periods under that common denomination.*

The term *Iriſh Union* has been more maliciouſly, than artfully uſed to aſperſe the characters of the firſt united Iriſhmen of Dublin, with the guilt of the latter rebellious members of the Iriſh union. They were ſeparate and

* An author, whoſe ſtudy ſeems to have been that of criminating his countrymen, ſpeaking of this ſociety on the 23d of May, 1794, when they were diſperſed by the ſheriffs from their meeting in Back Lane, ſaid (*Mem. p.* 127.) "they continued afterwards to ſit, and to carry on their nefarious machinations with ſecrecy, but with equal effect. It appeared afterwards, that many of the leaders of the Catholic committee were members of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, though they artfully concealed themſelves while that body openly avowed its exiſtence, and publiſhed its proceedings; having left the obnoxious and dangerous part to the Proteſtants, who, though few in number, ſerved as ſcape goats to draw on them the vengeance of the law, and the deteſtation of all good men and loyal ſubjects.

"I give the reader the names of ſome of the Proteſtant leaders, with the fate which befel them.

"Theobald Wolfe Tone, convicted, but cut his throat
"Hon. S. Butler, died in extreme poverty in Wales
"James Napper Tandy, fled
"*Henry Sheares
"†Archibald Hamilton Rowan
"Oliver Bond convicted of high treaſon but died in priſon
"*Beauchamp B. Harvey
"†Thomas Ruſſel
"†Arthur O'Connor
"†Roger O'Connor
"†Samuel Neilſon
"†John Chambers
"*Henry Sheares
"*John Sheares
"†Joſeph Levins
"†William Levingſton Webb
"†Henry Jackſon
"†Matthew Dowling
"†James Reynolds
"†Thomas A. Emmett
"†John Burke
"†Hugh Wilſon
"†Robert Sims, proprietor of the North Star
"†Edward Hudſon

"* Were hanged. "† Exiles."

diſtinct

diſtinct ſocieties: their principles, objects, and engagements were different. The one was extinct, before the other exiſted. The leading traits of the latter were ſeparation from Great Britain and republicaniſm. It now appears unqueſtionable, that whilſt that firſt ſociety exiſted, neither of thoſe objects ever became a ſubject of diſcuſſion, debate, or even converſation amongſt them. Their views and actions were ſimply commenſurate with their teſt; and it is not unreaſonably apprehended, that thoſe very terms of their union rendered them ſo peculiarly obnoxious to the friends of Proteſtant aſcendancy and unequal repreſentation. The difficulty of attaining any ſpecies of parliamentary reform ſtrengthened their conviction of the neceſſity of the meaſure, and brought them gradually to thoſe violent expreſſions, and that extraordinary propoſal of endeavouring at ſome future, though undetermined time to procure the meeting of a convention at Athlone, which ſhould take into conſideration the beſt mode of effecting a reform in parliament. They conceived, that ſuch a meeting, backed, as they preſumed it would be by Catholic and Proteſtant, could not fail of ſucceſs. Hitherto they went no farther, than parliamentary reform, though upon the broadeſt baſis of univerſal ſuffrage and annual parliaments. To this they were driven by the increaſing ſpirit of liberty, encouraged by the ſucceſsful progreſs of the French revolution, and not ſlightly provoked by their diffidence in the ſincerity of ſome of the leading members of the oppoſition in the cauſe of reform. This latter motive worked particularly upon the ſociety after Mr. Grattan's ſevere reprobation of their ſyſtem of reform in the Houſe of Commons. The rage for political diſcuſſion, the paſſing of the convention bill, and the rejection of the queſtion of reform, coupled with the confinement of Mr. H. Rowan, his ſubſequent charge of high treaſon, the committal of Mr. Jackſon for the like offence, ſuppoſed to be implicated with him in the ſame treaſon, the forcible diſſolution of the ſociety, all tended to diſpoſe ſome of the moſt violent members to carry their thoughts beyond the words or meaning of their teſt or original inſtitution. Aware of having brought upon themſelves their own deſtruction by the openneſs of their diſcuſſion and publicity of their proceedings, thoſe who had further views ſet their minds upon forming new ſocieties upon the baſis of ſecrecy, which gave riſe to that *Iriſh Union*, whoſe proceedings and progreſs it will be our duty to detail.

Towards the end of the year 1794, the turbulent ſtate of the country had ſo alarmed the government, that the Britiſh cabinet had found it neceſſary

to

to remove the Earl of Weſtmorland, who had either brought or permitted the kingdom to be brought to that deplorable ſituation. It was allowed on all hands, that the officers of the crown were unable with their utmoſt rigor to reſtore tranquillity. The premier was particularly affected with this melancholy proſpect of the ſiſter kingdom: the continuance of an expenſive war rendered Ireland a peculiar object of his moſt ſerious ſpeculations, not only for recruiting and victualling the army and navy, but alſo for aiding the finance. He had formed the project of calling upon the Iriſh parliament to raiſe ſuch a ſum of money, as had never been voted in that country: and he well knew the liberal and grateful diſpoſition of the Iriſh, whom juſtice and kindneſs would bring to any conceſſion or ſacriſice whatever. He ſaw it neceſſary to abandon the ſyſtem of coercion, and to adopt healing meaſures by forming a popular adminiſtration, which ſhould by prudent conceſſion attach the affections, that were likely to be eſtranged from the cauſe of the empire by a continuance of coercive ſeverity. No man was ever more ſenſible of the importance of Ireland to the Britiſh empire than Mr. Pitt: no man was ever more intimately convinced, that juſtice, liberality, and kindneſs to the Iriſh could alone enſure the full energies and powers of that people, in the cordial ſervice of the Britiſh empire.

In order to account for the change in the Iriſh adminiſtration, it is requiſite to recur to the extraordinary movements, which had previouſly taken place in the adminiſtration of Great Britain. The formal acceſſion of a very large part of the Rockingham party to the miniſter, in the month of July, 1794, was an event differently viewed, and differently accounted for by the ſeveral perſons, who undertook to conſider it according to their reſpective ſentiments at that critical period.* It was an event big with more importance,

* So widely different are the opinions of what Mr. Burke called the Old and the New Whigs upon this ſingular event, that no narrative can acquire credit, but the evidence of the parties themſelves. Lord Fitzwilliam, ſpeaking of the war with France, which had been expreſsly undertaken, though in his opinion too tardily, to reſtore order to France, and effect the deſtruction of the abominable ſyſtem, that prevailed in that country, ſaid (45 P. D. p. 133). "Upon this underſtanding it was, "that he had ſeparated from ſome of thoſe, with whom he had long acted in politics, and with "other noble friends had lent his aid to his majeſty's miniſters: upon this underſtanding he had "filled that ſituation, which he had ſome time ſince held in his majeſty's cabinet." To the war queſtion alone did the Duke of Portland refer his motives for ſupporting the miniſters. (39 P. D. p. 13) "He had at the beginning acknowledged his opinion of the juſtice and neceſſity of the

importance, than any in the modern hiſtory of the Britiſh empire. In the Houſe of Lords, the Duke of Portland, Earls Fitzwilliam, Spencer, and other leaders of the Rockingham party; in the commons, Meſſrs. Burke, Wyndham, and many of that party, brought ſo much acceſſion of ſtrength to the miniſter, that thoſe who remained ſtaunch to all their original principles, and were neither allured, perſuaded, nor intimidated to change their principles or conduct, were not without ſome acrimonious petulancy termed by Mr. Burke the dwindled phalanx of oppoſition. Theſe new ſupporters of the miniſters, like all proſelytes, ſhewed extraordinary fervor in the cauſe, which had worked their converſion. In the month of July, 1794, they were admitted into a coalition of power: an arrangement of ſuch magnitude required much time to ſettle, after the parties had formally ranged themſelves in the miniſterial ranks. The Duke of Portland was graced with a blue ribband, and created a third Secretary of State;* Earl Fitzwilliam was made Preſident of the Council; Lord Spencer, Privy Seal; Mr. Wyndham, Secretary at War; and the Earl of Mansfield a member extraordinary of the cabinet. The public was informed by *Mr. Ponſonby* in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons,† that the coalition between the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt

" war, and he was then (Jan. 1794) more convinced of both. He thought it the duty of every " man to concur in ſtrengthening the hand of government, as a vigorous proſecution of the war " appeared to him the only means of ſaving the country, and bringing the war to an honorable " and favourable iſſue. He ſhould therefore give his ſupport to miniſters." Of this ſupport Mr. Pelham thus expreſſed himſelf in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons on the 21ſt of April, 1795. (15 P. D. p. 184) " As a friend of the Duke of Portland, he took the liberty of ſaying, that his grace and his " friends after having long oppoſed Mr. Pitt on principle did on principle at length ſupport him, " (and p. 190) and as like men they oppoſed him on principle, ſo now like men they ſupported " him on principle, and they ſhared in office, that they might ſhare in reſponſibility." I have alluded to theſe avowals of ſome out of the many of the Rockingham party, who at that time gave their ſupport to government, merely to ſhew the grounds of that change, which affected the queſtion of war excluſively. Some of them did, and all of them profeſſed to retain their former principles upon all matters of internal regulation unconnected with the war. One prominent object, upon which they profeſſed to maintain their old principles and feelings, was the eſtabliſhment of a fair and firm government in Ireland.

* Of a ſimilar creation Mr. Burke once ſaid (ſpeech on œconomy bill) " it was made for the " mere convenience of the arrangements of political intrigue, and not for the ſervice of the ſtate: " it was made in order to give a color to an exorbitant increaſe of the civil liſt, and in the ſame " act to bring a new acceſſion to the loaded compoſt heap of corrupt influence."

† 15 Parl. Deb. p. 184.

would

would never have taken place, had not his grace received ample authority to reform the abuſes, which exiſted in the Iriſh government: but Mr. Pelham repeated twice in that debate, that they had coaleſced without any ſtipulation whatſoever. Upon this important fact, there is however the very ſtrong teſtimony of the noble lord himſelf, that has hitherto been uncontradicted, notwithſtanding the numerous debates and publications upon this delicate and important ſubject.* "When the Duke of Portland and his friends were to be entered into a coalition with Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, it was neceſſary to hold out ſuch allures, as would make the coalition palatable, or even poſſible for them to accede to. If the general management and ſuperintendance of Ireland had not been offered to his grace, that coalition could never have taken place; the ſentiments that he entertained, and the language he had held ſo publicly, for years back, on the ſubject, rendered the ſuperintendance of Iriſh affairs a point, that could not be diſpenſed with by him. It was become of abſolute neceſſity, that it ſhould be transferred to his management; and accordingly, it was offered from the beginning of the negociation, as was alſo the home department of Secretary of State. Aſk the Duke of Portland when he accepted the management of Ireland, if he did it under any reſtrictions whatever. Aſk him, if he preſſed it upon me under any, and if he did not propoſe and recommend to me to lay out immediately for making ſuch arrangements in the government, as would enable me to reſtore peace, tranquillity, and order in the country; and as would reconcile the general maſs of the people to its government.

"But the inſtant we had proclaimed our acceptance of office, then the ſcene began to open; then it was firſt diſcovered, that the object of all this mighty work was not to ſtrengthen adminiſtration by an acceſſion of character, but to debaſe, degrade, and diſgrace that character. No ſooner had I declared my acceptance of the lieutenancy of Ireland, than delay interpoſed, and ſoon doubts and difficulties aroſe. It is a matter of public notoriety in this country, that Mr. Pitt aſſured Lord Weſtmorland, as early as Auguſt, that he ſhould not be removed; and I know, that I could bring evidence to prove, that, in the courſe of the autumn, he pointed out Lord Camden as the perſon, who he intended ſhould ſucceed my predeceſſor.

"So fully determined was the Britiſh cabinet to bring forward the queſtion

* Lord Fitzwilliam's Letter to Lord Carliſle.

of Catholic emancipation in the next ſeſſion of parliament, that on the day of the Duke of Portland's kiſſing hands, which was in July, 1794, that meaſure was adopted." It then was generally believed in Ireland, that the government of that country would be again committed to his grace: and all the old friends with whom he had acted, when he was lord lieutenant before, and whom it was concluded, he would again call to his councils, expreſſed their full conviction, that a full and complete emancipation was intended; and we have the expreſs authority of that reſpectable though ſhort-lived viceroy, that he knew his grace's opinions at that time coincided with thoſe of his Iriſh friends. In order to the ſettlement of theſe new arrangements, Mr. Ponſonby and Mr. Grattan were ſent for to England; and the particular marſhalling of the treaſury bench was ſettled by Sir John Parnell and Mr. Pitt. From the firſt idea of new modelling the government of Ireland, it had been the intention of the Duke of Portland, that Mr. Ponſonby ſhould be the attorney general, and therefore his grace deſired Lord Fitzwilliam would ſend for him to England* to conſult upon the arrangement and plan of his government: and Mr. Pitt alſo admitted him ſeveral times to conſultations upon their arrangements of meaſures. The convention bill, which had paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion, had put an end to any further meetings by delegation: but ſeveral friends and ſupporters of particular favorite objects, ſuch as Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, held frequent and very numerous meetings, to conſult upon the means of effectuating their wiſhes: the want of delegation increaſed the numbers of the individuals, who took part in theſe conſultations. The effect of them with reference to the Catholic queſtion, was a thorough reconciliation of the whole body, and a vigorous co-operation in the common cauſe of complete emancipation and equalization with their Proteſtant brethren.† The univerſally credited report of the patronage

* Lord Fitzwilliam's Letter to Lord Carliſle.

† Lord Fitzwilliam in the letter before cited informs us, that from the 8th of January (he landed on the 4th) he unremittingly applied himſelf to the collecting of further information. "I had "heard," ſaid he, "that the committee had prepared an addreſs for me; before I ſhould receive "it, I wiſhed to know the opinion of thoſe, whom the committee called ſeceders, the noblemen "and principal landed gentlemen of that perſuaſion.

"In a letter of the 15th of January, I acquainted the ſecretary of ſtate of the reſult of theſe en- "quiries, and of the progreſs of the buſineſs ſubſequent to my former letters. I told him, that, "in the abſence of the nobleman, who was conſidered as the head of the ſeceders, I had ſent for a "perſon of the moſt tried and acknowledged moderation amongſt them, and of the firſt conſequence "and

patronage and government of Ireland falling unto the Duke of Portland and his friends, raiſed their confidence to conviction, that what had in the preceding ſeſſion been loſt by a vaſt majority, would, when backed by government, be carried with perfect unanimity, unleſs the two oppoſers of their bill in 1793 ſhould ſtill perſiſt in their invcteracy. Under theſe ſtrong prepoſſeſſions, after much deliberation it was found to be the unanimous ſenſe of the Catholic body to commit their cauſe to the talents, zeal, and long-tried ſincerity of Mr. Grattan: and in December, 1794, a reſolution to that effect was publiſhed,* and their example was followed up by moſt diſtricts in the

" and property. I found by him (what the nobleman above alluded to afterwards confirmed) that " he, and every perſon of his deſcription, were in perfect uniſon with the committee; that they " all decidedly looked to the ſame object; that they were determined never to loſe ſight of it; that " provided it ſhould be obtained, they had no objection that Mr. Byrne, or any other member of " the committee, ſhould have the honor of taking the lead in it."

* CATHOLICS OF DUBLIN.

At a numerous and reſpectable meeting of the Catholics of the city of Dublin, held at the Star and Garter, in Eſſex Street, on Tueſday, December the 23d, 1794,

EDWARD BYRNE, Eſq. in the Chair,

Mr. Richard M'Cormick having been requeſted to act as ſecretary to the meeting, the following reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to, and ordered to be publiſhed:

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that an humble application be " made to parliament, in the enſuing ſeſſion, praying for a total repeal of the penal and reſtrictive " laws, ſtill affecting the Catholics of Ireland.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That a committee of nine be appointed to prepare a petition to that " effect, and report the ſame to this meeting forthwith; and the following gentlemen were named " on ſaid committee:

" Mr. Byrne, Mr. Braughall, Mr. Sweetman, Mr. M'Cormick, Dr. Ryan, Mr. M'Neven, " Mr. Hamill, Mr. Keogh. And the ſaid gentlemen having reported, and the petition ſo prepared " being read over, paragraph by paragraph, and agreed to, it was

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That we do recommend ſaid petition to be adopted as the petition of " the Catholics of the city of Dublin.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That we do moſt earneſtly recommend to the Catholics of Ireland, to " prepare and tranſmit ſimilar petitions; and that, in order thereto, the gentlemen above named " be inſtructed to take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual ſteps, for circulating copies of this day's pro- " ceedings through the different counties and great cities throughout the kingdom, and alſo the " ſeveral pariſhes of the city of Dublin, for the purpoſe of enſuring that unanimity and co-opera- " tion, which has been hitherto found ſo beneficial to the Catholics' intereſt.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the Right Honorable Henry Grattan be requeſted to preſent the " petition

the nation. It has been a malevolent and moſt lamentable practice from that time to the preſent with certain perſons, from whom truth was to be expected, to conſider the ſubjects of Catholic emancipation and the reform of abuſes in the Iriſh government, as game that might be hunted down with the moſt impudent and wicked falſehoods :* and as the conduct and character

" petition of the Catholics of Dublin to the Houſe of Commons on the approaching meeting of " parliament.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the above committee do prepare an addreſs of congratulation, to " be preſented to his excellency Earl Fitzwilliam, on his arrival in this kingdom. And the gen- " tlemen having prepared an addreſs, and reported accordingly, it was

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That ſaid addreſs do ſtand as the addreſs of the Catholics of the city of " Dublin, and be preſented accordingly on his excellency's arrival.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, That the thanks of this meeting be preſented to Edward Byrne, Eſq. " for the zeal, ſpirit, and activity, which on this, as on all former occaſions, he has manifeſted in " the cauſe of the Catholics of Ireland.

" Signed, by order of the meeting,

" RICHARD M'CORMICK, Sec."

* We read in Lord Clare's ſpeech on the Union (p. 65) " That the conceſſions made to the Ca- " tholic demands in 1793, were then for the firſt time ſupported by the Whigs of 1789: but in the " courſe of debate nothing more than obſcure hints and oracular ambiguity was thrown out on " the ſubject of unqualified emancipation, and the Catholic body remained quiet and contented " with the favors conferred upon them. If they looked to further indulgence, they were ſatisfied " to try the effects of time, temper, and negociation, and would have continued contented and " quiet, if they had not been brought forward as an engine of faction on a change of the Iriſh go- " vernment in 1795." One is aſtoniſhed at this barefaced ſtring of falſities. It was matter of the utmoſt notoriety, that Mr. Grattan and the Whig party ſupported the bills that were brought forward in favor of the Catholics in 1782 and 1792: and Mr. Grattan (anſwer to Lord Clare, p. 24) ſays, " In the ſeſſion of 1794, the Catholic ſubject was not mentioned, but in ſummer, on a " change being made in the Britiſh cabinet, being informed by ſome of the learned perſons therein, " that the adminiſtration of the Iriſh department was to belong to them, and that they ſent for us " to adopt our meaſures, I ſtated the Catholic emancipation to be one of them." In 1793, ſo far were they from *only throwing out obſcure hints and oracular ambiguity in debate*, that on the 22d of February, as has been before obſerved, when the order of the day for the ſecond reading of the Catholic bill was called, Mr. George Knox, after a very long ſpeech in favor of a meaſure, not merely to gratify, but to ſatisfy the Catholics in the fulleſt extent by removing all diſabilities, moved, that Roman Catholics ſhould be permitted to hold ſeats in parliament. On the ſame day Major Doyle ſaid, he was the firſt perſon in that houſe, who declared his determination to give entire and total emancipation to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Mr. Grattan on the ſame day ſaid, " I could " wiſh the bill under your conſideration had gone further. I could have wiſhed, that it had given

" the

racter of that reſpectable nobleman who ſucceeded Lord Weſtmorland in the Iriſh government became implicated with both thoſe ſubjects, he was alſo expoſed to the aim of every one, who did not diſdain the uſe of thoſe diſgraceful weapons. This period of Iriſh hiſtory is perhaps fraught with more important conſequences to that kingdom, than any which has exiſted ſince the days of Henry II. The truth therefore of the facts, whatever effects may have enſued from them, it is ſupereminently neceſſary to eſtabliſh.

The meaſure of emancipation to the Catholics, was, ſaid Lord Fitzwilliam, originally the meaſure of Mr. Pitt and the Weſtmorland adminiſtration. His moſt ſtrenuous and jealous friends claimed the credit of it for their patron in terms of the higheſt compliment. They had done it in the Houſe of Commone; they had done it on the preceding day in the Houſe of Lords. The declarations both of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas (now Lord Melville) on the occaſion were well known in Ireland and often quoted. "*They would not riſk a rebellion in Ireland on ſuch a queſtion.*" That the principle of the meaſure had been admitted by the Britiſh cabinet is ſelf evident: as the whole queſtion of the unfortunate difference between them and the lord lieutenant aroſe only upon the time of carrying it into effect, as will be preſently noticed. That Lord Fitzwilliam went over with a plenitude of power from the Britiſh cabinet to carry every meaſure, which he propoſed, amongſt which was that of Catholic emancipation, ſtands roundly aſſerted by that nobleman himſelf, and by Lord Milton, and by Mr. Ponſonby, and Mr. Grattan, who were ſent for to England and conſulted upon the ſubject. It was contradicted by Lord Weſtmoreland,* who ſaid in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers, that Mr. Pitt, had aſſured him, "that Earl Fitzwilliam had no authority whatever from mi-

"the Roman Catholics the privilege of other diſſenters. I am ſure that is the only ſound policy. "Come then, and by one great act cancel this code." (Vide Par. Deb. of this date.) As for the Catholic body, Lord Kenmare, and other gentlemen of that body, aſſured Lord Fitzwilliam, that he and every perſon of his deſcription were in perfect uniſon with the committee. The Catholics of the city of Dublin in November, 1792, ſtated in their declaration, that they never ſhould forego the hopes of emancipation. Hundreds of reſolutions paſſed at parochial and other larger meetings of Roman Catholics after the paſſing of the convention bill publicly falſify that lord's aſſertion, that they were contented with the favors conferred upon them: and that they were not brought forward as an engine of faction. They certainly came forward upon their own ſenſe, feeling, and principle: not inſtigated by Mr. Grattan or any one, who it was expected would be miniſter to Lord Fitzwilliam, though in full confidence, that no miniſters of that viceroy, would reſiſt the peaceable cry of three millions to be releaſed from their remaining ſhackles.

* 41 Par. Deb. p. 352.

"niſters

" niſters in this country for taking the ſteps, which he had done on the " Catholic queſtion: nay that they were ſteps taken not only without their " authority, but with their poſitive diſapprobation." Official ſecrecy was the reaſon alleged by all the ſervants of the crown for not giving the direct negative to the noble Earl's aſſertions both in the Britiſh and Iriſh parliament. Lord Fitzwilliam was ſeverely cenſured by many both in and out of parliament for a breach of official confidence.* The late Lord Clare has alſo ventured to aſſert, " that † it is now aſcertained, that he came to Ireland with full in- " ſtructions not to encourage the agitation of any further claims, on the part " of the Iriſh Catholics: perhaps he might be juſtified in ſtating, that his in- " ſtructions were to keep it back. But his name and authority were abuſed " to force the Catholic body to come forward as the engine of political in- " trigue, and in contradiction of their recent declaration by the organ of " their general committee in 1792, to demand the repeal of every law, by " which they were excluded from political power. Lord Fitzwilliam took " poſſeſſion of his government on the 4th of January, 1795." How great ſoever the authority of the Earl of Clare may have been, hiſtorical juſtice demands, that the untruth of his repreſentations of the efforts to procure Catholic emancipation ſhould be noticed. Becauſe the names of three perſons, who afterwards were implicated in rebellion appear upon the addreſs, which was preſented by the Catholics to Lord Fitzwilliam, his lordſhip moſt unaccountably criminates the whole body, by aſſerting againſt the fact, " that it " was originally a pretence for rebellion; and was then (viz. in 1800) a pow- " erful engine of faction wielded in both countries againſt the peace and " happineſs of Ireland. An engine, which had already ſhaken the govern- " ment to its foundation, and could not fail to level it with the duſt, if they " were to continue in a ſtate of ſeparation from the Britiſh nation."

No ſooner had the new viceroy landed, than he immediately ſet about the work he had been eſpecially ‡ deputed to take in hand.

As

* It was obſerved by Mr. Jekill, in the Houſe of Commons, that Lord Weſtmorland's declarations diſſolved all the regard, that had been ſo affectedly attached to the oath of ſecrecy of cabinet miniſters. We muſt therefore rather lay diſcredit to the account of a diſplaced courtier, than perjury at the door of the premier.

† Speech on union, p. 66.

‡ Having no document ſo authentic as the public averment of a moſt reſpectable nobleman, who was the actor in the important ſcenes under a ſpecial commiſſion and inſtructions, which are at every

As the parliament ſtood prorogued to the 22d day of January, his excellency began his government by ſome diſmiſſals, which created ſurprize and general

every hour open to publication to refute any miſtatements, the annaliſt cannot diſpenſe with ſubmitting to the reader the genuine account of the opening of this extraordinary miſſion: (2 letter to Lord Carliſle) " From the very beginning, as well as through the whole progreſs of that fatal buſi- " neſs, for fatal I fear, I muſt call it, I acted in perfect conformity with the original outline ſettled " between me and his majeſty's miniſtry, previous to my departure from London. From a full " conſideration of the real merits of the caſe, as well as from every information I had been able to " collect of the ſtate and temper of Ireland, from the year 1790, I was decidedly of opinion, that not " only ſound policy, but juſtice, required, on the part of Great Britain, that the work, which was " left imperfect at that period, ought to be completed, and the Catholics relieved from every re- " maining diſqualification. In this opinion the Duke of Portland uniformly concurred with me, " and when this queſtion came under diſcuſſion, previous to my departure for Ireland, I found the " cabinet, with Mr. Pitt at their head, ſtrongly impreſſed with the ſame conviction. Had I found " it otherwiſe, I never would have undertaken the government. I at firſt propoſed, that the addi- " tional indulgences ſhould be offered from the throne; the very beſt effects would be ſecured by " this act of unſolicited graciouſneſs; and the embarraſſing conſequences which was natural to " foreſee muſt reſult from the meaſures being left open for any volunteer to bring forward, would be " timely and happily avoided. But to this propoſal objections were ſtarted, that appeared of ſuffi- " cient weight to induce the adoption of another plan. I conſented not to bring the queſtion for- " ward on the part of government, but rather to endeavour to keep it back, until a period of more " general tranquillity, when ſo many material objects might not preſs upon the government, but as " the principle was agreed on, and the neceſſity of its being brought into full effect was univerſally " allowed, it was at the ſame time reſolved, that if the Catholics ſhould appear determined to ſtir " the buſineſs, and bring it before parliament, I was to give it a handſome ſupport on the part of " government.

" I was no ſooner landed, and informed of the real ſtate of things here, than I found that queſ- " tion would force itſelf upon my immediate conſideration. Faithful to the ſyſtem that had been " agreed on, and anxious to attain the object that had been committed to my diſcretion, I loſt not a " moment in gaining every neceſſary information, or in tranſmitting the reſult to the Britiſh " cabinet. As early as the 8th of January, I wrote to the ſecretary of ſtate on the ſubject; I told " him, that I trembled about the Roman Catholics; that I had great fears about keeping them " quiet for the ſeſſion; that I found the queſtion already in agitation; that a committee was " appointed to bring forward a petition to parliament, praying for a repeal of all remaining diſqua- " lifications. I mentioned my intentions of immediately uſing what efforts I could to ſtop the pro- " greſs of it, and to bring the Catholics back to a confidence in government. I ſtated the ſubſtance " of ſome converſations I had on the ſubject with ſome of the principal perſons of the country. It " was the opinion of one of theſe, that if the poſtponing of the queſtion could be negociated on " grounds of expediency, it ought not to be reſiſted by government. That it ſhould be put off for " ſome time, was allowed by another to be a deſirable thing, but the principle of extenſion was at

general apprehenſions through all the official departments of the caſtle. They were repreſented to the Britiſh cabinet with every degree of exaggerated cruelty: and artful pains were taken to circulate the reports of them through the nation injurious to the lord lieutenant. He began by removing two clerks from office placed in a ſituation of confidence, but perfectly ſubordinate and of no oſtenſibility: neither his excellency nor his chief ſecretary, with whom they were in hourly intercourſe, felt inclined to repoſe confidence in them.* He made propoſals to the Britiſh miniſters for the removal of the attorney and ſolicitor general: it having been previouſly arranged with Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland, that thoſe two gentlemen were not to poſſeſs his confidence in the arduous meaſures he had to undertake. Whatever might be their profeſſional merits, neither of them poſſeſſed thoſe parliamentary abilities, which his excellency required, and which were found in ſo eminent a degree in their intended ſucceſſors, Meſſrs. Ponſonby and Curran. The

" the ſame time ſtrongly inſiſted on, and forcibly inculcated, as a matter not only wiſe, but neceſſary " to the public tranquillity.

" From the day of the date of this letter, I unremittingly applied myſelf to the collecting of fur- " ther information. I received an addreſs; in my anſwer, which I tranſmitted, I endeavoured to " keep clear of all ſpecific engagements whatever, though at the ſame time I had avoided every " thing that could be conſtrued into a rejection of what they were all looking to—the repeal of the " remaining reſtrictions; and (what comes immediately to the point) I concluded by declaring, " that I ſhould not do my duty, if I did not diſtinctly relate it as my opinion, that not to grant " chearfully, on the part of government, all the Catholics wiſhed for, would not only be exceedingly " impolitic, but perhaps dangerous, that in doing this, no time was to be loſt; that the buſineſs " would be preſently at hand; and that the firſt ſtep I took would be of infinite importance; that " if I received no very peremptory directions to the contrary, I ſhould acquieſce,—I meant, in the " time, in the mode of proceeding, and in the extent of the demands. For as to the meaſure, con- " ſidered generally, I could conceive no neceſſity to wait for any new directions, on which to decide. " Of this I reminded the ſecretary of ſtate. 'Convinced' I ſaid 'as we all are, of the neceſſity, ' as well as fitneſs, of the meaſure taking place, at no diſtant period, I was decidedly of opinion, ' that any attempt to defer it, would be uſeleſs, if not dangerous.' " The ſtate of the country re- " quired this, and the poſition of the Catholics, among whom 'the appearance of heſitation on the ' part of government, might produce miſchief to a degree beyond calculation.' " You will not " forget, that all this paſſed within the firſt fortnight after my arrival, and before the meeting of par- " liament."

* One of theſe was Mr. Cooke, of whom Lord Fitzwilliam thus writes to Lord Carliſle, " Mr. " Cooke indeed, whoſe tone and ſtyle rendered his approach to a ſuperior not to be ſupported, re- " jects my propoſals in his favor, and thinks a retreat upon 1200l. a year an inadequate recompence " for the magnitude and importance of his ſervices."

attorney

attorney general was to have retired on a reverſion of 2,300*l.* (and that daily augmenting) to himſelf and ſon, a peerage for his family, and a promiſe of the firſt vacancy of a chief ſeat on the bench: and it was his excellency's intentions to have done equally well by the ſolicitor general. But the greateſt ſore was the removal of Mr. Beresford, of which that nobleman's own account muſt prove more ſatisfactory and authentic than any other.

"*And now for the grand queſtion about Mr. Beresford. In a letter of mine to Mr. Pitt on this ſubject, I reminded him of a converſation, in which I had expreſſed to him (in anſwer to the queſtion put to him by me) my apprehenſions, that it would be neceſſary to remove that gentleman, and that he did not offer the ſlighteſt objection, or ſay a ſingle word in favor of Mr. Beresford. This alone would have made me ſuppoſe, that I ſhould be exempt from every imputation of breach of agreement, if I determined to remove him; but when, on my arrival here, I found all thoſe apprehenſions of his dangerous power, which Mr. Pitt admits I had often repreſented to him, were fully juſtified; when he was filling a ſituation greater than that of the lord lieutenant; and when I clearly ſaw, that if I had connected myſelf with him, it would have been connecting myſelf with a perſon under univerſal heavy ſuſpicions, and ſubjecting my government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant upon his mal-adminiſtration. What was then to be my choice, what the deciſion I had to form? I could not heſitate a moment. I decided at once, not to cloud the dawn of my adminiſtration, by leaving in ſuch power and authority, ſo much imputed malverſation: but in doing this, I determined, while I meant to curtail him of his power, and to ſhew to the nation, that he did not belong to my adminiſtration, to let him remain in point of income, as well, to the full, as he had ever been: I did not touch, and he knew I had determined not to touch, a hair of the head of any of his family or friends; and they are ſtill left in the full enjoyment of more emolument, than ever was accumulated in any country upon any one family. To the odium of doing ſo I ſubmitted, rather than incur the riſque of diſpleaſing my colleagues, by infringing the emolument of a perſon profeſſing great attachment to them; though indeed, at the ſame time, I had no ſlight ground of doubting the ſincerity of thoſe profeſſions. This, then, is the liſt of my diſmiſſions."

Great preparations having been made during the Summer and Autumn of

* Letter to Lord Carliſle.

1794, by different bodies of Roman Catholics throughout the kingdom, to bring before parliament an efficient application for their total emancipation, their confidence of ſucceſs firſt roſe out of the introduction of the Duke of Portland with many of his friends into the Britiſh cabinet, upon the queſtion of the war; which being foreign from any points of internal regulation in Ireland, they gave that whole party full credit for retaining all thoſe principles ſo favorable to them and their friends, which had been manifeſted by his grace in the glorious year of 1782. For many weeks after that memorable coalition, the public belief was, that the government of the country would have been committed to his grace in perſon. Their ardor, however, was not at all abated upon the report, that the vice-regency was to be committed to Earl Fitzwilliam. In the beginning of September, the Northern Star, (the popular paper of Belfaſt) had announced the probability of this event, and that the firſt meaſure of his adminiſtration was to be the emancipation of the Roman Catholics. The inflexible integrity, honor and liberality of this nobleman had gained by anticipation the moſt unlimited credit from the bulk of the Iriſh nation, as his tender kindneſs and benevolence to a numerous and happy tenantry had long enſured him the love and affectionate eſteem of all, who perſonally knew him. The ſteps which the different bodies of the Roman Catholics were purſuing under theſe confidential expectations were publicly known and alluded to in the different prints of the day, without any pretenſion to ſecrecy. It was juſtly obſerved by that nobleman, that *the jealouſy and alarm, which at a certain period of Lord Weſtmorland's adminiſtration pervaded the minds of the Proteſtant body, then exiſted no longer; when not one Proteſtant corporation, ſcarcely an individual had come forward to deprecate and oppoſe the indulgence claimed by the higher orders of Catholics; when even ſome of thoſe, who were then their moſt violent oppoſers declared the indulgences now aſked, to be only the neceſſary conſequences of thoſe granted at that time, and poſitively to ſecure the well being of the two countries. The addreſs of the Catholics of Dublin was preſented to his excellency on the 7th of January, 1795: † and was followed

* 1 Letter to Lord C.

† One laments to ſee party bias work up a perſon in the exalted ſituation of a chancellor and miniſter, to give ſo diſtorted a repreſentation of the loyal and dutiful act of a reſpectable body of ſubjects, evidently calculated to throw a ſuſpicion of treaſon upon the whole body of thoſe addreſſers. "*(Lord Clare's ſpeech, p.* 66.) An addreſs to Lord Fitzwilliam in the name of their "body

followed up by ſimilar addreſſes from different bodies; they were all of a ſimilar tendency, and received from his excellency ſimilar anſwers.* It was a fact publicly known to all and complained of by ſome, that large as the conceſſions had been to the Catholics in the preceding ſeſſion, their gratitude for them appeared leſs prominent in their different reſolutions and addreſſes, than their confidence and expectation of their future extenſion. It was obſerved,

" body was voted, and at the front of the committee appointed to greet the king's repreſentative " under the auſpices of his ſelf avowed miniſter, ſtand the names of Dr. William James M'Neven, " Mr. John Sweetman, and Mr. Richard M'Cormick, all of them ſelf-convicted traitors. Mr. " M'Neven has very candidly acknowledged that Catholic emancipation was always a mere pre- " tence, and that if he and the worthy gentlemen with whom he acted, had been enabled to ſucceed " in their projects, they would as ſoon have eſtabliſhed the Mahometan as the Popiſh religion. " It was originally a pretence for rebellion, &c."

* In order to ſhew how little treaſonable theſe addreſſes were in their origin, tendency, or expreſſions, I have ſelected one, by way of ſample, preſented to his excellency by Lord Kenmare and the titular biſhop, from the Roman Catholics of the county of Kerry.

" *To his Excellency, &c.*

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

" WE, his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Catholics of the " county of Kerry, beg leave to approach your excellency on your appointment to the government " of this kingdom.

" Proud of living under a monarch, whoſe glory it is to cultivate the affections of his ſubjects, " as the firmeſt ſupport of his throne, we receive with the moſt lively gratitude as a freſh inſtance " of his parental regards for the intereſt of this country, his deputing a nobleman to the important " ſtation of chief governor, from whoſe elated virtues we have every thing to hope, and whoſe " gracious reply to our brethren of Dublin, is a ſure earneſt of the wiſdom of his councils.

" Under his majeſty's auſpicious reign, the Catholics of this kingdom have gradually emerged " from a depreſſed condition to the participation of valuable privileges; when penalties were an- " nexed to the exerciſe of our religion, we found an aſylum in his majeſty's lenity, and in the " recent conceſſions of a liberal and enlightened parliament, was recognized the influence of his " majeſty's example.

" Highly ſenſible of theſe favors from which we and our country have derived ſo many advan- " tages, we truſt our conduct will, on every occaſion, merit your excellency's favorable repreſen- " tation of our grateful attachment to our moſt gracious ſovereign, his auguſt houſe, and our inva- " luable conſtitution.

" When it ſhall ſeem good to the legiſlature to remove the diſabilities, which ſtill affect our body, " we preſume to aſſure your excellency, that we ſhall rejoice more as Iriſhmen than as Catholics, " and we humbly beg leave to expreſs our confidence, that it will be the glory of your excellency's " adminiſtration to cement unanimity amongſt the people committed to your care, and thus eſta- " bliſh an inſeparable barrier againſt the enemies of his majeſty's perſon and government."

that

that the firmly cherifhed hope of a total deliverance from all difqualifications was fo predominant among them, that the former grants had met with a cold reception.

On the 22d of January, 1795, Earl Fitzwilliam met the parliament, and in his fpeech* alluded to the eventful fituation of the Britifh empire, and called

* Although the viceregency of Earl Fitzwilliam were the fhorteft of any during the laft century, yet it was pregnant with the moft eventful conſequences: we give therefore an exact copy of his fpeech.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" IN obedience to his majefty's commands, I refort to your councils, at a " period which, in a peculiar manner, calls for the wifdom and energy of parliament.

" His majefty's determination is fixed. As long as he is fupported by his faithful fubjects, he " never will be wanting to them or to himfelf. His majefty has no intereft but that of his people, " no views but for their happinefs, no object but their general fafety.

" The uniform tenor of your conduct has demonftrated, that you will not only be defirous, but " zealous, to fecond and emulate the magnanimity of a fovereign formed to lead a nation, that " has ever been as firm to affert its liberties, as affectionately devoted to a government, which " maintains its own authority for the fole purpofe of fupporting thofe liberties.

" As you are thus cordially attached to that fovereign, and to the conftitution, which it is his " glory to protect, I have to announce to you, with true fatisfaction, what you will hear, with " equal pleafure, the intended marriage of his Royal Highnefs the Prince of Wales, with the " Princefs Carolina Amelia Elizabeth, daughter of his moft illuftrious highnefs the Duke of " Brunfwick and Lunenburgh, a princefs of that illuftrious houfe, to whofe mild and conftitu- " tional fway thefe kingdoms are highly indebted for the bleffings they enjoy; this marriage pro- " mifes the perpetuation of the fame bleffings under the fame houfe.

" I have it alfo in command to inform you, that his majefty has concluded a treaty of amity, " commerce and navigation with the United States of America, in which it has been majefty's " object to remove as far as poffible, all grounds of jealoufy and mifunderftanding, and to improve " an intercourfe beneficial to both ftates. As foon as the ratification of this treaty fhall have been " exchanged, and I fhall have received a copy of it, I will direct it to be laid before you, in order " that you may conſider, whether it will be neceffary that you fhould make any provifions for car- " rying into effect a treaty, in which the commerce of this kingdom is fo materially and exten- " fively intereſted.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I have directed the eftimates of the public fervice, and the ftate of the public " accounts, to be laid before you.

" His majefty has that affured confidence grounded on a long and uniform experience of your " loyalty and your zeal for his fervice, and the good of your country, that I think it unneceffary " to prefs you in any particular manner to make a provifion adequate to the prefent awful fituation " of affairs.

" It

called upon them to lend their aid to its ſupport in thoſe extraordinary circumſtances. Immediately after the ſpeech had been read, Mr. Grattan (whom

" It is with pleaſure I acquaint you, that this proviſion will in ſome degree be facilitated by the " circumſtance, that, during the exiſtence of ſuch a war as the preſent, the public revenue, toge- " ther with the commerce of the kingdom, has kept up, and has even been augmented: advan- " tages, which are due to the care and vigilance of our ſovereign, in the general protection pro- " vided by him for his ſubjects.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I earneſtly recommend to you a continuance of the laudable pains you have " conſtantly taken to cultivate all your domeſtic advantages in commerce, in manufactures, and in " ſuch public works as have appeared directed to promote thoſe important objects. Theſe are the " true foundations of all public revenue and public ſtrength. Your endeavours have had their " fruit.

" The great ſtaple manufacture of this kingdom has increaſed beyond the moſt ſanguine expec- " tations; an advantage principally owing to the conſtant ſuperintendance and wiſe proviſions of " the parliament of Ireland, and next to thoſe, to the aſſured liberal and moſt merited encourage- " ment, which it receives in the rich and extenſive market of Great Britain; a circumſtance tend- " ing to cement the union and to perfect the harmony which happily ſubſiſts, and I truſt will ſub- " ſiſt for ever, between the two kingdoms.

" Attached as you are to the general cauſe of religion, learning and civilization, I have to re- " commend to your conſideration, the ſtate of education in this kingdom, which in ſome parts " will admit of improvement, in others may require ſome new arrangements; conſiderable ad- " vantages have been already derived under the wiſe regulations of parliament from the Proteſtant " charter ſchools, and theſe will as uſual claim your attention; but as theſe advantages have been " but partial, and as circumſtances have made other conſiderations connected with this important " ſubject highly neceſſary, it is hoped, that your wiſdom will order every thing relating to it in " the manner moſt beneficial, and the beſt adapted to the occaſions of the ſeveral deſcriptions of " men, which compoſe his majeſty's faithful ſubjects in Ireland.

" We are engaged in an arduous conteſt; the time calls not only for great fortitude and an un- " uſual ſhare of public ſpirit, but for much conſtancy and perſeverance. You are engaged with a " power, which, under the ancient forms of its internal arrangement, was always highly formida- " ble to the neighbouring nations. Lately this power has aſſumed a new ſhape, but with the ſame " ambition, with much more extenſive and ſyſtematic deſigns, far more effective, and without com- " pariſon more dreadful in the certain conſequences of its eventual ſucceſs; it threatens nothing " leſs than the entire ſubverſion of the liberty and independence of every ſtate in Europe: an ene- " my to them all, it is actuated with a peculiar animoſity againſt theſe kingdoms, not only as the " natural protection of the balance of power in Europe, but alſo becauſe, by the poſſeſſion of a " legal, humane, and rational freedom, we ſeem to reproach that falſe and ſpurious liberty, which " in reality is an ignominious ſervitude, tending to extinguiſh all good arts, to generate nothing " but impiety, crime, diſorder, and ferocious manners, and to end in wretchedneſs and general " deſolation.

" To

(whom not having received any place, Lord Clare called, the ſelf-avowed Miniſter of Lord Fitzwilliam) roſe to move the addreſs. "The ſpeech from "the throne," ſaid he, "goes to three great objects: the preſervation of "Europe, the harmony of the preſent generation, and the education of "the future. We cannot debate the cauſes of the war; we deliberate the pre-"ſent ſtate of it; Europe's danger, and our own. When France covered "more ground in Europe, and when France took Brabant, conquered Flan-"ders, invaded Holland, ſhe made war on Ireland. You know enough of the "levels of Europe to foreſee that that great ocean, that inundation of bar-"barity, that deſolation of infidelity, that diſſolution of government, and "that ſea of arms, if it ſwell over the continent, muſt viſit our coaſts. Do "not depreciate ſo much your danger or pre-eminence, as to imagine you are "no more concerned in the evils of the times, than to read the Gazette, "which relates them; nor forget that you have raiſed your head too high on "the globe, not to encounter the ſtorm. If the continent of Europe belong "to France, if all the coaſt from Holland to Breſt belonged to France, this "iſland muſt ſink to the bottom of the ocean. You cannot divide the "weſtern empire; the continent to the French, and Ireland to herſelf; this "is not like your other wars, this is not like the American war; in that war, "the object was, tax the laſt colony; but no matter, many of the beſt friends "of this country oppoſed that war; but when the French interpoſed, when "the ancient enemy of theſe realms, the eternal rival in all ſhapes, mo-"narchical or republican, of Great Britain, the ſame men took a decided "part againſt France; for it has been the long habit of this country, to con-

"To guard his people from the enterpriſes of this dangerous and malignant power, and for the "protection of all civilized ſociety againſt the inroads of anarchy, his majeſty has availed himſelf "of every rational aid, foreign and domeſtic; he has called upon the ſkill, courage, and experience "of all his ſubjects, whereſoever diſperſed. And you muſt be duly ſenſible, in ſuch a criſis as the "preſent, which rarely occurs in the courſe of human affairs, of the advantage of thus endeavour-"ing to profit of the united ſtrength and zeal of every deſcription of his ſubjects.

"I have to aſſure you of his majeſty's moſt chearful concurrence in every meaſure which your "wiſdom and comprehenſive patriotiſm ſhall point out for this ſalutary purpoſe.

"On my part you ſhall find me, from principle, and from inclination, thoroughly diſpoſed to con-"cur with his majeſty's paternal wiſhes, and with the wiſe meaſures of his parliament. On a cor-"dial affection to the whole of Ireland; and on a conduct ſuitable to that ſentiment, I wiſh to "found my own perſonal eſtimation and my reputation in the execution of the great truſt com-"mitted by the moſt beneficent of ſovereigns to my care."

"ſider

" ſider her in every new ſhape as the old enemy; nor is this like the ſeven
" years war; there the object was, a diſtant territory in another hemiſphere, and
" with which you are not to trade; yet then you took the field, voted armies,
" and incurred a debt, wiſely if you mean to go on with England, idly if
" you go back now: nor is this like the Spaniſh convention of 1790, and
" yet on the ſound of that war you voted a loan.

" Nootka Sound, a ſtrip of land, a barren iſland, a remote and uncul-
" tivated tract; the ſpeculation of the produce of a waſte or the viſion of
" a punctilio of honor, do not now, as once, kindle Europe to arms; it is
" Europe herſelf, and her iſlands that are at ſtake; princes, potentates, her
" orders and degrees, the creature and the Creator, man and the Godhead.
" It follows from this, that the preſent object of the war is not, becauſe it
" cannot be, to interfere with the internal government of France, but rather
" prevent her interference with every realm and government, ſyſtematic or
" actual, by arms, by intrigues, or by money. Little does the preſent ſtate
" of the war attack the liberty of France: I wiſh ſhe had liberty: I wiſh
" there was any thing in her internal ſituation that promiſed liberty to herſelf
" or ſecurity to Europe.

" No nation underſtands liberty, perhaps, better than you do. Did you
" in your ſtruggles ever imagine ſuch a ſpecies of liberty? Her liberty is
" death, and her ſtate Bedlam; where the ſceptre is broken into ten thou-
" ſand ſcorpions in the hands of ten thouſand maniacs, ſcourging one ano-
" ther for offences that are only exceeded by the barbarity, with which they
" are puniſhed: however, that is not now the queſtion, nor is the queſtion
" on the cauſes of the war, but the actual ſtate of it---the danger of Europe,
" the danger of Ireland; and as formerly you ſtruggled for the Britiſh con-
" ſtitution, in oppoſition to the claim of the Britiſh parliament, ſo now you
" contend, in conjunction with Great Britain, for that conſtitution againſt
" France, and for that conſtitution with every thing beſide included, you
" fight for your iſland. To be weak at any time, is to be miſerable; but to
" be weak at this time, is to be nothing. You gave to the cauſe your
" troops, but you muſt give your heart along with them, and promote the
" courage of your troops by the gallant ſympathy of your councils. By op-
" poſing France, you have made a determined enemy; by leaving England,
" you would ſecure a ſuſpicious friend: puſhed as ſhe now is for her trident,
" ſhe will never forget your cordiality, or forgive your coldneſs. On the

" ſuppoſition of your coldneſs, ſhe will ſay, that in her days of triumph you " talked plauſibly to her; and ſhe will as plauſibly leave you, accordingly, " to all the evils that are common to the empire, without the participation " of its pride or its proſperity, ſhe will leave you to a ſpecies of government " and connection ſupported by job; when a few, affecting to monopolize the " loyalty of the country, would monopolize the powers of government, and " would rule you with a rod of iron; but on the ſuppoſition of your cor- " diality---on the ſuppoſition that the nation puts her own image on her own " loyalty, and takes a leading part in cultivating Britiſh connection againſt " French deſigns---then Britain muſt regard your people as an invaluable " ally, and their free conſtitution as an active and vital principle of her em- " pire. This cordiality is your dower---not liberty: for that you would ſur- " render; nor money, for that you do not in any conſiderable amount poſ- " ſeſs; not your men, numerous and brave as they have flocked to your " ſtandard: no, it is your diſpoſition. What is that diſpoſition? An abſolute, " unqualified anti-galliciſm of ſentiment! Your hands are valuable, but " that is ineſtimable, and in that ſentiment thoſe hard hands bring a better " dower than the riches of the Eaſt---No heireſs Ireland, but an unadorned " bride! And yet, in that one marriageable ſentiment, ſhe will prove to the " empire the fruitful mother of invaluable bleſſings; the garden of the em- " pire is before her---but touch not the plant of Gallic growth, its fruit is " death, though it be not the tree of knowledge.

" Accordingly you perceive his majeſty thanks you for your extraordinary " efforts, for thoſe exertions of generoſity and courage, which animated the " allegiance, and now conſtitute the character of your country: but above " all, he thanks you for that ineſtimable diſpoſition to exerciſe thoſe free and " independent conſtitutional powers ſo illuſtrioufly obtained, in ſupport of " the throne; in cultivating the connection, and in maintaining the high " ſtation you now poſſeſs in Europe, in oppoſition to the natural enemy of " theſe kingdoms, and to principles incompatible with any form or ſyſtem of " liberty or government; but to be attached to one another, external energy " muſt ariſe from internal union, and without that, your attachment to Eng- " land, and your allegiance to the king, though extremely honorable, would " be entirely uſeleſs.

" His majeſty, therefore, in the ſecond part of his ſpeech, recommends na- " tional harmony; he bids perpetual peace to all your animoſities; he touches

" with

" with the ſceptre thoſe troubled waters, which have long ſhattered the " weary bark of your country, under her various and falſe pilots, for ages of " infane perſecution and impious theology; it is a pious and profound re- " commendation, which enlightened the ſpeech of 1793, when the olive " deſcended from the throne: on the experiment of that advice, he con- " gratulated the liberality of parliament---he ſpreads his parental wings over " all his children---diſcerning with parental affection and a father's eye, in the " variety of their features, the fidelity of their reſemblance.

" The union of all the property of the country in ſupport of the laws, and " all the talents in ſupport of the property, with meaſures to redreſs and to " unite, accompanied with a graciouſneſs of manner to the ſubject, that he " may feel not only a privilege under the government, but a pride in the " condition of being a ſubject; another pledge of his allegiance, is an ex- " periment worthy of a wiſe government, whoſe primary object is your proſ- " perity, and whoſe ſecondary object is your love; a government, looking " in its arrangement of meaſures for the conſtitution, a ſolid ſtrength, and for " itſelf an honeſt power, to adminiſter the country according to its confi- " dence in purſuit of its advantages, with a ſpirit too high for reſentment, " and alike ſuperior to plunder or proſcription.

" From the union of the preſent generation, the public care of the ſpeech " proceeds to the education of the riſing generation.

" On this ſubject it is intended, that a plan ſhould be ſubmitted for col- " leges for the education of Catholic clergy, who are now excluded from the " continent; and alſo two or more colleges, where the children of the Pro- " teſtant clergy ſhall be in a great proportion on the foundation, and where " the patronage of the miniſter will be leſs conſidered than that of the Uni- " verſity.

" Of the diſturbances in Meath and the borders, the ſpeech is ſilent; wiſely, " leſt it ſhould magnify a banditti into a rebellion, implicate the lower or- " ders in the crime of a gang of robbers, and beſpeak on the part of his ma- " jeſty, any thing leſs than a complete ſatisfaction in the loyalty of all his " people.

" But though the miſchief has not been ſtated, the thing has not been " neglected; on the contrary, means have been taken already, and further " means will be reſorted to: and if the laws, when put in full execution, are " not ſufficient, parliament will be reſorted to for power to extinguiſh a ban-

" ditti, which cannot be tolerated by any government, and muſt now prepare " to forfeit either their lives or their practices.

" There is a part of the ſpeech, on which on ſubject and no Iriſhman can " ſpeak without emotions of joy and affection---the marriage of his Royal " Highneſs the Prince of Wales, an event the moſt auſpicious; whether we " conſider the mild government of his family, the bleſſings this country has " derived under his father, or the qualities of the auguſt perſonage himſelf, " a bleſſing to theſe countries; but I ſhould think him doubly a bleſſing, if " he ſhall communicate to poſterity the graciouſneſs of his manners, or the " perfections of his mind."

This ſpeech of Mr. Grattan's explicitly pledged the principles of the new lieutenant's government to the Iriſh nation; and it becomes eſſentially neceſſary to weigh them maturely, in order to bring within their bearing the particular meaſures, which were afterwards brought forward by his excellency. Mr. Duquery was the only perſon in the houſe who did not conſent to waive the original cauſe of the war, which he reprobated with pointed ſeverity: to him Mr. George Ponſonby very fully replied; and the motion for the addreſs was carried without a diviſion: as was alſo the motion of Mr. Conolly for an addreſs* to the lord lieutenant: and a committee was appointed to prepare them.

In

* The unanimous ſentiments of the Houſe of Commons towards Earl Fitzwilliam, who was ſo ſoon recalled, and whoſe recall produced ſuch a change of meaſures in government and diſpoſition in the people as will be hereafter noticed, are given for the ſatisfaction of the reader.

" To His Excellency WILLIAM, Earl FITZWILLIAM, Lord Lieutenant General and General " Governor of Ireland.

" The humble Addreſs of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

" WE, his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Ireland, " in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your excellency our ſincere thanks for your moſt " excellent ſpeech from the throne. We aſſure your excellency, that we conſider his majeſty's ap- " pointment of your excellency to be our chief governor, as a ſignal inſtance of his majeſty's atten- " tion to the intereſts, and condeſcenſion to the wiſhes of his people of Ireland; that we are con- " vinced, that in your excellency we ſhall always find a ready concurrence with his majeſty's pa- " ternal wiſhes, and with the wiſe meaſures of his parliament, for the happineſs of his ſubjects. " That on a cordial affection to the whole of Ireland, and on a conduct ſuitable to that ſentiment, " your excellency wiſhes to found your own perſonal eſtimation and your reputation, in the execu- " tion of the great truſt committed by the moſt beneficent ſovereign to your care. On our part,

" your

In the mean time the Catholics, buoyed up with the firmeſt confidence of ſucceſs, were preparing to back their intended application to parliament with

" your excellency may depend upon a firm and affectionate ſupport, prompted by inclination as " much as by duty. We ſhall ſecond, with peculiar pleaſure, the meaſures of a chief governor, no " leſs remarkable for his unſhaken loyalty to his ſovereign than for his invincible attachment to " the rights and liberties of the people, and whoſe poſſeſſions in this country, however ample, af- " ford a pledge much leſs valuable than his character for his attention to its intereſts.

" We return your excellency our ſincere acknowledgments for the kind opinion you have ex- " preſſed of our conduct; and we aſſure your excellency, we ſhall not only be deſirous, but zealous " to emulate the magnanimity of a ſovereign, formed to lead a nation that has ever been as firm to " aſſert its liberties, as affectionately devoted to a government which maintains its own authority " for the ſole purpoſe of ſupporting thoſe liberties.

" Cordially attached as we are to that ſovereign, and to that conſtitution which it is his glory " to protect, we warmly participate in the joy your excellency feels in communicating to us the " marriage of His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales with the Princeſs Carolina Amelia Eliza- " beth, daughter of His Moſt Illuſtrious Highneſs the Duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg; a prin- " ceſs of that illuſtrious houſe to whoſe mild and conſtitutional ſway theſe kingdoms are highly " indebted for the bleſſings they enjoy; and which we truſt will, by this marriage, be perpetuated " under the ſame houſe.

" The communication which your excellency has made to us by his majeſty's commands, of his " majeſty's having concluded a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with the United States " of America, we receive with the higheſt pleaſure; and we entertain a perfect conviction, that it " has been his majeſty's object to remove, as far as poſſible, all grounds of jealouſy and miſunder- " ſtanding, and to improve an intercourſe beneficial to both ſtates; and your excellency may be " aſſured, that ſo ſoon as your excellency ſhall direct a copy of it to be laid before us, we will " conſider what proviſions may on our part be neceſſary for carrying into effect a treaty in which " the commerce of this kingdom is ſo materially and extenſively intereſted.

" We learn from your excellency with the trueſt ſatisfaction the confidence of our gracious " ſovereign in our loyalty and zeal for his ſervice and the good of our country; and we aſſure your " excellency, that we ſhall not delay to make a proviſion for the public exigencies, adequate to the " preſent awful ſituation of affairs. It is a great conſolation to us to learn from your excellency, " that the revenue and commerce of the kingdom have not only kept up, but even augmented, " notwithſtanding the war in which we are engaged; advantages which, under the Divine Provi- " dence, we thankfully acknowledge to be due to the care and vigilance of our ſovereign, in the " general protection provided by him for all his ſubjects.

" We are ſenſible of your excellency's wiſdom in recommending to us to cultivate all our do- " meſtic advantages in commerce, in manufactures, and ſuch public works as have appeared di- " rected to promote theſe important objects, which your excellency juſtly conſiders as the true " foundation of public revenue and of public ſtrength; and we aſſure your excellency, that while " we reflect with peculiar ſatisfaction on the ſucceſs of our efforts for the proſperity of the linen " manufacture, we do alſo gratefully acknowledge, that its rapid and unexampled increaſe has been

" materially

with all the weight, that time and circumſtances could produce in their favor. Their ſanguine unanimity was too formidable to be damped or diſappointed, and

" materially promoted by the liberal encouragement it receives in the rich and extenſive market of " Great Britain, a circumſtance tending to cement the union, and perfect the harmony which ſub- " ſiſts, and we truſt will ever ſubſiſt, between the two kingdoms.

" Attached as we are to the general cauſe of religion, learning, and civilization, we feel ourſelves " bound to return your excellency our warmeſt thanks, for recommending to our care the ſtate of " education in this kingdom; we feel that conſiderable advantages have been already derived from " the Proteſtant charter-ſchools, which ſhall as uſual receive our attention; but as theſe advantages " have been but partial, and as circumſtances have made other conſiderations connected with this " important ſubject highly neceſſary, your excellency may be aſſured, that we ſhall endeavour to " order every thing relating to it in the manner which ſhall, upon the moſt mature deliberation, " ſeem moſt beneficial and the beſt adapted to the occaſions of the ſeveral deſcriptions of men " which compoſe his majeſty's faithful ſubjects of Ireland.

" Engaged in a conteſt which calls not only for great fortitude and an unuſual ſhare of public " ſpirit, but for much conſtancy and perſeverance, to oppoſe the arms and machinations of a power " which, under the antient forms of its internal government, was always highly formidable to the " neighbouring nations, but which at preſent, in a new ſhape, but with the ſame ambition, with " more extenſive and ſyſtematic deſigns, and with means far more effective, threatens nothing leſs " than the entire ſubverſion of the liberty and independence of every ſtate in Europe, we thank " your excellency for communicating to us his majeſty's gracious intention of calling upon the ſkill, " courage and experience of all his ſubjects, wherever diſperſed, and of availing himſelf of the " united ſtrength and zeal of all his people; and your excellency may reſt aſſured of our cordial " co-operation in all ſuch meaſures as are calculated to carry into execution this wiſe and ſalutary " purpoſe.

" We requeſt your excellency to repreſent to his majeſty our unſhaken loyalty to his royal per- " ſon, family, and government, and our fixed and unalterable determination to ſupport to the ut- " moſt of our power our ſiſter country againſt the rancorous animoſity and dangerous rivalry of her " antient enemy. Great Britain, aſſailed by France, may rely with confidence on the firm and " affectionate ſupport of Ireland; and we intreat your excellency to believe, that we eſteem it a " ſignal happineſs to this nation to be governed, in ſuch a criſis as the preſent, by a nobleman " whoſe manners are formed to conciliate, and whoſe councils, we truſt, will be directed to unite " the whole body of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects in the ſupport of the honor of his crown, and the " ſafety and proſperity of all his dominions."

To this Addreſs his Excellency was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

" THIS cordial addreſs, juſtifying with ſuch promptitude and alacrity the confidence " which his majeſty repoſes in the ſpirit and loyalty of his faithful commons of Ireland, is of ſo " ſalutary and animating a tendency, reflects ſuch high honor on the national character, and gives " ſo happy an earneſt of the cheerfulneſs, vigor, and extent of the national exertion at this arduous " and trying criſis, that it calls for more than ordinary expreſſions of ſatisfaction and acknow- " ledgment.

" Such

and Lord Fitzwilliam judged, that to defer the conſideration of their demands could not be attempted without danger. Mr. Grattan poſſeſſed the unlimited confidence of the Catholics, and of the lord lieutenant.* On the 24th of January, Mr. Grattan preſented a petition of the Catholics of the city of Dublin, whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed, on behalf of themſelves and others his majeſty's Catholic ſubjects: that in purſuance of his majeſty's moſt gracious and paternal recommendation of the ſituation of his Catholic ſubjects of that kingdom to the wiſdom and liberality of his parlia-

" Such ſentiments, communicating themſelves from one kingdom to the other; ſuch conformity " in attachment to the conſtitution, and in affection for the beſt and moſt beloved of ſovereigns, a " ſpirit ſo firm and perſevering in the ſupport of a cauſe which they conſider as common to both; " and a determination ſo fixed and unſhaken, to ſtand or fall together, muſt be as encouraging to " the friends as formidable to the enemies of the Britiſh name and empire. Standing on this " ground, we have nothing to dread. The diſturbers of the peace of Europe will ſee that, bound " indiſſolubly together in intereſts, in principles, and in affection, Great Britain and Ireland diſre- " gard their menaces, and are determined, under Providence, to check the courſe of their extermi- " nating ambition.

" If any thing could be wanting to complete my ſatisfaction at this happy and auſpicious com- " mencement of my adminiſtration, I ſhould find it in the flattering terms in which you expreſs your " approbation of my principles and paſt conduct, and in the generous confidence, with which you " anticipate future benefits to be derived to this kingdom from my loyalty to my ſovereign, and my " inviolable attachment to the rights and liberties of the people.

" The ſtake which I have in your country you naturally conclude ought to bind me in a peculiar " manner to its intereſts; but ſuch conſiderations are languid and cold indeed, when compared " with the ardent deſire I feel to recommend myſelf in this new connexion which I have formed " with you, to the approbation, the eſteem, and the affection of the whole of Ireland."

* Of this matter, Lord Fitzwilliam gave the following account:—" When I had fully ſatisfied " myſelf, by every information that I could gain, that this was the real ſtate of the affair; and " when I found that any attempt of mine to ſtop it for the preſent would be uſeleſs, it gave me " great ſatisfaction to find that the buſineſs had been put into the hands of my friend, Mr. Grattan, " by the Catholics, as it gave me an opportunity of knowing every thing that was intended, and of " conſulting upon it with the cabinet in London, previous to its being publicly known. When " once the Catholics had poſitively decided to bring forward this queſtion, even if I had not had " previous conſultation with my colleagues on the buſineſs, under ſuch circumſtances I ſhould " have thought it right and expedient to gain credit and ſtrength to the adminiſtration, by yielding " to the general wiſh; but the fact is, that while I was following my own opinions and inclina- " tions, I was following their directions, and I ſtrictly complied with them; when finding that " the general diſpoſition was not to be reſiſted, I reſolved to give the meaſure a handſome and " cordial ſupport on the part of government. The happy effects of this determination I fully expe- " rienced."

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ment, which was, in the courſe of the ſeſſion of 1793, pleaſed to remove many of the diſabilities, pains and penalties under which the Catholics of Ireland had ſo long laboured, by a repeal of divers ſevere and oppreſſive laws peculiarly affecting that body; that, while the petitioners felt the deepeſt and moſt lively ſenſe of the wiſdom and goodneſs of parliament, manifeſted in the repeal of the ſaid penal and reſtrictive ſtatutes, they could not, in juſtice to themſelves, refrain from moſt humbly ſubmitting, that the Catholics of Ireland had been, and ſtill were, in a number and variety of inſtances, prevented from enjoying the full benefits of the conſtitution of their country, by the exiſtence of certain diſabilities and reſtraints which the petitioners then did, with all humility and deference, preſume to hope, on every principle, as well of expediency as of juſtice, it would no longer be thought neceſſary to retain; that the petitioners did moſt humbly preſume to ſuggeſt to the wiſdom of the houſe, that the moſt effectual mode to unite in ſentiment all his majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland in ſupport of their moſt excellent conſtitution, agreeably to his gracious and paternal wiſh, would be to extend to them its bleſſings, by the abolition of thoſe incapacities and diſqualifications, of which the petitioners preſumed moſt humbly to complain; and therefore praying the houſe to take the ſituation of the petitioners into conſideration, their loyalty to their ſovereign, their reſpect to the legiſlature, and dutiful and obedient ſubmiſſion to the laws, they would be pleaſed to reſtore them to a full enjoyment of the bleſſings of their moſt excellent conſtitution, by a repeal of all the penal and reſtrictive laws then affecting the Catholics of Ireland. The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

On the ſame day Mr. Vandeleur preſented a petition much to the ſame effect, from the Catholics of the county of Clare: and ſoon after the table was laden with ſimilar petitions from every diſtinct body of Catholics throughout the realm. Of the intermediate proceedings between the preſentation of the firſt Catholic petition, and the motion for bringing in the Catholic bill, we have the following authentic account from the only ſource from which it could be procured.* On the 12th of February, 1794, Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in the bill, which was given with only the three diſſentient voices of Dr. Duigenan, Mr. Ogle, and Colonel Blaquiere.† That nobleman obſerving, that it had been objected to him, that the bill had been brought in

* 15 Parl. Debates, p. 98.

† 1ſt letter to Lord Carliſle.

precipitately,

precipitately, aſſured his noble correſpondent that that was not the fact. " Leave to bring in a bill has certainly been moved for by Mr. Grattan, but " not a line of the bill itſelf ever produced. There appeared a riſing impati- " ence among the Catholics after the delivery of their petitions, which made " me apprehend that the meaſure might be transferred from the hands of " Mr. Grattan to thoſe of another, with whom I might have no connexion, " and conſequently, over whom I could have no hopes of control, or to have " communication, however much I might wiſh it. There was no want of " candidates for this honor; there were enough greedy to ſeize upon it. I " therefore deſired Mr. Grattan to take poſſeſſion of the buſineſs, that I might " be ſure of myſelf having control over the management of the bill. By " this means, the plan and extent of the meaſure is now known only to the " Britiſh cabinet, to whom I have ſubmitted it, and it remains a profound " ſecret to every Roman Catholic, and to every Proteſtant, except to the " very few of the latter deſcription, to whom I have thought proper to con- " fide it. Of theſe the primate was the firſt; and miniſters are already poſ- " ſeſſed of his opinions on the ſubject; they are equally in poſſeſſion of every " information reſpecting men's minds and tempers, which I am able to give: " with reſpect to the merits of the caſe, abſtracted from the local circum- " ſtances, ſurely it would be preſumption in me to dictate to them: I have " repreſented clearly and diſtinctly my own opinions, but they are capable " of deciding and judging for themſelves: in the way I have managed, they " have an opportunity of doing it before the bill is introduced; ſo that if " they do not agree with Mr. Grattan's, (in which I heartily concur), and " if they do not come up to the extent claimed and expected by the Catho- " lics, they have had time, previous to the introduction of the bill, to ſuggeſt " any expedients, modifications, or limitations, they may think proper to " introduce; thus, by my management, government will do this without " incurring the odium of narrowing an original propoſition, and defeating " hopes once realized. Thus, then, I made myſelf maſter, as well of the time " of bringing the meaſure forward, as for conſulting on the points to be con- " ceded; for, as to reſiſting altogether, I ſhould have belied my own convic- " tion, and betrayed my ſituation, if I did not repreſent, as I have repeatedly " done, that it would not only defeat every hope I had formed for the gene- " ral ſecurity and defence of the country, but be attended with a certainty of " the moſt alarming and fatal conſequences."

On the 14th of February, Lord Milton informed the houſe, that he was commanded by his excellency to communicate to them his majeſty's gracious anſwer to their addreſs. The only material paragraph of it noticed, that the favorable ſentiments which they had expreſſed of the Earl Fitzwilliam, could not but be pleaſing to his majeſty, as they confirmed thoſe impreſſions, which recommended him to his majeſty's choice for the chief government of Ireland. This confirmation of the royal choice of the viceroy, was ſingularly received and commented upon in Dublin, having been communicated to the Houſe of Commons on the very day which brought tidings that the Britiſh miniſter was adverſe to the important meaſure, which the lord-lieutenant was thus publicly purſuing. The joy and exultation expreſſed by the Catholics on the occaſion of leave for bringing in their bill, exceeded any ſimilar inſtance in that country; but it was ſuddenly damped by this inexplicable intelligence, and their high mounted expectations fell into deſponding gloom.

It has generally been the bane of Ireland, that its government has been ſeldom carried on upon thoſe open principles of the conſtitution, which never fail to inſure the happineſs of the governed. Nothing could more emphatically demonſtrate the apprehenſions of Earl Fitzwilliam, that *Mr. Beresford was filling a ſituation greater than that of the lord-lieutenant*, than the iſſue of this conteſt for power. A regular correſpondence was carried on, as was natural between the lord-lieutenant and the Britiſh cabinet upon the ſubject of the delicate, arduous, and important matters, which were to be carried on in Ireland. Not only had Earl Fitzwilliam been permitted to quit this country with a plenitude of power and diſcretion over the Catholic queſtion, but he had acted for above a month upon it in Ireland without even an oblique reference to any difference of opinion in the Britiſh cabinet from him upon the ſubject of the Catholic queſtion. The diſmiſſal of Mr. Beresford had, indeed, been productive of very alarming effects in that quarter. It appears, however, from a letter of Mr. Wyndham's to Lord Milton, written on the 2d of February, that the Duke of Portland was at that time unacquainted with the alarm, which the intelligence of that tranſaction, conveyed indirectly to Mr. Pitt by Mr. Beresford himſelf, had occaſioned. On the 9th of February, and not before, Mr. Pitt wrote to Earl Fitzwilliam to expoſtulate on the diſmiſſal of Mr. Beresford: and alſo on the negotiation with Meſſrs. Wolfe and Toler: that formed the whole matter of his letter, and to that alone he confined

confined his remonſtrances: ſo far was he from finding any fault with the meaſures hitherto purſued, and which he well knew, that he concluded his letter by apologizing *for interrupting his attention from the many important conſiderations of a different nature, to which all their minds ought to be directed.* On the preceding day, the Duke of Portland, for the firſt time, in a letter to Earl Fitzwilliam, touched on the ſubject of Catholic emancipation, and then bringing it into play as a queſtion of any doubt or difficulty in the Britiſh cabinet: and in that letter, as if it had never been the ſubject of any former conſultation, plan, or arrangement whatever, he wrote of enabling the king's miniſters to form their judgment as to the *policy, expediency, ſafety and neceſſity* of that meaſure. Then, as if he had never heard from his excellency upon the ſubject, he cautioned him againſt committing himſelf by engagements, or even by encouraging language, (ſo minute was his grace), to give any countenance to the immediate adoption of the meaſure. Then, for the firſt time, it appeared to have been diſcovered, that the deferring would not be an expediency, or a thing to be deſired for the preſent, "but the means of doing a greater ſervice to the Britiſh empire, than "it had been capable of receiving ſince the revolution, or at leaſt ſince the "union." The Duke of Portland, in conſequence of the diſcuſſion of the queſtion in the cabinet on the 7th of February, then felt it his duty to exhort the lord lieutenant to uſe thoſe efforts, which he had on the 8th of January expreſſed his intention of trying, though doubtful of ſucceſs; but every hope of which, he had expreſsly aſſured his grace in a letter of the 15th of January, he had relinquiſhed, when he warned them of the neceſſity of giving way, and earneſtly called upon them for peremptory directions, which, if he ſhould not receive, he would acquieſce. Efforts, which they knew, from the whole ſeries of his correſpondence, it was impoſſible even to attempt without evident and certain danger. Advanced as matters were in Ireland, it appears myſterious, that Mr. Pitt, had he been averſe from that prominent meaſure of Catholic emancipation, ſhould have written to Earl Fitzwilliam two days after the diſcuſſion of it in the cabinet without any alluſion to it whatever, excepting ſuch as rather imported his and his colleagues co-operation in the meaſure, than their reprobation of it.

On the 14th of February, that is, two days after Mr. Grattan had obtained leave to bring in the Catholic bill, Earl Fitzwilliam received Mr. Pitt's letter of the 9th, and the Duke of Portland's of the 8th, and on that ſame day his excel-

lency wrote anſwers to each of them. That to Mr. Pitt contained a full diſcuſſion and juſtification of his diſmiſſals. But that to the Duke of Portland was calculated to bring the buſineſs to the real point at iſſue between them, and to leave him no ſubterfuge. It teſtified his excellency's ſurprize, that, after ſuch an interval of time, and after the various details, tranſmitted to him, adviſing him of the hourly increaſing neceſſity of bringing forward the Catholic queſtion, and the impolicy and dangers of reſiſting, or even heſitating about it, he then ſhould be preſſed for the firſt time, to defer the queſtion till ſome future occaſion. He refuſed to be the perſon to run the riſque of ſuch a determination; he refuſed to be the perſon to raiſe a flame in the country, that nothing ſhort of arms would be able to keep down. He then alluded to Mr. Pitt's letter; appealed to his knowlege of the ſituation of a lord lieutenant in that kingdom; and left him to determine, whether, if he were not to be ſupported, he ought not to be removed. Shortly after came two official letters from the Duke of Portland, dated the 16th, in which he entered into a long detail of the various points of view, in which the cabinet wiſhed to have the queſtion of the Catholics conſidered; on the ſame day with theſe came a private letter of his own; dated the 18th. In this his grace dwells moſt particularly on the neceſſity of the cabinet having information ſubmitted to them on all theſe points of view and a detailed plan of all the additional advantages intended to be conceded to the Catholics. He obſerved, that if the conſideration of that great queſtion could be deferred till peace was re-eſtabliſhed, he ſhould not have a doubt but that it would be attended with advantages, which, perhaps, are not to be hoped for in any other ſuppoſable caſe: but he added, " that it was ſurely going too far, to infer from any thing he had ſaid, " that he was deſired to undertake the taſk of deferring it to that period. " If the cabinet were to accede, what they deſired was, to be juſtified in that " acceſſion, by a free and impartial inveſtigation of facts, of circumſtances, " and of opinions, in which, as of reaſon, his lordſhip's would have the moſt " deciſive weight; and as he had expreſſed a wiſh to have the mode conſidered " in England whilſt it was ſtill within his reach, to have it limited or modified " before the bill was introduced, and before the plan was known to the Ca- " tholics, he wiſhed to have that plan and the heads of the bill tranſmitted " for conſideration."

At the moment of his grace's writing this letter, there was not " a fact, a " circumſtance," or an " opinion" that could have been tranſmitted to him,

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of which he was not in poſſeſſion. He acknowledged, and often referred to Lord Fitzwilliam's letter of the 10th of February, in which he had the plan, the oath, on which the whole depended, on which every thing that regarded the conſtitution, the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, and the ſettlement of property reſted. He had the primate's opinion, and ſome ideas that his grace had ſuggeſted. The very day after he had written that letter, which preſſed for more information, his grace aſſiſted at the cabinet meeting, that unanimouſly concurred in the neceſſity of recalling the lord lieutenant: and in a letter of the 21ſt he ſummed up all the reaſons, why that meaſure was deemed neceſſary, without one diſſenting voice, for the very preſervation of the empire. "Can any thing be more ſelf-evident, or, in order to account for the real cauſes of my recall, did it require that this letter ſhould be accompanied, as it was, by one from Mr. Pitt of the ſame date, accepting in fact, the alternative I propoſed to him, and declaring himſelf fully prepared for the event, however he might lament it. It is true indeed, that, for the very firſt time, he mentions the Catholic buſineſs, and declares his concurrence in the general deſire of the cabinet to prevent any further progreſs being made in Mr. Grattan's bill, till they ſhould receive and conſider the information, which they thought it their duty to call for. Would you not have ſuppoſed from this, that to decide on my government, Mr. Pitt meant to wait till he received farther information from me, reſpecting the important queſtion of the Catholics? No ſuch thing. By the dereliction of all my friends, and by the proſpect of my falling alone, he was prepared to throw out this as a matter, on which to amuſe his colleagues at the moment, and the public at a future period: while to myſelf, without allowing a moment's farther deliberation, he boldly and peremptorily pronounces on what I had determined to be the point to decide on my government. "On the ſubject of arrangements, he felt bound to adhere to his ſen-
"timents, not only with reſpect to Mr. Beresford, but to the line of conduct
"adopted in ſo many inſtances towards the former ſupporters of government.
"By theſe ſentiments, he muſt at all events be guided, from a regard to the
"king's ſervice and to his own honor, however ſincerely he might lament the
"conſequences which muſt ariſe from the preſent ſituation."

"Need I add any comment on this letter? Need I obſerve to you, that the meaſure of the Roman Catholics, on which it is now aſſerted my adminiſtration was determined, is here reſerved for future conſideration, whilſt the ſubject of arrangements is finally and peremptorily decided. At all events, and inde-

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pendent of every other conſideration, his own honor obliges him not to give way on that ſubject, and however he laments it, he acquieſces in what I had ſtated to him muſt be the conſequences of ſuch a deciſion on his part.

Let my friends therefore, my dear Carliſle, no longer ſuffer the Catholic queſtion to be mentioned, as entering, in the moſt diſtant degree, into the cauſes of my recall."

That letter of the Duke of Portland's was accompanied by one alſo from Mr. Pitt, which accepted, in fact, of the alternative propoſed by Lord Fitzwilliam, and declared he was fully prepared for the event, however he might lament it. In that letter he mentioned, for the firſt time, the ſubject of the Catholic buſineſs, and declared his concurrence in the general deſire of the cabinet to prevent any further progreſs being made in Mr. Grattan's bill, till they ſhould receive and conſider the information, which they thought it their duty to call for. This language upon the Catholic queſtion ſeems to purport that Mr. Pitt rather adopted the ſentiments of others, than ſpoke his own. But his language upon the diſmiſſals imported directly the reverſe. From the purport of this letter and other circumſtances, Earl Fitzwilliam was induced to believe, and he publiſhed his conviction, that the Catholic queſtion entered for nothing into the real cauſe of his recall, but that it was ſolely owing to the diſmiſſal of Mr. Beresford.* Notwithſtanding the facts and letters, by which that tranſaction has been ſupported and denied by men of the firſt reſpectability, the public mind has never been decided upon the ſubject. The ſolemn aſſertions of a nobleman of the moſt diſtinguiſhed probity and veracity are in one ſcale; the contradictions of a whole ſet of cabinet miniſters, backed by a majority in both houſes of parliament, are in the other: the reader will give the preponderancy. Thus properly ended the ſhort-lived adminiſtration of Earl

* In confirmation of theſe concluſions of Lord Fitzwilliam, a very ſtrong chain of facts leads every unbiaſſed man to attribute the extraordinary recall of that viceroy from his government to the preponderancy of Mr. Beresford's intereſt with the premier, not indeed immediate and perſonal, but indirect and relative through thoſe, who were well known to poſſeſs the ſtrongeſt influence upon the mind of that miniſter. Mr. Beresford had been, as his friends termed him, *the faithful ſervant*, (as his enemies denominated him the *ſervile tool*) of every ſucceſſive chief governor from Lord Townſend to that period. The nature of that gentleman's ſituation in Ireland did not require any perſonal communications with the head of the Britiſh miniſtry: conſequently his merits could only have been known through the organs of thoſe to whom he ſo cloſely adhered. Theſe were the perſons, through whom, according to Lord Fitzwilliam, the intelligence of Mr. Beresford's diſmiſſal was indirectly

Earl Fitzwilliam: from which commenced a government of rigor and coercion, the conſequences of which will appear in the ſeries of future detail.

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directly conveyed to Mr. Pitt by Mr. Beresford himſelf; through them thoſe later favorable impreſſions were worked into the miniſter's mind, which at laſt brought it to ſuch peremptory deciſion againſt the diſmiſſals, whilſt it remained open to information and conſultation upon the Catholic queſtion. Therefore, ſaid Lord Fitzwilliam, "let my friends no longer ſuffer the Catholic "queſtion to be mentioned, as entering in the moſt diſtant degree into the cauſes of my recall. "Let them liſten no longer to that terrifying enumeration of evils and miſeries to reſult to the em- "pire from a meaſure, which my enemies aſſert to have conſidered either as originating with myſelf "excluſively, or as hurried on by me raſhly and precipitately, or without conſent or conſultation. "You have ſeen when the dread of theſe miſeries was firſt conceived, and when the complaint of "this want of conſultation was firſt brought forward. Had Mr. Beresford never been diſmiſſed, "we never ſhould have heard of them, and I ſhould have remained. But ſo remaining, I ſhould "have been diſgraced. Indeed, diſgraced by the failure of all the meaſures which I had planned "for the public welfare, and loaded with all the odium which that gentleman, and his connexions "have entailed upon government, to which I had ſucceeded." Thus in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers, Lord Weſtmorland firſt ſet out in praiſe of Mr. Beresford, whoſe influence was that of an active and able man, who was zealous in the ſervice of his king and the preſervation of the peace and tranquillity of his country: faithful, vigilant and indefatigable in his ſervices: a man of unblemiſhed reputation, who had conducted himſelf in his high office with ſo much honor and fidelity. The Marquis Townſend wiſhed for nothing more earneſtly than an opportunity of meeting any inviduous charges againſt Mr. Beresford. The Marquis of Buckingham bore the ſtrongeſt teſtimony to the loyalty and attachment of Mr. Beresford to his majeſty, and felt himſelf called upon by juſtice and gratitude to declare, that during his adminiſtration of that country he found him a man of high honor and correct integrity. Lord Auckland concurred in that teſtimony to the character of Mr. Beresford, who had been twenty-five years in the ſervice of the public. It was evident from the forward and ſtrained eulogies which theſe noble lords delivered of Mr. Beresford's worth and virtue, that they made a common cauſe with him, that they conſidered his diſgrace as the condemnation of their adminiſtration, and his diſmiſſal as the immediate and excluſive cauſe of Earl Fitzwilliam's recall. The following part of Lord Fitzwilliam's ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords developes much of this myſterious tranſaction: it was not then replied to, and has never ſince been anſwered. "If he had before conceived that the Catholic queſtion was not the genuine cauſe of his recall, he was now convinced of the fact. The noble Earl had returned from Ireland according to his own account, only with the intention to govern it more ſecurely. He had declared that he had, even before his return, Mr. Pitt's promiſe that his friends ſhould not be removed from their ſituations, and he had no ſooner ſet his foot in England, than he had procured theſe promiſes to be renewed, and had taken care to embarraſs the new arrangement of the adminiſtration. To this in ſo many words, did his own account of the conference with miniſters tend. And it certainly was moſt perfectly true, that the noble Earl had taken all the meaſures in his power to embarraſs the future adminiſtration in Ireland; for what other purpoſe could the granting a reverſion for two lives of a place of 2300*l.* a year to Lord Fitzgibbon ſerve? He had not been two days in Ireland before

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The profeſſed plan of the new adminiſtration was little calculated to gratify the feelings of thoſe, who had ſo long concurred in the ſupport of ſyſtems diametrically the reverſe. On the 17th of February, Mr. Graydon recapitulated the duty of the houſe in watching with ſcrutinous vigilance the expenditure of the public money, and the adoption of every practical meaſure of retrenchment, at a criſis ſo arduous as the preſent, when the country was called on for a greater ſupply than ever was known at any former period.

He profeſſed his determination to bring forward, with permiſſion of the houſe, a ſtrict inquiry into every branch of the public expence. For the preſent, he ſhould begin by moving, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the expenditures of the revenue eſtabliſhed for twenty years paſt, the number of additional officers appointed in each year, with the names of the perſons, and ſalary annexed to each office.

The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, he ſhould not reſiſt the motion, unleſs it had for its object the cenſure of the revenue board.

Mr. Grattan avowed vigilance over the public expenditures, and retrenchment of expences, as principal objects of the preſent adminiſtration, more eſpecially in the revenue department, where, he was convinced, great abuſes had exiſted. As the honorable member had moved the inquiry, he ſhould have his concurrence and ſupport, and every aid conſiſtent with the variety of his avocations.

Sir Laurence Parſons wiſhed the meaſure had been ſuffered to come from adminiſtration, as moſt likely, in that caſe, to be efficient.

Mr. Maſon profeſſed himſelf ready to contribute his aid moſt chearfully to the inquiry propoſed by the honorable member, and he could anſwer to the ſame purpoſe for the commiſſioners of the revenue.

Mr. Graydon's motion was carried (being only oppoſed by the ſingle negative of Colonel Blaquiere) and the committee was appointed to ſit on the morrow.

The reſolutions of the cabinet were not inſtantly followed up by a recall: the fact was confidentially known to many, though publicly avowed

he diſcovered what the noble Earl now owned to be the caſe, before he was convinced of his intention to embarraſs the king's government, and that a very perfect ſyſtem had been formed with the miniſters at home for accompliſhing that end. That which he had ſenſibly felt in Ireland was now avowed in England, and it ſeemed there was no heſitation in acknowledging the courſe which had been previouſly arranged."

by

by none. The ſame parliamentary conduct was purſued, as if no ſuch change were in agitation. On the 17th of February * Mr. Grattan, after a few obſervations on the inadequacy of the police eſtabliſhment to the protection of the citizens, and the enormity of its expences, moved the houſe to come to the following reſolution, "that the preſent police is an experiment found to be "inadequate for the protection of the citizens, and exorbitant in its expence; "and it is therefore expedient that it be put down by act of parliament, and an "inſtitution for the eſtabliſhment of a parochial watch inſtituted in its ſtead."

Mr. Marcus Beresford diſſented from this reſolution, as going to contradict what the houſe had ſo often reſolved to be otherwiſe, and in as much as the police had proved infinitely ſuperior to any eſtabliſhment for the ſame purpoſe.

The queſtion was put and carried in the affirmative without a diviſion. Petitions continued to flow in daily from different bodies of the Catholics: but nothing worthy of particular notice occurred till the 26th of the month, at which time the recall of the viceroy was ſpoken of as a certainty. On that day Sir Lawrence Parſons, who with Mr. Duquerry had hitherto ſtood alone in oppoſition to the government upon the queſtion of war, roſe and ſaid, † that with the deepeſt concern he noticed a prevailing rumour, that their viceroy was about to retire from the high ſtation which he filled. He hoped it was falſe: for that nobleman's public and private virtues not only endeared him to all ranks of people, under whoſe auſpicious adminiſtration, and the talents and integrity of thoſe gentlemen who aided his councils, the people of Ireland were taught to expect the adoption of meaſures the moſt ſalutary for their happineſs, conciliation, and proſperity. He truſted that if it were, the right honorable and honorable members oppoſite to him, who poſſeſſed the confidence of government, would ſay ſo candidly, and that they would go ſtill further, and ſtate alſo the cauſe.

Pauſing a minute and receiving no immediate anſwer, Sir Lawrence added, he was ſorry to be obliged to conſtrue the ſilence of the right honorable and honorable gentlemen into a confirmation of this rumour; and he deplored moſt deeply the event, which, at the preſent time, muſt tend to throw alarming doubts on the promiſes, which had been held out to the people, of meaſures to be adopted for the promotion of their happineſs, the conciliation of their minds, and the common attachment of every claſs of his majeſty's faithful

* 15 Par. Deb. 121. † 15 Par. Deb. 132.

ſubjects of Ireland, in ſupport of the ſame happy conſtitution. If thoſe meaſures were now to be relinquiſhed, which gentlemen had promiſed with ſo much confidence to the country, and on the faith of which, the houſe had been called on to vote the enormous ſum of one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, he muſt conſider his country as brought to the moſt awful and alarming criſis ſhe had ever known in any period of her hiſtory.

If the rumoured reſignation of Earl Fitzwilliam aroſe from any new reſtriction on his wiſhes to realize the profeſſions of his adminiſtration, or to fill his high ſtation with honor, his reſignation reflected the higheſt luſtre on the dignity of his nature and the purity of his principles; but as he ſtill hoped meaſures had not proceeded to that length, which muſt deprive this country at ſo awful, ſo intereſting, and ſo critical a period, of the auſpices of a nobleman, who came the harbinger and the hoſtage of her political ſalvation, he thought the beſt meaſure to be adopted was to move for an addreſs to his excellency to implore his continuance amongſt them. He had on the ſpur of the occaſion drawn heads of an addreſs for the purpoſe; to the form or wording of which he had no partial attachment, but ſhould ſubmit it to ſuch alteration and amendment as the houſe ſhould think proper to adopt.

Mr. Duquery ſeconded the motion, and entered on a ſtriking but gloomy picture of the ſituation of his country, under circumſtances ſo truly to be deprecated as the departure of Earl Fitzwilliam, and the defeat of thoſe meaſures which were to have been the pride and glory of his adminiſtration, and moſt likely the ſalvation of the country. The rumour had already thrown a gloom over the public countenance, and caſt a deſpondency into the popular boſom, and he could not reflect, but with ſorrow and alarm, on the conſequence which might follow the going forth of thoſe circumſtances to the country.

He juſtified himſelf and the honorable baronet from the idea (which he diſdained) of a peeviſh oppoſition. He confeſſed he and the honorable baronet differed from gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe reſpecting a ruinous war, and in ſome points of taxation, which bore heavily on the poor; but they had, however, agreed in all that they conceived neceſſary to the proſperity and happineſs of the country, and the exigencies of the government; but if after voting the enormous ſupply of 1,700,000*l.* to ſave, if poſſible, the empire from deſtruction, they were to be deprived of the adminiſtration of the nobleman, to whom the people looked up with confidence, he feared the great and ſalutary meaſures of reform, retrenchment, and re-

ſponſibility

ſponſibility would vaniſh, and the Catholics of Ireland, inſtead of the accompliſhment of their hopes, would have the gate of the caſtle ſlapped in their faces, and be refuſed the bleſſings of the conſtitution.

He made ſevere obſervations on Mr. Pitt's conduct, who, not ſatisfied with having involved the empire in a diſaſtrous war, intended to complete the miſchief by riſking the internal peace of Ireland, making the friends of that country the dupes of his fraud and artifice, in order to ſwindle the nation out of 1,700,000*l.* to ſupport the war, on the faith of meaſures which it now ſeemed were to be refuſed.

Mr. George Ponſonby hoped it would not be imputed to any idea of diſreſpect, if he declined to anſwer the queſtion touching an alleged rumour, and hoped he ſhould be excuſed for moving the order of the day; the ſubject was delicate; no man in that houſe was authorized to admit or contradict the rumour; the houſe had not any cognizance on the matter to warrant parliamentary proceeding; a day would come, and was not far diſtant, when he, for one, ſhould have no objection to anſwer any queſtions; he ſuggeſted the prudence of withdrawing the motion for the preſent, to which

Sir Lawrence Parſons acceded.

On the 2d of March, Sir Lawrence Parſons made a very violent ſpeech, in which he ſeverely reprobated the conduct of the Britiſh cabinet, with reference to Earl Fitzwilliam. But the great object of the motion he meant to make, was to calm the public mind, to give the people an aſſurance, that the meaſures which were propoſed, would not be abandoned; that the parliament would keep the means in their hands until they were accompliſhed; and that they would not be prorogued until they were fairly and fully diſcuſſed. He did not pretend to ſay ſpecifically what theſe meaſures were. The firſt he believed to be the Catholic bill; and if a reſiſtance to any one meaſure more than another was likely to promote dreadful conſequences it was this. He ſaid nothing as to the original propriety of the meaſure; but this much he would ſay, that if the Iriſh adminiſtration had countenanced the Catholics in this expectation, without the concurrence of the Britiſh cabinet, they had much to anſwer for. On the other hand, if the Britiſh cabinet had held out an aſſent, and had afterwards retracted; if the dæmon of darkneſs ſhould come from the infernal regions upon earth, and throw a fire-brand amongſt the people, he could not do more to promote miſchief. The hopes of the public were raiſed, and in one inſtant they were blaſted. If the houſe

did not reſent that inſult to the nation and to themſelves, they would in his mind be moſt contemptible; for although a majority of the people might ſubmit to have their rights withheld, they would never ſubmit to be mocked in ſo barefaced a manner. The caſe was not as formerly, when all the parliament of Ireland was againſt the Catholics; and to back them, the force of England. Now, although the claim of the Catholics was well known and underſtood, not one petition controverting it had been preſented from Proteſtants in any part of Ireland. No remonſtrance appeared, no county meeting had been held. What was to be inferred from all this, but that the ſentiments of the Proteſtants were for the emancipation of the Catholics? A meeting was held on Saturday laſt at the Royal Exchange, of the merchants and traders of the metropolis, which was as numerouſly attended as the limits of that building would admit. The governor of the Bank of Ireland was in the chair. An addreſs was reſolved on to his excellency Lord Fitzwilliam, full of affection, and reſolutions ſtrong as they could be in countenance of the Catholic claim. He would aſk them, was the Britiſh miniſter to controul all the intereſts, talents, and inclinations in that country? He proteſted to God, that in all the hiſtory he had read, he had never met with a parallel of ſuch ominous infatuation as that by which he appeared to be led. "Let him perſevere," ſaid he, "and you muſt encreaſe your army to myriads; every man muſt have five or ſix dragoons in his houſe." He moved, "that the words in the money bill (then before the houſe) the 25th of "March, 1796, ſhould be expunged, and the words 25th of May inſerted "in their room."

Mr. Tighe, junior, in a few words approved of the ſentiments delivered by the honorable baronet, and ſeconded his motion.

Mr. Conolly complimented the honorable baronet upon the able manner in which he had brought forward the queſtion. If he ſhould not hear ſomething very ſatisfactory, he would certainly vote for the motion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Monk Maſon moſt ſeverely reprobated the motion, as contravening the principles of the very gentlemen who ſupported it. It was a motion fraught with inconſiſtency, miſchief, and danger. Several gentlemen ſpoke with great warmth upon the ſubject on both ſides. Mr. Duquery was very pointed on the conduct of the Britiſh cabinet. He entreated the treaſury bench not to interfere, but to leave gentlemen to the impulſe of their honeſt feelings. He had long watched the Britiſh cabinet,

cabinet, and had ever diſcerned in it a ſtrong propenſity to treat Ireland with inſult and contempt. It had done ſo in 1779, and 1783, and was brought to reaſon by a ſhort money bill. He pledged himſelf, that if tried a third time it would ſucceed. Lord Milton called upon the houſe to go along with him in the delicate ſituation in which he ſtood, and in conſideration of the painful ſenſations of his mind. It was not for him to go into the motives of gentlemen in their actions, as had been done in the courſe of the debate; it was ſufficient for him, to hear their arguments and reaſoning, and upon theſe grounds to form his opinion. But he muſt ſay at once, that it was impoſſible for him to aſſent to a motion ſo fraught with danger to the whole empire. What inducement could be ſo tempting to the Frenchmen to endeavour to land on our coaſts as a ſhort money bill? What greater damp could be thrown upon their military arrangements than to find them two months hence as backward as they then were, which muſt be a conſequence if the motion ſhould paſs, by retarding the recruiting ſervice. What ſtronger encouragement could be given to incendiaries, if incendiaries there were in the country, than for the Houſe of Commons to withhold the ſupplies from government? Seeing ſo much loyalty, ſo much ſpirit, ſo much attachment to the crown on the commencement of the ſeſſion, at every part of the houſe, he was ſurely ſafe in relying upon the feelings of gentlemen, and truſting to their moderation. However high the character of the nobleman at the head of the government, however reſpected, and juſtly reſpected, and elevated his rank, if that conſideration ſhould weigh againſt the public cauſe, he ſhould be very ſorry, he ſhould be very much mortified and utterly diſappointed.

Towards the cloſe of a long debate Mr. Conolly propoſed a mediation or compoſition: not but that he conſidered a three months money bill, and one for nine months afterwards, as good ſecurity as one for a year. He inſiſted, that the ſtrength of Ireland lay in its confidence in the preſent adminiſtration. The ſpeaker wiſhed Mr. Conolly not to preſs his compromiſe, and the houſe divided, 24 for and 146 againſt Sir Lawrence Parſons' motion. Mr. Conolly then propoſed three reſolutions. "1. That his excellency Earl Fitzwilliam "had, by his conduct ſince his arrival in that kingdom, merited the thanks "of that houſe and the confidence of the people. 2. That to prorogue the "parliament before the grievances, of which the people complained were "redreſſed, would be highly inexpedient. 3. That the foregoing reſolutions "be laid before his majeſty." The firſt of theſe reſolutions was carried unanimouſly;

nimouſly; the two other, at the inſtance of Lord Milton and Mr. Grattan,* were withdrawn. On the next day, the ſpeaker reported to the houſe his excellency's anſwer to the reſolution of the preceding day: viz. "that it "gave him infinite ſatisfaction to find by that unanimous reſolution, that his "public conduct ſince his arrival in that kingdom, had appeared to them to "be deſerving of their thanks, and to entitle him to the confidence of the "people." On the 10th of March, the houſe adjourned to the 24th, when the money bills were carried up to the lords,† and the houſe then further adjourned

* 15 Par. Deb. p. 142. It was an unprecedented ſingularity, that Mr. Grattan ſhould have aſſiſted at a debate of ſo much importance, and ſo intereſting to his feelings, without joining in it. Although it muſt be preſumed, that the bent of his opinion was for a ſhort money bill, yet the ſympathizing reſpect for the lord lieutenant held him back, leſt it ſhould be objected, that the objects they contended for, were men, not meaſures; and that rather than fail, they were ready to obſtruct the buſineſs and counteract the welfare of the nation. Mr. Barrington, who oppoſed the motion, not ineptly repreſented the government in an unexampled ſituation: officers without offices, and miniſters without place or reſponſibility; with particular alluſion to Mr. Grattan.

† The following was the ſpeech on delivering the money bills. "The commons attend your "excellency with their ſupplies, which go to the utmoſt extent of every eſtimate and deſire laid "before them by his majeſty's miniſters, and are much larger than have been ever granted in any "one ſeſſion; but it is their determined reſolution at all times to ſtand or fall with Great Britain; "and that reſolution is now, if poſſible, ſtill more ſtrengthened by every circumſtance of foreign "and internal conſideration in theſe eventful times, they therefore feel it their duty, their intereſt, "and their anxious wiſh, to ſupport the empire through the preſent unprovoked and deſtructive "war, with all that is moſt dear to them, their lives and fortunes.

"In their appropriation of theſe ſupplies, they have ſhewn their early attention to the ſure and "national ſtrength of the Britiſh empire, her navy, by granting 200,000*l.* for procuring ſeamen; "and they have provided for augmenting the militia, an inſtitution which, by the indefatigable "exertions both of men and officers, is the admiration, and will be the ſalvation of this kingdom.

"It is owing to the unexampled proſperity and growing reſources of the nation, that they now "offer to his majeſty, without laying much additional burthen on the people, or leſſening thoſe "bounties and pecuniary encouragements under which trade and manufactures have encreaſed and "are encreaſing, and the ſame cauſes have allowed them, amidſt theſe liberal ſupplies, to gratify "his majeſty's paternal benevolence, and their own anxious feelings, by relieving all the poorer "claſſes from the tax of hearth-money.

"Satisfied, however, that thoſe reſources and that proſperity cannot be permanent without an "effectual attention to the ſobriety of the people, to their morals, and peaceable ſubordination to "the laws, they have, by an arrangement of duties, which promiſes alſo an encreaſe of revenue, "relieved the brewery from all reſtriction of taxes, ſo as to give it a decided advantage over the "diſtillery, and thereby diſcourage the too frequent or immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors, a

"meaſure

journed to the 13th of April, in order to allow time for the new arrangements.

The report of Earl Fitzwilliam's intended removal was no ſooner credited, than an univerſal deſpondency, in ſome inſtances bordering on deſperation, ſeized the whole nation. Meetings were formed throughout the kingdom, in order to convey to their beloved and reſpected governor, their high ſenſe of his virtue and patriotiſm, and their juſt indignation at his and their country's enemies. The deep and ſettled ſpirit of diſcontent which at this time pervaded all ranks of people, was not confined to the Catholics. The Diſſenters and as many of the Proteſtants of the eſtabliſhment, as had not an intereſt in that monopoly of power and influence, which Earl Fitzwilliam had ſo openly attacked and ſo fearfully alarmed, felt the irreſiſtible effect: all good Iriſhmen beheld with ſorrow and indignation, the reconciliation of all parties, intereſts, and religions defeated, the cup of national union daſhed from their eager lips, and the ſpirit of diſcord let looſe upon the kingdom with an enlarged commiſſion to enflame, aggravate, and deſtroy. Such were the feelings, and ſuch the language of thoſe, who deplored the removal of that nobleman, in the critical moment of giving peace, ſtrength, and proſperity to their country. And how large a part of the Iriſh nation lamented the loſs of their truly patriotic governor, may be read in the numberleſs addreſſes and reſolutions, that poured in upon him both before and after his actual departure, expreſſive of their grief, deſpair, and indignation at that ominous event. They came from every deſcription of perſons, but from Right Boys, Defenders, and the old dependants upon the Caſtle. The Catholics of Dublin took the lead and the moſt effectual means, they could deviſe for preventing the removal of Lord Fitzwilliam from his government:* they

" meaſure which muſt conduce to ſobriety, tranquillity and content, and under which the people, " encouraged to regular induſtry, and the conſequent acquiſition of wealth, muſt feel the bleſſings " of the happy conſtitution under which they live, and cheriſh and preſerve it from all change or " innovation."

* At a moſt numerous and reſpectable meeting of the Catholics of the city of Dublin, convened by public notice, at the Chapel, Francis Street, on Friday the 27th of February, 1795.

EDWARD BYRNE, in the Chair.

The gentlemen who ſummoned this meeting, viz. Mr. Byrne, Mr. Hamill, Mr. M'Donnel, Dr. Ryan, Dr. M'Neven, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Braughall, Mr. Sweetman, Mr. M'Cormick, having ſtated that a report was circulated, with great confidence, that the bill for the total emancipation of

they deputed three of their body to preſent a petition to the king at the levee, praying on behalf of their body, that his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to continue his excellency in the government of Ireland.

On

of the Catholics of Ireland was, under the influence of the Britiſh cabinet, to be reſiſted in parliament; and conſequently, that this country was ſoon to be deprived of our preſent valuable and moſt reſpected viceroy.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, that the ſaid gentlemen do forthwith frame an addreſs to his majeſty, " expreſſive of our feelings in the preſent momentous and alarming criſis."

And the ſaid addreſs having been accordingly prepared and read, paragraph by paragraph,

" *Reſolved*, with one diſſentient to one paragraph only, that the ſaid addreſs do ſtand as the " addreſs of the Catholics of Dublin.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, that Edward Byrne, Eſq. John Keogh, Eſq. and Baron Huſſey, of " Galtrim, be and are hereby requeſted to preſent the ſaid addreſs to his majeſty in perſon.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, that the above gentlemen be directed to frame and deliver proper in- " ſtructions to our deputation, now appointed to preſent our addreſs to his majeſty.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, that it appears to this meeting, that his excellency Earl Fitzwilliam " is about to depart from this country a ſingular and ſplendid inſtance of a viceroy: ſacrificing " power and ſituation to the intereſt of Ireland; in conſequence, as we apprehend, of a negative " put upon his virtuous attempts to reform inveterate abuſes in the government, to call to his " councils men poſſeſſing the confidence of the nation, and to receive to the boſom of the conſti- " tution a whole people.

" *Reſolved* therefore, unanimouſly, that an addreſs expreſſive of our eſteem, veneration, and " affection for our preſent viceroy, and of our ſincere anxiety at the reports of his ſpeedy depar- " ture, be forthwith prepared."

And the ſame having been accordingly prepared and read, paragraph by paragraph,

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, that the ſaid addreſs do ſtand as the addreſs of the Catholics of Dub- " lin, and that it be preſented to his excellency in the moſt reſpectful manner.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, that the above gentlemen be, and are hereby intruſted in our name, " and on our behalf to addreſs the Right Honorable Henry Grattan, the mover of our bill, and the " other noblemen and gentlemen, who engaged to ſecond and ſupport it, and to teſtify to them " the grateful ſenſe we entertain of their liberality, patriotiſm and juſtice.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, that the ſincere thanks of this meeting be, and are hereby preſented to " the inhabitants of Belfaſt, for their early, ſteady, and uniform ſupport of Catholic emancipa- " tion; a conduct, which at once evinces their love of liberty, their loyalty to their ſovereign, and " their attachment to the principles of the conſtitution.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, that the thanks of the Catholics of Dublin, being juſtly due, are hereby " moſt reſpectfully offered to the gentlemen who ſummoned this meeting, for their very proper " conduct and ſpirited exertions on our behalf.

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, that a report of the ſtate of the Catholics, from the paſſing of the late " act in their favor, to this day be prepared, and that the ſaid report be laid before the Catholics of " Dublin at their next meeting."

Mr,

On the 5th of March, the Duke of Leinſter in the Houſe of Lords roſe, at a late hour, and after prefacing what he was about to propoſe, with a warm and affectionate eulogy upon the character of Lord Fitzwilliam, moved the following reſolution, " that his excellency Earl Fitzwilliam ſince his ar- " rival in this kingdom has by his public conduct merited the thanks of " this houſe and the confidence of the country." Lord Dillon oppoſed the motion: all he found, that his excellency had done ſince his arrival, was to diſplace certain gentlemen from office, by which an expence of 2,200*l.* per annum had been impoſed on the country. Earl Portarlington ſupported the reſolution: ſpoke highly in commendation of the lord lieutenant, and aſſerted, that he had done more for the advantage of the country in ſome few weeks, than others had done in ſo many years. The Marquis of Waterford, though he had always from his youth wiſhed well to the Roman Catholics, thought they were more perſonally indebted to the beneficence of their ſovereign than to his lieutenant, and was againſt the motion. Lord Dunſany ſupported and the Biſhop of Cloyne oppoſed the reſolution. Lord Glentworth oppoſed the reſolution, and launched out into a panegyric on the Weſtmorland adminiſtration. Lord Donoughmore ſpoke the moſt at large and vehemently in ſupport of the reſolution. It was impoſſible that every one ſhould not know, in how eminent a degree the noble earl poſſeſſed the confidence of the country. He referred to the addreſſes of affection and reſpect from without doors, which had been pouring in from every corner of the kingdom; all deſcriptions of perſons, all political and all religious opinions blended in one unanimous expreſſion of reliance upon his excellency's virtues and the principles of his adminiſtration. He referred to the agreement of the Commons on every great queſtion touching his excellency's government, their unanimous adoption of a ſimilar reſolution, and above all, to the extraordinary magnitude of the ſupply, vaſt beyond precedent, and confided to his excellency with a confidence wholly unexampled. The Biſhop of Oſſory warmly ſupported the reſolution; he entered with great energy into the commendation of Lord Fitzwilliam's virtues: he had come over to that kingdom

Mr. Byrne having left the chair, and Mr. Braughall having taken it,

" *Reſolved* unanimouſly, that our thanks are preſented to Edward Byrne, Eſq. for his very pro- " per and dignified conduct in the chair.

" By Order of the Meeting,

" RICHARD M'CORMICK, Sec.

with the pureſt views of correcting abuſes and eſtabliſhing permanent peace and harmony throughout the kingdom. He was followed in the ſame ſtrain by his brother of Killala. The chancellor ſaid, he had high reſpect for Lord Fitzwilliam, and was ready to compliment his lordſhip in any terms becoming the dignity of that aſſembly: but the reſolution brought ſo ſtrongly to his mind the phraſeology of the French convention; and if the noble mover of the reſolution would not amend it, he would himſelf propoſe an amendment: at which the Duke of Leinſter was ſo ſore, that he declared, ſeldom as he troubled their lordſhips on any occaſion, if he were ſo unfortunate as to have his reſolution rejected, he never would open his lips within thoſe walls again. The chancellor finding that the Duke perſiſted in his reſolution, was about to propoſe an amendment, when the Biſhop of Oſſory moved, that the words, *the confidence and thanks of this houſe*, ſhould be ſubſtituted for the words *the thanks of this houſe and confidence of the nation*; with which amendment the reſolution paſſed. There was evident propriety in this amendment: for the confidence of the lords was all that was wanting to complete the full expreſſion of the confidence of the whole diſintereſted and independent part of the people, after the unanimous vote of their repreſentatives in the commons, and the unequivocal approbation of all claſſes out of parliament.

This period of Iriſh hiſtory has been particularly marked with miſrepreſentation and obloquy.* That it led to fatal events, is notoriouſly true. Inaſmuch, however, as the moſt oppoſite effects have been generally attributed to the ſame cauſes by the oppoſite parties in Ireland, and even in Great Britain, hiſtorical juſtice requires an undiſguiſed ſtatement of the facts. The annexation of cauſes and effects will reſt with the impartial reader.

The ferment in the country was greatly increaſed by the rumours that were then afloat concerning theſe extraordinary movements in the cabinets of both kingdoms. No ſooner had the original plan of Iriſh reform been projected and agreed upon by the Portland part of the Britiſh cabinet, than Mr.

* Lord Clare obſerved, (Speech on Union, p. 72) "I ſtate with perfect confidence, that the "ſeditious and treaſonable conſpiracies which have brought this country to the verge of ruin, are "the natural offspring of the adjuſtment of 1782: the convulſion in 1789 gave birth to the Whig "inſtitution: the rebel confederacy of the Iriſh union was an improvement upon it; and we now "ſee the reliques of the Whig inſtitution in the maſk of liberty, inculcating the principles, and "adopting the means originally deviſed by the rebel confederacy of the Iriſh union, to aboliſh the "religion, and ſubvert the monarchy of Ireland.

Beresford,

Beresford, who well knew that his political power would be put down, applied to a higher power in order to ſupport himſelf againſt the attack whenever it ſhould be made. In the preceding autumn he had flown to England on the firſt rumour of Lord Fitzwilliam's appointment, and had followed his majeſty to Weymouth, where he had been honored with a private audience, in which he is reported to have repreſented in the moſt lively colours his uniform attachment to every adminiſtration during a period of twenty-five years, his decided hatred to reforms of government of every kind, and the repeated aſſurances of protection which he had invariably received from that party, which had long been known by the title of the King's Friends. Surer protection he could not have received. By command from the higheſt authority he attended a council, in which the reſtoration of himſelf and friends was unanimouſly voted: and he received a letter in Mr. Pitt's own hand writing, directing him to return to Ireland immediately and reſume his ſituation at the revenue board; and to aſſure his friends, the attorney and ſolicitor general, that the king would not accept of their reſignations: and at the ſame time orders were diſpatched to the lord-lieutenant of a ſimilar tendency, from the office of his friend the Duke of Portland. With the knowledge of theſe facts, the Catholics ſent over the three gentlemen already mentioned, hoping, that as their former refuge to the royal patronage had defeated the combined power of the Iriſh government and parliament, this ſecond application would at leaſt counteract the private efforts of one or more individuals actually in oppoſition to his majeſty's government. They little knew the vaſt powers of the internal wheels of the cabinet. By them Earl Fitzwilliam's adminiſtration, ſupported as it was by the native independence of all Ireland, was overſet with the ſame facility, with which an exciſeman would have been diſplaced. The nation felt indignant at what they conſidered an inſult and humiliation to the Iriſh government. The body of Catholics, who had been buoyed up with the hopes of reaping the firſt fruits of the happy principles of the new adminiſtration in their own emancipation, followed a policy perhaps more honorable than prudent, of making the moſt open and unequivocal profeſſions of the motives, views, and principles, which actuated them in their efforts to attain the full participation of the conſtitutional liberties of their regenerated country. On the 27th of February, 1795, the Catholics of Dublin, at a meeting in Francis-ſtreet, appointed two gentlemen of their body to preſent an addreſs to Mr. Grattan, which fully ſpoke

their feelings and ſentiments of the then political poſture of affairs: to which they received an immediate anſwer,* which has been more cenſured by the enemies,

* As there will be future occaſion to refer to this addreſs and anſwer, they are now ſubmitted to the view of the reader:

"To the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN.

"SIR,

"WE are inſtructed by the Catholics of Dublin to offer you their humble tri-
"bute of thanks and gratitude, as well for the eminent ſervices which you have rendered to this
"kingdom on various occaſions, as for your able and generous exertions in their cauſe. It is not
"eaſy to do juſtice to the merits of a man, whoſe name is connected with the moſt brilliant events
"of his time, and who has already obtained the higheſt of all titles, the Deliverer of his Country:
"but though it is impoſſible to add to your fame, by any terms we can employ, it muſt be grateful
"to you to learn, that you have a place, not only in the adminiſtration, but in the affections of
"your countrymen.

"To be thus loved and admired, is ſurely an enviable diſtinction. It may not, perhaps, be ſuf-
"ficient to preſerve or purchaſe ſtation and power at court, but to a well-formed mind it is a ſource
"of purer ſatisfaction, than the favor and protection even of monarchs or their miniſters.

"Few men have had it in their power to do ſo much for their native land as you have done for
"Ireland. When you firſt entered into public life, garriſon habits, and provincial prejudices,
"were oppoſed to Iriſh intereſts and feelings; and what was ſtill more diſcouraging, the different
"deſcriptions of people in this country, far from being to meet in a common point for their mutual
"advantage, were kept aſunder by perverſe and unintelligible antipathies of a religious nature. Into
"this chaos of contradiction you infuſed your ſpirit, and brought order in ſome meaſure out of
"confuſion.

"The firſt effort of your eloquence, was to rouſe the Iriſh parliament to aſſert its own depend-
"ence; and notwithſtanding the habits of ſubjection which particular cauſes had induced, you
"were ſucceſsful.

"At preſent you are engaged in a purſuit equally honorable to your head, and ſtill more to your
"heart. As mover of the Catholic bill, you are endeavouring to inculcate the neceſſity of modera-
"tion and juſtice, where you before inſpired courage; and urging men who triumphed over
"foreign ſupremacy, to an act of much greater dignity and difficulty, a ſacrifice of the prejudices
"of their youth and education.

"In this work, ſo full of genius and public ſpirit, and which goes to the creation of a people,
"as your former exertions went to the forming a conſtitution, you have already made conſiderable
"progreſs; and when you and your illuſtrious friends were called to the councils of a virtuous
"viceroy, we looked with confidence to the accompliſhment of your patriotic intentions.

"Some enemy, however, to the king and to the people, has interpoſed his malignant and wicked
"ſuggeſtions, and endeavoured to throw obſtacles in the way of our total emancipation. But we
"are far from giving way to ſentiments of deſpondency and alarm. We feel the juſtice of our
"pretenſions; and we are perſuaded that what is juſt will prevail over the arts of perfidy
"and falſehood.

"What

enemies, and applauded by the friends of that gentleman, than any thing that ever came from his mouth.

Soon

" What gives us the moſt ſenſible ſatisfaction, is the general union of ſentiment that pervades all " ranks and deſcriptions of Iriſhmen on the preſent occaſion. Never before did Ireland ſpeak with " a voice ſo unanimous. Proteſtants and Catholics are at this moment united, and ſeem to have " no other conteſt, but who ſhall reſent moſt the outrage that has been offered to Iriſh pride, in the " intended removal of a patriotic viceroy from the government, and you and your friends from the " councils of this kingdom.

" For our own part, it ſhall be our ſtudy to cultivate an union ſo happily begun. We have no " ſelfiſh or narrow views. We do not wiſh to acquire privileges for ourſelves in order to abridge " the privileges of others; for we know that in matters of liberty and conſtitution, to give is to gain.

" With regard to the men who may have the hardihood to take the ſituations, which you and " your friends are about to lay down, if unfortunately for this country ſuch an event ſhould hap- " pen, we ſhall only ſay, that we do not envy them the ſenſations which they muſt take up at the " ſame time; that man's temper muſt be of ſteel, who can hold up his head amidſt the hiſſes of a " betrayed and irritated nation.

" As to you and your friends, your departure from power will not diſturb the ſerenity of your " minds. The veneration and gratitude of the people will attend you in retirement, and will pre- " ſerve you from reflections, which muſt be the portion of thoſe who may be your diſmal and me- " lancholy ſucceſſors.

" Signed by order,

" THOMAS BRAUGHALL, } Secretaries."
" JOHN SWEETMAN, }

To which Mr. GRATTAN was pleaſed to return the following anſwer.

" IN ſupporting you, I ſupport the Proteſtant: we have but one intereſt and " one honor; and whoever gives privileges to you, gives vigor to all. The Proteſtant already " begins to perceive it: a late attack rallied the ſcattered ſpirits of the country from the folly of " religious ſchiſm to the recollection of national honor, and a nation's feuds are loſt in a nation's " reſentment. Your emancipation will paſs, rely on it; your emancipation muſt paſs: it may be " death to one viceroy—it will be the peace-offering of another; and the laurel may be torn from " the dead brow of one governor, to be craftily converted into the olive of his ſucceſſor.

" Let me adviſe you by no means to poſtpone the conſideration of your fortunes till after the " war: rather let Britain receive the benefits of your zeal during the exigency which demands it; " and you yourſelves, while you are fighting to preſerve the bleſſings of a conſtitution, have really " and *bona fide* thoſe bleſſings.

" My wiſh is, that you may be free now: there is no other policy which is not low and little: " let us at once inſtantly embrace and greatly emancipate.

" On this principle I mean to introduce your bill, with your permiſſion, immediately after " the receſs.

" You

Soon after that anſwer had been given, the Whig Club, of which the leading friends and ſupporters of Earl Fitzwilliam's adminiſtrations were members, publiſhed

" You are pleaſed to ſpeak of the confidence and power with which for a moment I was ſup-
" poſed to have been poſſeſſed.

" When his majeſty's miniſters were pleaſed to reſort to our ſupport, they took us with the
" incumbrance of our reputation, and with all our debts and mortgages which we owed to our
" country.

" To have accepted a ſhare of a confidence and council without a view to private advantage, will
" not meet I hope with the diſapprobation of my country; but to have accepted that ſhare without
" any view to public advantage, would have been refinement of the folly of ambition. Meaſures,
" therefore, public meaſures and arrangements, and that which is now diſputed, were ſtipulated by
" us—were promiſed in one quarter, and with aſſurances they were not reſiſted in another.

" In the ſervice of government, under his excellency's adminiſtration, we directed our attention
" to two great objects, the kingdom and the empire. We obtained certain beneficial laws—the
" diſcovery and reformation of certain abuſes, and were in progreſs to reform more; we obtained
" a great force and a great ſupply, with the conſent and confidence of the people. Theſe were not
" the meaſures of courtiers—they were the meaſures of miniſters.

" His excellency, Lord Fitzwilliam, may boaſt that he offered to the empire the affections of
" millions, a better aid to the war than his enemies can furniſh, who have forfeited thoſe affections,
" and put themſelves in their place.

" So decidedly have the meaſures of Ireland ſerved the empire, that thoſe who were concerned
" in them, might appeal from the cabals of the Britiſh cabinet to the ſenſe of the Britiſh nation.
" I know of no cauſe afforded for the diſpleaſure of the Britiſh cabinet; but if ſervices done to Ire-
" land are crimes which cannot be atoned for by exertions for the empire, I muſt lament the
" gloomy proſpects of both kingdoms, and receive a diſcharge from the ſervice of government as
" the only honor an Engliſh miniſter can confer on an Iriſh ſubject.

" I conceive the continuance of Lord Fitzwilliam is neceſſary for the proſperity of this kingdom:
" his firm integrity is formed to correct, his mild manners to reconcile, and his private example to
" diſcountenance a progreſs of vulgar and rapid pollution: if he is to retire, I condole with my
" country—for myſelf, the pangs on that occaſion, I ſhould feel on rendering up my ſmall por-
" tion of miniſterial breath would be little, were it not for the gloomy proſpects afforded by thoſe
" dreadful guardians which are likely to ſucceed. I tremble at the return to power of your old
" taſk-maſter; that combination which galled the country with its tyranny, inſulted her by its
" manners, exhauſted her by its rapacity, and ſlandered her by its malice: ſhould ſuch a combina-
" tion at once, inflamed as it muſt be now by the favor of the Britiſh court, and by the reprobation
" of the Iriſh people, return to power, I have no heſitation to ſay, that they will extinguiſh Ireland,
" or Ireland muſt remove them: it is not your caſe only, but that of the nation. I find the coun-
" try already committed in the ſtruggle; I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the
" iſſues of her fortunes.

" I ſhould have expected that there had been a wiſdom and faith in ſome quarter of another
" country that would have prevented ſuch cataſtrophe; but I know it is no proof of that wiſdom,

" to

liſhed the following declaration and reſolution:—" The Whig Club at this " intereſting period, deems it proper to declare its concurrence in ſentiment " with the ſeveral counties, cities, and meetings, with expreſſing their regret " at the departure of Earl Fitzwilliam from the government of this country, " have manifeſted their anxiety for the reform of abuſes, and the union of the " people of all deſcriptions; and have alſo remonſtrated againſt the re-eſta- " bliſhment of the old ſyſtem of violence and venality, neceſſarily attendant " on the return into power of the authors of that ſyſtem. The Whig Club " returns its unanimous thanks to Mr. Grattan, for his manly, ſeaſonable, " and conſtitutional anſwer to the addreſs of the Roman Catholics of Dublin

" (Signed) THOMAS CONOLLY, Sec."

Addreſſes and reſolutions were daily multiplied from different bodies of Roman Catholics, who not content with having addreſſed his majeſty, his viceregent, and parliament, now addreſſed particular characters of extraordinary influence or ſuppoſed power in the country, as the laſt reſort of this deſponding body of men, importuning them to prevent the threatened cataſtrophe. All however was fruitleſs. On the 25th of March, 1795, Lord Fitzwilliam took his departure from Ireland, when the reſentment, grief, and indignation of the public were moſt ſtrongly marked. It was a day of general gloom: the ſhops were ſhut; no buſineſs of any kind was tranſacted, and the whole city put on mourning. His coach was drawn to the waterſide by ſome of the moſt reſpectable citizens, and cordial ſorrow appeared on every countenance. The reception of Earl Camden, who arrived in Dublin five days after, wore a very different complexion: diſpleaſure appeared generally: many ſtrong traits of diſapprobation were exhibited, and ſome of the populace were ſo outrageous, that it became neceſſary to call out a military force in order to quell the diſturbances that enſued.

Still the rage for meetings and addreſſes continued. On the 9th of April a moſt numerous and reſpectable meeting of the Catholics was had in their chapel in Francis Street, to receive the report of their delegates, who had pre-

" to take the taxes, continue the abuſes, damp the zeal, and daſh away the affection of ſo im- " portant a member of the empire as the people of Ireland; and when this country came forward, " cordial and confident with the offering of her treaſure and blood, and reſolute to ſtand or fall with " the Britiſh nation, it is, I ſay, no proof of wiſdom nor generoſity to ſelect that moment to plant " a dagger in her heart.

" But whatſoever ſhall be the event, I will adhere to her intereſts to the laſt moment of my life."

ſented

ſented their petition at St. James's: when Mr. Keogh reported, that in execution of their miſſion they had on the 13th of March preſented their petition to his majeſty, and had received what was generally termed a gracious reception. That they had afterwards felt it their duty to requeſt an audience with the Duke of Portland, the ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, to receive ſuch information as he ſhould think fit to impart relative to his majeſty's determination on the ſubject of their addreſs. That his grace declined giving any information whatever, ſave that his majeſty had imparted his pleaſure thereon to the lord lieutenant, and that he was the proper channel, through which that information ſhould paſs. Here their miſſion was determined. Mr. Keogh continued to deliver his ſentiments upon the critical ſituation of affairs, and amongſt many ſtrong things, which fell from him, one obſervation gave particular offence to government. He was not, he ſaid, ſorry that the meaſure had been attempted, though it had been defeated: for it pointed out one fact at leaſt, in which the feelings of every Iriſhman were intereſted, and by which the Iriſh legiſlature would be rouſed to a ſenſe of its own dignity. It ſhewed that the internal regulations of Ireland, to which alone an Iriſh parliament was competent, were to be previouſly adjuſted by a Britiſh cabinet. A very animated debate enſued; in which the ſpeakers emulated each other in enhancing the ſtrength, power, and advantages of Iriſh union, and ſome of them like Lord Clare, Mr. Conolly, and other gentlemen in parliament, deprecated an union with Great Britain, to which they ſaw the preſent ſyſtem of meaſures was obviouſly directed. Whilſt this debate was going on, a very large party of the young men of the college came into the chapel, and were moſt honorably received. Some of them joined in the debate. They came that hour from preſenting an addreſs to Mr. Grattan, to thank and congratulate with him upon his patriotic efforts in the cauſe of Catholic emancipation and the reform of thoſe abuſes, which had enflamed public indignation, to which Mr. Grattan made an appropriate anſwer.* The freedom of ſpeech uſed by the

* The following is the addreſs preſented on Thurſday the 9th of April to Mr. Grattan, by the Students of the Univerſity.

To the Right Honorable HENRY GRATTAN.

"WE the ſtudents of the univerſity of Dublin, entering with the warmeſt ſympathy into the "univerſal feeling and intereſt of our countrymen, beg leave to unite our voice with theirs in de- "claring our admiration of your great and uncommon talents, and a reliance on your ſteady pa- "triotiſm

the gentlemen, who took part in this debate, gave no ſmall offence to the old party of the caſtle, who now conſidered their permanence in power as irrevocably fixed. The ſpirit, which actuated them in their whole conduct, was a higher ſublimation of thoſe principles, to which the Marquis of Buckingham

" triotiſm and unſhaken integrity. We have with ſorrow beheld the removal of a beloved vice-
" roy, whoſe arrival we regarded as the promiſe of public reform, and his preſence the pledge
" of general tranquillity.

" If this event ſhould be accompanied (as we have reaſon to apprehend) by your removal from
" his majeſty's councils in this kingdom, our regret will have received the laſt additional circum-
" ſtance of aggravation, and our deſpondency will be complete. Relying, however, on the wiſ-
" dom and benignity of his majeſty, we yet entertain a hope, that the nation will not be deprived
" of the ſalutary meaſures flowing from your councils and advice, and that the harmony and
" ſtrength of Ireland will be founded on the ſolid baſis of Catholic emancipation, and the reform of
" thoſe grievances, which have inflamed public indignation.

" We therefore intreat you to perſevere in exerting the full energy of your ſplendid talents for
" the attainment of thoſe objects, which the preſent alarming poſture of affairs and the conſenting
" wiſhes of the nation ſo loudly demand.

THOMAS MOOR, Chairman.
W. H. ELLIS, Secretary.

Mr. GRATTAN's Anſwer.

" Ingenuous young Men, For this effuſion of the heart, I owe you more than ordinary grati-
" tude, and am proud to ſympathize in your native, honeſt, and unadulterated impreſſions. I re-
" ceive your addreſs as the offering of the young year, better garland than the artificial honors of
" a court: it is the work of diſintereſted hands, and the preſent of uncontaminated hearts. May
" that ardour, which glows in your breaſts long exiſt, and may the ſentiments which you breathe
" long prevail; they are founded in principle, enlightened by letters, and ſupported by ſpirit.

" The ſubjects which you mention and recommend I feel and ſhall purſue.

" I lament the recal of a patriot viceroy. Aſſiſted by men much abler than myſelf, the reform
" of that ſyſtem you condemn, I ſhall not fail to attempt. Bound as I now am to the riſing as
" well as the paſſing age, and happy as I ſhall be, to go on in the ſervice of both.

" I join in your fulleſt wiſhes for the Catholics, and I feel the important ſervice, which you now
" render them, by marking in their favor the ſentiments of the riſing generation, doing, at the
" ſame time, ſo much honor to yourſelves, when you give, I had almoſt ſaid, your firſt vote in favor
" of your country.

" I am bound to your univerſity by every tie of affection and duty. The ſentiments of your
" addreſs give me a new and juſt opportunity of ſaying to her, through you, " *Eſto Perpetua*,"
" thou ſeat of ſcience and mother of virtue.

" I am, with the ſincereſt regard,
" Your moſt humble ſervant,
" HENY GRATTAN."

had left his majority in the Iriſh parliament completely broken in. On the other hand, the great majority of the Iriſh people ſympathiſed with their ſentiments, and confidently congratulated each other at the wonderful progreſs of liberality and freedom, in defiance of a determined ſyſtem of coercion and oppreſſion. The heighth of the political fever of that period gave riſe to a moſt unjuſtifiable diſtinction of the nation into two ſeparate claſſes only. One party, that conſidered every difference from them as tending and intended to bury the conſtitution under the ravages of a wild democracy: the other, that repreſented their opponents as a junto of monopolizers ſworn to rivet eternally the chain of bondage and oppreſſion upon their degraded country.

On the 13th of April, 1795, Lord Cole, after a ſhort preface, moved a congratulatory addreſs to his excellency the lord lieutenant on his arrival to take on him the government of the kingdom.

The Hon. Mr. Stewart ſeconded the addreſs, profeſſing, that throughout the whole of the ſeſſion his conduct had been directed by two motives; the one to ſupport his majeſty in a war the moſt juſt and neceſſary, in which that country was ever engaged, and the other to give to the executive government of the country the firmeſt and beſt ſupport. The appointment of his excellency, he thought likely to promote both thoſe ends, and on that account, as well as from a knowledge of his lordſhip's private character, he was induced to ſecond the addreſs.

Mr. Grattan ſaid, he would not then enter into a debate on that queſtion, becauſe the gentleman in his excellency's confidence had not yet a ſeat in the houſe, but for the preſent, he ſhould content himſelf with giving a ſingle negative to the motion, not from any diſinclination for his excellency's perſon, having rather a reſpect for him, in conſequence of the exalted character of his father, but becauſe he felt himſelf much more ſtrongly inclined to condole with the country on the recal of Lord Fitzwilliam, than to congratulate it on the appointment of Lord Camden.

The queſtion to the addreſs was put, and carried; after which, the houſe adjourned to the 21ſt; on which day, the attorney general informed the houſe, that their addreſs to his excellency had been preſented, for which he thanked them, and "truſted, that by a conſtant attention to the intereſts "of Ireland, and by a determination that his conduct ſhould invariably be "directed to promote its welfare and happineſs, he ſhould not diſappoint the "favorable

" favorable expectations entertained of his adminiſtration by the Houſe of " Commons."

On the ſame day Mr. Forbes preſented the treaſury bill: and a petition was preſented from all the freeholders of the county of Tipperary, in favor of their Roman Catholic brethren's pretenſions to complete emancipation. Lord Boyle moved an addreſs of congratulation to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales on his late marriage.

*Mr. Grattan, previous to the motion he was about to make, obſerved, that it had been aſſerted, that in the conduct of the miniſters of the crown towards that country, no blame could attach to the miniſter of Great Britain, or to any of his colleagues. He did not pretend to aſcertain the real cauſes of the recal of the late chief governor, but was informed, that two cauſes were alleged; as to the removal of certain great officers, he obſerved, that ſuch removal was matter of ſtipulation on one ſide, and engagement on the other. He ſpoke of nothing of what he was confidentially informed, but aſſerted what he knew was generally known, and repeatedly communicated; he ſaid, that the leading member of the coalition declared, 'he accepted office prin-' cipally with a view to reform the abuſes in the government of Ireland; ' that the ſyſtem of that government was execrable, ſo execrable as to ' threaten not only Ireland with the greateſt misfortune, but ultimately the ' empire; that his grace would have gone in perſon if he had not found a ' ſecond ſelf in Lord Fitzwilliam, his neareſt and deareſt friend, whom he ' perſuaded to accept the Iriſh government, and to whom he committed the ' important office of reforming the manifold abuſes in that government.' That he had obtained, with regard to that country, extraordinary power; the information of that extraordinary power, he communicated to his Iriſh friend; he conſulted members of the Iriſh oppoſition touching his arrangements of men and meaſures, and ardently eſpouſed, as an eſſential arrangement, thoſe principal removals, which were ſuppoſed to have occaſioned the recal of the deputy; an explanation and limitation of his powers did indeed afterwards take place, but no ſuch limitation or explanation as to defeat either the ſtipulated meaſures or the ſtipulated removals, one only excepted, which never took place. Another queſtion now aroſe, whether that quarter of the cabinet could without blame recal the viceroy for carrying into execution thoſe ſpecific engagements; whether they could without blame recal their miniſter of

* 15 Parl. Deb. p. 165.

reform, for removing, according to ſtipulation, ſome of the ſuppoſed miniſters of abuſe; and to continue the miniſters of abuſe in the place of the miniſters of reformation. He therefore concluded, that if the Iriſh removals were a ground for the viceroy's recal, blame did attach at leaſt to one quarter of the Britiſh cabinet.

The ſecond alleged cauſe was, the Catholic bill. Upon this the principles and declarations of that quarter were decided; the Catholic emancipation was not only the conceſſion of that quarter of the cabinet, but its preciſe engagement. His friends repeatedly declared they never would ſupport any government, that ſhould reſiſt that bill, and it was agreed by that quarter with concurrence; and he was informed from perſons in whom he could not but confide, of another; that the inſtruction was, if the Catholics inſiſted to carry forward their bill, that the government ſhould give it a handſome ſupport. Before he concluded his ſpeech, he thus ſummed up the acts of Earl Fitzwilliam's adminiſtration: it had paid attention to the poverty of the people, by plans for relieving the poor from hearth-money, and paid attention to their morals, by a plan increaſing the duty on ſpirits; had paid attention to their health, by propoſing to take off the duties on beer and ale; that a plan for education had been intended; that a more equal trade between the two countries had not eſcaped their attention; that an odious and expenpenſive inſtitution that obtained under colour of protecting the city by a bad police, was abandoned by that government, and a bill prepared for correcting the ſame; that a reſponſibility bill had been introduced, and a bill to account for the public money by new checks, and in a conſtitutional manner, had been introduced by the perſons connected with that government; that it was in contemplation to ſubmit for conſideration ſome further regulation for the better accounting for the public money, and for the better collection of the revenue; that thoſe occupations were accompanied by great exertions for the empire; ſo that adminiſtration eſtabliſhed the compatability of the ſervices, domeſtic and imperial, and made a good ſyſtem of domeſtic government the foundation of unanimity in ſupport of the empire; that in conſequence of ſuch a conduct, a war not very fortunate, had ceaſed to be unpopular, and levies of an extraordinary proportion were not a ground of complaint. In the midſt of all this, the Britiſh cabinet diſſolved the government, and profeſſed to diſſolve it for the preſervation of the empire. They converted a nation of ſupport into a nation of remonſtrance, and unanimity in favor of government to unanimity againſt her.

He

He then moved for a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the nation.

Mr. Cuffe, Colonel Stewart, and ſeveral other miniſterial members, ſtrongly oppoſed the motion, without pretending to diſcloſe the *arcana imperii*; they peremptorily inſiſted, that Earl Fitzwilliam had contravened or neglected his inſtructions; in evidence of which they remarked, that neither the Duke of Portland, nor any other member of the coalition, not even his friends, his deareſt friends, Lord Spencer or Mr. Wyndham, had reſented his recal or abandoned their connexion with Mr. Pitt. In the debate it was obſerved by Mr. Ponſonby, that whilſt Lord Fitzwilliam was at the head of affairs, ſeveral gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe were blind to all thoſe imperfections and defects in the late chief governor, which then ſtared them in the face with ſuch gigantic magnitude: they were then as forward to expreſs their confidence in his deſerts, as they were now to declare him undeſerving of any thanks or confidence. An avowal was made in obſervation by Mr. Pelham, which was ſharply animadverted upon by Mr. Grattan. It was not in fact very flattering to the dignity or conſequence of the Iriſh parliament. Mr. ſecretary believed all the ſober part of the world, and all men converſant in public matters, would think he beſt diſcharged his duty, by not being betrayed into any indiſcretion either by the attack of his adverſaries, or by the zeal of his friends. A right honorable gentleman (Sir J. Blacquiere) had rightly ſtated, that the lord lieutenant and his ſecretary acted under written inſtructions from the cabinet; and that ſuch inſtructions alone were the proper authority of their conduct: it was not, however, neceſſary at any time to diſcover thoſe inſtructions; they were to be judged of by the goodneſs of the meaſures, which were produced to that houſe and the public.

Mr. Grattan replied, that certain doctrines had been advanced on the ſubject of the Britiſh cabinet, to which he could not accede; that it had been argued, that the Britiſh cabinet was to govern the executive power of Ireland, that the viceroy's function was only to obey orders, and to be the Engliſh agent in the kingdom of Ireland; that ſuch a doctrine was fatal to monarchy in that country; that in its place it eſtabliſhed the monarchy of clerks, a government to be carried on by poſt and under the dominion of ſpies, who were leſs than gentlemen, and more than miniſters. It was ſuch a baſe and diſhonorable ſyſtem, that had excited the indignation of ſome of the Whigs in England, the Duke of Portland in particular. It was that ſyſtem of national degradation and vice-regal extinction, that ſyſtem in which the clerks dominated and

and their betters obeyed, that had ſunk a former adminiſtration, and had excited the ſcorn and indignation of the country. To the returning prevalence of ſuch a ſyſtem he attributed in a great degree the recal of the late chief governor. The cabinet were miſinformed; they heard appeals againſt him from the perſons removed, and tried unſummoned on the teſtimony of partial witneſſes, the repreſentative of the king. They did this contrary to the confidence, which eſſentially belonged to his office, and contrary to a principle indiſpenſable to government. It was a matter of melancholy reflection to conſider how little that cabinet knew any thing relating to Ireland. Ireland was a ſubject it conſidered with a lazy contumely, and picked up here and there, by accident or deſign, intereſted and erroneous intelligence. He was well aware how much on a late occaſion the friends of the laſt adminiſtration were groſsly miſrepreſented to that cabinet, and how the diſpoſition and temper of the people in general were miſ-ſtated and traduced, and how deaf the ears of that cabinet were to the repreſentation of the viceroy, while open to the tales of the intereſted and diſcontented. They had been alluded to as perſons to whom blame attached; they deſired to be queſtioned, and they defied their adverſaries; they deſired it might be remembered, that they were ready to encounter the charge, and that thoſe who made the charge declined the combat. It had been ſaid, that the reform of abuſes in Ireland formed no part of the ground of the coalition; he did not pretend to ſay what had formed that ground, but he did ſay, that one quarter of the cabinet did aſſert, that a principal inducement to their acceptance of office was a reform in the abuſes of the Iriſh government; that it conceived the ſyſtem to have been pernicious to Ireland, and highly prejudicial to the empire. He ſaid only that one great motive to the acceptance of office was ſtated to be very extenſive powers in Ireland; that the arrangement for which the late lord lieutenant was ſaid to be diſmiſſed, was by that quarter engaged in, and that the Catholic queſtion received decided approbation, and if preſſed on by the Catholics, the inſtruction was to give it decided ſupport. He therefore perſiſted to reſpect, but marvelled much at that quarter; he acknowledged he was aſtoniſhed. The houſe would ſee how very natural that proceeding was; a party connected with certain men in Ireland came into power; they wiſhed to advance the perſons of their friends, which could not be done without adopting their principles; from the habits of communication thoſe principles and ideas regarding Ireland were common to both; the

Iriſh

Iriſh connection had their Engliſh friends as averſe from the abuſes of government as themſelves, and ready of courſe to adopt arrangement of meaſures; they poſſeſſed or imagined they poſſeſſed great powers regarding Ireland, and ſtipulated to exerciſe thoſe powers in favor of the meaſure of their connection, who were pledged to a ſpecific catalogue of meaſures. On the diviſion, the numbers were for the motion 48, againſt it 158.

Whilſt the Catholic college bill was pending before the houſe, Mr. Grattan preſented a petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland againſt two proviſions contained in that bill: the firſt was that, by which ſeven of the truſtees were enabled to appoint a preſident, maſters, fellows, profeſſors, and ſcholars, who they prayed might be elected after public examination and under oath in the manner practiſed in Trinity College, Dublin: the other was that, by which no Proteſtant or child of a Proteſtant father ſhould be permitted to receive education in the college. This excluſion they conſidered as tending to prevent that harmony, union, and friendly intercourſe through life, which might be thus early cemented between the youth of different religious perſuaſions; the happy effects of which had been felt by the permiſſion granted of having the Catholic youth educated in the univerſity of Dublin.*

The 4th of May, 1795, brought on the important debate on the ſecond reading of the Roman Catholic bill. It was opened by the ſolicitor general, probably upon the grounds, which it had been preconcerted, it was to be rejected by government. He made a long exordium, and went into an hiſtorical detail of oaths and teſts. He called upon their attention to the moſt important ſubject, that was ever agitated in that country, a ſubject reſolving itſelf into one ſingle queſtion, "Whether they would leave a trace of that "conſtitution eſtabliſhed by what he would ever call the glorious Revolution?" What was the bold and prominent feature of that bill? It profeſſed to give every Roman Catholic permiſſion to ſit in either houſe of parliament, and amounted to a diſpenſation from taking any of thoſe oaths, or ſubſcribing to that declaration, which they would find embodied in the bill of rights at the time of the ſacred compact between King William and his parliament of Great Britain, which was ſoon afterwards recognized as extending the bleſſings of that glorious revolution to Ireland, had been acted upon ever ſince,

* 15 P. D. p. 201. The act paſſed however with both theſe clauſes in it. It is intituled, "An "Act for the better Education of Perſons profeſſing the Popiſh or Roman Catholic Religion." 35 Geo. III. c. 21.

and

and recognized by feveral ſtatutes; by one ſo lately as the year 1782, when they then enacted the ſame oaths, was dignified by the name of that great man, and excellent lawyer, Lord Chief Baron Yelverton, and which paſſed under his auſpices in the memorable æra of the Duke of Portland's adminiſtration.

He wiſhed to put this queſtion on a ground which had nothing to do with the principles on which the claims of the Roman Catholics had been hitherto decided. From the firſt relaxation in 1778, the hiſtory of that houſe had been a hiſtory of benevolence, kindneſs, good will, and affection from parliament to the Roman Catholics: but in that period, there appeared no trace of infringement upon the great boundaries of the conſtitution; and he relied on the wiſdom of that houſe, not to intrench on theſe land-marks, which equally demarked the conſtitution of Great Britain and Ireland. He knew it had been induſtriouſly aſſerted, that the Roman Catholics were in a humiliating and degraded ſituation; he knew that factious and ſeditious men made uſe of that untrue and unfounded aſſertion to deſtroy the good order of the country; and he felt it neceſſary to undeceive the Roman Catholics, as far as he was able, to bring them back to a ſenſe and knowledge of the bleſſings of law, and the comforts of tranquillity. In 1778, property in chattle intereſts was conceded to them; in 1782, the inheritance of the land was opened to them; and down to 1793, ſcarcely a ſeſſion paſſed without recognizing the ſame principles of kindneſs towards them; and at that day, they were under no more reſtraint as to property than Proteſtants were. The act of 1793, emanating from the crown, and paſſed under the auſpices of a miniſter of as great conſideration and worth as ever ſat in the houſe, was not accordant with the ſentiments of ſome of the moſt illuſtrious characters of the country; that act was declared to be an act of conciliation, it was declared from high authority to be intended as ſuch, and from that period it was hoped that the queſtion would be at reſt, and the country in tranquillity. At that time certain gentlemen ſought to extend the bill to the length of the preſent one; but the wiſdom of parliament rejected the propoſal by a great majority. Had any great circumſtance occurred ſince to juſtify this important alteration in the legiſlative ſyſtem? There were not in Ireland fifty Roman Catholic gentlemen who would ſeek to ſit in parliament, or who had the remoteſt appetite for the buſtle of public life: it was not by men like theſe, that the clamor was raiſed; they were too loyal, too decorous, too well

well affected to the conſtitution to raiſe ſuch an outcry as had produced outrage in the remoteſt corners of Ireland, or to inflame the peaſantry, who aſſembled in thouſands, becauſe of the mountebank abuſe of the word emancipation, which they had accepted as a ſignal for commotion, and which they were taught to think meant the lowering the price of land. This ſubject had not originated with the opulent or reſpectable Roman Catholics, but with factious bodies of men, who under the cloak of ſanctity and a zealous affectation in the cauſe of God, had no ſcruple to convulſe their country, and ſend the conſtitution to deſtruction. He moved that the bill ſhould be rejected.

The motion was ſeconded by Lord Kingſborough, who ſpoke very warmly againſt the bill: he aggravated the reports of the debate in Francis Street chapel, and laid the whole ferment of the country to thoſe incendiaries, the committee men, and the United Iriſhmen. Sir Hercules Langriſhe in an eloquent and inſtructive ſpeech ſupported the bill. He well knew, that ſome men more devoted to turbulence than toleration, had by a ſuſpicious connection, affected to make common cauſe with the Roman Catholics, in order to apply the authority of their numbers, and the juſtneſs of their cauſe to their own dangerous projects. Almoſt every gentleman, who had before ſpoken in parliament, entered largely into the debate. Mr. Pelham ſpoke very fully againſt the bill. Mr. Arthur O'Connor made one of the moſt brilliant ſpeeches ever heard in the Iriſh parliament in ſupport of it.* Colonel Stewart urged, that if the bill ſhould paſs, the king would be obliged to come forward and demand a repeal of the coronation oath. This infringement of the coronation oath was alſo inſiſted upon by ſome other oppoſers of the bill, and formed the chief novelty of argument† in the debate: every prejudice, abuſe, or calumny, that had ever been launched againſt Popery in the moſt acrimonious days of religious bigotry were now again brought forward to ſhew the unfitneſs of Catholic ſubjects to be admitted to the participation of the rights and liberties of the conſtitution. The mildeſt reaſon alleged for their exclu-

* This ſpeech firſt raiſed him into note: he was brought into parliament by his uncle, Lord Longueville, who was a ſupporter of adminiſtration: he was ſo offended with the ſpeech of his nephew, that the next morning he ſent for him, and deſired him to reſign his ſeat, which accordingly he did.

† The moſt irrefragable confutation of it is to be found in Mr. Burke's letter to Sir Hercules Langriſhe; and it ſeems that the honorable baronet availed himſelf of ſeveral of his correſpondent's arguments in his ſpeech in this debate.

ſion was their ſuperiority in number. The ſupporters of the bill on the other ſide were not generally backward in branding the oppoſers of it with illiberality, prejudice, and blindneſs. Both ſides were heated, and more than uſually bitter in their *retorts upon each other: although it were

* As the incompatibility of Catholic emancipation with the coronation oath was now for the firſt time made a ſubject of parliamentary diſcuſſion, it muſt be intereſting to every one to know how Mr. Grattan, who never left any part of his ſubject unſifted, treated the matter. 15 P. D. p. 333. "But I find that Catholic emancipation is held incompatible with our monarchy. What! his ma- "jeſty, the head of a Catholic league, the King of Corſica, the Lord of Canada, the great ally of the "emperor, the grand confederate of the King of Spain, the protector of the pope; the King of Eng- "land, whoſe armies are Catholic, whoſe European connections are Catholic, are his Iriſh ſubjects "the only Catholics in whom he won't confide? Has he found religion make the emperor falſe, or "the Pruſſian faithful? Such were not the ſentiments of the ſpeeches from the throne in 1793 "and 1795, when his majeſty called on all his ſubjects to defend their religion and their conſtitu- "tion. What religion? A religion of diſabilities. What conſtitution? A conſtitution of ex- "cluſion. Am I to underſtand that his majeſty called forth his Catholic ſubjects to fight for a "conſtitution, which was to be ſhut againſt them, and for a religion which was dangerous to the "king, and penal to the Catholic. No, it was not the pope, nor yet the pretender, it was Paine, "it was the French republic, againſt which you called for the zeal of your people, and held out the "bleſſings of the conſtitution. But now it ſeems it is the antichriſt againſt whom you place your "batteries, the virgin, and the real preſence: and in that ſtrain of grave and ſolemn raving, a right "honorable gentleman propoſes to take up arms againſt the grave of Popery, which is ſhut, and to "precipitate into the gulph of republicaniſm, which is open; perfectly ſafe for the king, he and "thoſe who join him think it to affront the Catholic ſubjects, by groſs ſuſpicions; others have "proceeded to the groſſeſt invectives; perfectly ſafe, they think it, to baniſh them from all places "at court and ſeats in parliament; to tell Catholic virtue, Catholic talents, Catholic ambition, you "muſt not ſerve the king, you may have property influence, but you muſt not act in conſtituted "aſſemblies, nor in any rank or diſtinction for the crown. Perfectly ſafe they think it to eſtabliſh "an incompatibility between Popery and allegiance. Perfectly ſafe they think to inſulate the "throne, and reduce the king of Ireland, like the pope, to Proteſtant guards inſtead of a people; "and then, it is propoſed, that thoſe Proteſtant guards ſhould monopolize all the powers of go- "vernment, and privileges of the conſtitution, as a reward for their diſintereſtedneſs. In ſupport "of ſuch policy, it has been advanced, in a very idle publication, that Roman Catholics, as long as "they have the feeling of men, muſt reſiſt the natural propenſities of the human heart, if they do not "endeavour to ſubvert a Proteſtant king; but I paſs that over with the ſcorn it deſerves. It has been "alſo ſaid, that his majeſty's oath is a bar. Oaths are ſerious things. To make them political pre- "tences is a high crime; to make an obligation, taken for the aſſurance of liberty, a covenant "againſt it; to impoſe on conſcience a breach of a duty, to make the piety of the king the ſcourge "of his people, is an attempt atrocious in the extreme. Examine the argument, and you find the "oath was taken three years before the excluſion of the Iriſh Catholics; the oath is the firſt of "William,

were made a government queſtion, ſome of their uſual (more independent) ſupporters, left them on this occaſion, and at the half paſt ten o'clock of the morning on the 5th of May, the houſe divided, 155 for rejecting the bill and 84 againſt it. Thus was an end put to the fond and confident expectation,

" William, the teſts that exclude them the third; ſo that his majeſty muſt have ſworn in the ſtrain " and ſpirit of prophecy. Examine a little further, and you will find his majeſty ſwears, not in " his legiſlative but in his executive capacity, he ſwears to the laws he is to execute, not againſt the " laws which parliament may think proper to make. In that ſuppoſition he would, by his oath, " control not himſelf but parliament, and ſwear not to execute laws but to prevent them. Examine " a little further, and you will find the words of the oath cannot ſupport the interpretation:

" 'I will ſupport the true profeſſion of the goſpel, and the Proteſtant religion as by law eſtab- " liſhed.' This is the oath. I will perpetuate civil incapacities on Catholics, this is the comment. " Such comment ſuppoſes the true profeſſion of the goſpel to ſtand on pains and penalties, and the " Proteſtant religion on civil proſcription. Examine the oath a little further; and, if the comment " be true, the oath has been broken, by his majeſty's gracious recommendation in favor of the Ca- " tholics in 1793, broken by the grant of the elective franchiſe, broken by the Canada bill, broken " by the Corſican conſtitution. Hear the ſpeech of the viceroy of Corſica; his excellency having " recommended to parliament the civil and military eſtabliſhment, proceeds at laſt to the church, " and adviſes them to ſettle that eſtabliſhment with his holineſs the pope. Very proper all this no " doubt; but if the interpretation were true, what an outrageous breach all this of his majeſty's " coronation oath. I ſhould aſk, whether in the interpretation of the oath, his majeſty has con- " ſulted his Iriſh biſhops? And yet he could have found among them men perfectly competent. I " will venture to ſay, that the head of our clergy underſtands the Catholic queſtion better than thoſe " conſulted; I will add, he does not, I believe, diſapprove of their emancipation, nor approve of the " argument againſt them. But it ſeems, in matters that relate to the Iriſh church, the Iriſh clergy " are not to be conſulted; an Engliſh epiſcopacy, like an Engliſh cabinet, is to determine the deſtiny " of Ireland. I have great reſpect for the learned prelates of England, particularly for one, whoſe " exemplary virtue and apoſtolic character, qualify him to preſide over whatever is learned, pure, or " holy; but in Iriſh affairs, in matters in which our civil as well as our religious intereſts are im- " plicated, might I ſay, his majeſty's counſellors ſhould be his Iriſh parliament and his Iriſh bi- " ſhops. It ſeems highly prejudicial to the church and the monarchy, that the argument which " excludes the Catholic under pretence to ſtrengthen both, ſhould be attended with circumſtances " that beſpeak the Iriſh hierarchy a cypher, the Engliſh hierarchy a nuiſance, and repreſents the " king a magiſtrate as ſworn againſt the privileges of his people. So far am I from agreeing to " ſuch an argument, that I muſt here repeat what I advanced before, and ſay, that I do not diſſent, " but I contradict. I do not ſay the Catholic emancipation is compatible with the preſent monar- " chical government in Ireland, but that it is now become neceſſary to it, and that as for the pre- " ſervation of the connection, you muſt make it compatible with the privileges of three fourths of " your people, ſo, for the preſervation of your monarchy, you make monarchy alſo compatible with " thoſe privileges, you muſt make the regal capacity of the king compatible with the civil capacity " of the ſubject."

with which the great bulk of the Iriſh nation had been encouraged to look to their complete emancipation.

The ready adoption and ſupport, which the majority in parliament had in the firſt days of Lord Fitzwilliam's adminiſtration, given to his propoſed ſyſtem of meaſures, and their unſteadineſs and inſtant tergiverſation upon the change of men filled the people of Ireland with miſtruſt and jealouſies, that have never completely ſubſided to the preſent hour. They looked up no longer with any degree of confidence to the perſons, who were ready to barter their rights and intereſts to every ſet of men, that could reward their ductility and ſubſervience. This ignominious adaptation of principle to the moſt palpable contradictions was, in fact, little calculated to command the reſpect and affection of a nation now emphatically devoted to the attainment of conſtitutional freedom. Without attributing any peculiar ſagacity to the maſs of the community, there were two reaſons (and every one now reaſoned in Ireland) completely within their competency. Extravagancy and violence were puſhed to ſuch exceſs, that grave ſenators did not ſcruple to aſſert, that the peaſantry was ſo brutal, as to mean and underſtand by Catholic emancipation, a total liberation from taxes and rent, and an agrarian diviſion of property. The meaneſt labourer could and did underſtand that by emancipation the Catholic lord, eſquire, merchant, mechanic or labourer, was to be put upon an exact level with the Proteſtant in thoſe ſame degrees: and the verſatility of the ſame men voting for and againſt the meaſure within the ſpace of a month, was obviouſly to be traced to the true ſource by the moſt illiterate.*

Sir

* Some queſtions ſaid in the before quoted memoire to have been put to Mr. Arthur O'Connor in his examination before the ſecret committee of the Houſe of Commons on the 16th of Auguſt, 1798, and his anſwers to them, ſeem to throw a ſtrong light upon this ſubject. (p. 55.)

" *Committee.* Why, what opinion have the lower claſſes of the people of political ſubjects?

" *O'Connor.* The loweſt ſocieties of the union converſed freely of the corruption, the uſurpa-
" tion, and the venality of parliament. While I was a member of the Houſe of Commons, you
" know the frequent converſation amongſt the members was, how much has ſuch an one given for
" his ſeat? From whom did he purchaſe? Has not ſuch an one ſold his borough? Has not ſuch a
" lord bought it? Has not ſuch a peer ſo many members in this houſe? Was not ſuch a member
" with the lord lieutenant's ſecretary, to inſiſt on ſome greater place or penſion? Did not the ſecre-
" tary refuſe it? Has he not gone into the oppoſition? Theſe, and ſuch like facts, are as well known
" to the loweſt claſſes of the union as to yourſelves.

" *A Member*

Sir Lawrence Parſons on the 13th of May, moved a reſolution, of which he had long given notice, which was debated with more perſonal acrimony than any queſtion throughout the ſeſſion. The reſolution was,* " that John Earl " of Weſtmorland, by authorizing ſuch a number of regular troops to be ſent " out of this country, as left the remainder conſiderably leſs than the number " appointed by law for the defence thereof, had been guilty of a violation of " the compact entered into with the crown, and of diſpenſing with the law of " the land."

Mr. Conolly ſaid, that if that motion had not been made by the honorable baronet, he ſhould have felt himſelf called upon, as the mover of the augmentation in 1769, to make it. When he had made that motion, a member, whom very few that he addreſſed could remember, (Doctor Lucas) propheſied that thoſe troops would be maintained and paid by the country during peace, and never ſuffered to remain there in time of war. The honorable baronet had been properly reſtrained laſt ſeſſion from making the motion, by the ſtate of the country, but now between militia and army they were able to meet any enemy.

Mr. Grattan obſerved, that the queſtion was not whether Lord Weſtmorland had diſpenſed with acts of parliament, but being by papers on their table convicted of having exerciſed a diſpenſing power, the queſtion was, whether the houſe ſhould proceed to impeach him. It was however met by the queſtion for adjournment, which after midnight was carried by a majority of 83 againſt 23. The only queſtion of notice that occurred during the remainder of the ſeſſion, was Mr. Curran's motion for an addreſs to the crown, ſeconded by Mr. Grattan: this was alſo defeated by the queſtion of adjournment with-

" *A Member of the Committee.* Mr. O'Connor is perfectly right; I have heard the loweſt claſſes " of the people talk in that ſtyle.

" *O'Connor.* The people are conſcious you are ſelf conſtituted, and not their delegates; men who " have no other object in view but to advance your own individual intereſt.

" *A Member of the Committee.* That we are a parcel of placemen and penſioners?

" *O'Connor.* Exactly ſo.

" *Committee.* What is the object the people have in view at preſent?

" *O'Connor.* I believe they have laid by for the inſtant all idea of ſpeculative politics, and think " only how they ſhall annihilate the inſupportable uſurpation and cruelty of the Britiſh and Iriſh " government, and how they ſhall beſt avenge the blood which has been ſhed, and the tortures " which have been inflicted, to ſupport a government they deteſt."

* 15 Parliamentary Debates, p. 370.

out

out a debate. Mr. Curran prefaced the motion by a very eloquent and impreſſive ſpeech upon the exiſting circumſtances of the country. The chancellor of the exchequer gave for reaſon in moving the adjournment, that the time was improper, and the charges in the addreſs were ſo various and multifarious, that it was impoſſible to debate them all together. The addreſs was intended as a recorded publication of the ſentiments, and juſtification to poſterity, of the conduct of the gentlemen of the oppoſition during that ſeſſion of parliament. The motion was,

" *That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to aſſure his ma-
" jeſty of our attachment to his perſon and family, of our inviolable regard
" for the monarchical form of government, and of our determination to ſup-
" port the connection with Great Britain for ever.

" That we humbly preſume to hope we have, on all occaſions, manifeſted
" thoſe ſentiments abundantly;

" That we are the more inclined to do ſo, from a conſcious ſenſe of the
" value of Ireland in the preſent critical ſituation of the empire;

" That, in conſequence of the part taken by Great Britain, under the ad-
" vice of his majeſty's miniſters, Ireland is involved in the preſent moſt
" eventful war;

" That in conſequence of this war, we have greatly added to our annual
" taxes, and increaſed, near three-fold the debt of the nation;

" That we have alſo aſſiſted the army and navy of the empire with vaſt
" numbers of our people, who have in different quarters of the globe aſſerted,
" that his majeſty muſt ever command the courage and loyalty of their
" country;

" That in this year we continued to increaſe the annual taxes, voted a
" loan of near two millions, granted a greater force than ever was paid by
" Ireland, and made theſe unexampled exertions with the unanimity of the
" parliament and the approbation of the people.

" That we were the more induced to this, from a zeal for his majeſty's ſer-
" vice, and an attachment to Great Britain, but accompanied with an expec-
" tation that our extraordinary grants would be juſtified to our conſtituents
" by a reform, under a patriot viceroy, of the various and manifold abuſes
" that had taken place in the adminiſtration of the Iriſh government, a re-

* 15 Parliamentary Debates, p. 396.

" formation

" formation which we conceived, in the preſent times, and under ſuch an " increaſe of debt and taxes, indiſpenſable, and which we do, therefore, moſt " humbly perſiſt to implore and expect;

" That after the ſupply was granted, and the force voted, and whilſt the " chief governor, poſſeſſing the entire confidence of both houſes of parlia- " ment, and the approbation of all the people, was reforming abuſes, and " putting the country in a ſtate of defence, he was ſuddenly and prematurely " recalled, and our unparalleled efforts for the ſupport of his majeſty, an- " ſwered by the ſtrongeſt marks of the reſentment of his miniſters;

" That in conſequence of ſuch a proceeding, the buſineſs of government " was interrupted, the defence of the country ſuſpended, the unanimity " which had under the then lord lieutenant exiſted, converted into juſt com- " plaint and remonſtrance, and the energy, confidence, and zeal of the na- " tion, ſo loudly called for by his majeſty's miniſters, were, by the conduct of " thoſe very miniſters themſelves, materially affected;

" That theſe, their late proceedings, aggravated their paſt ſyſtem; in com- " plaining of which we particularly refer to the notorious traffic of honors, to " the removal of the troops, contrary to law, and in total diſregard of the " ſolemn compact with the nation, and ſafety of the realm, to the criminal " conduct of government reſpecting the Iriſh army, to the diſburſement of " ſums of money without account or authority, to the improvident grant of " reverſions at the expence of his majeſty's intereſt, ſacrificed for the emolu- " ment of his ſervants to the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters in both coun- " tries, towards his Catholic and Proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland, alternately " practiſing on their paſſions, exciting their hope and procuring their diſap- " pointment;

" That convinced by the benefits which we have received under his ma- " jeſty's reign, that the grievances of which we complain are as unknown to " his majeſty as abhorrent from his paternal and royal diſpoſition;

" We, his commons of Ireland, beg leave to lay ourſelves at his feet, and, " with all humility to his majeſty, to offer, on our part, and on the part of " our conſtituents, this our juſt and neceſſary remonſtrance againſt the con- " duct of his miniſters; and to implore his majeſty, that he may be graci- " ouſly pleaſed to lay his commands upon his miniſter to ſecond the zeal of " his Iriſh parliament in his majeſty's ſervices, by manifeſting in future, to " the people of Ireland, due regard and attention."

On

On the 5th of June, 1795, the parliament was prorogued with the uſual formalities. The lord-lieutenant's ſpeech from the throne expreſſed his majeſty's acknowledgments for the very liberal ſupplies, and commended the benevolent relief of the poor from the tax of hearth-money; the wiſe foundation of a college for the education of the Catholic clergy; and the ſatisfactory arrangement of iſſuing money from the treaſury.

Upon Lord Fitzwilliam's arrival in England, the miſunderſtanding between him and the miniſtry upon the ſubject of his inſtructions, became very ſerious: and in the reſult, he was not only condemned by Mr. Pitt, and that part of the cabinet, which conſiſted of the old adminiſtration, but was wholly abandoned by thoſe, whom he had reaſon to call his own friends, the Duke of Portland, Earl Mansfield, Earl Spencer, and Mr. Wyndham. The charge made by the noble lord, who inſiſted that he followed his inſtructions in every meaſure which he had propoſed in Ireland, was met by the plea of official ſecrecy, which equally bound the cabinet, who gave, as the viceroy, who received the inſtructions. A majority in the cabinet had carried the queſtion of his recal; and, in fact, no one could be more implicated in their common act than the other. On the 8th day of May, 1795, the Duke of Norfolk, after having enlarged upon the impolicy, danger, and injuſtice of recalling Earl Fitzwilliam under the exiſting circumſtances, and having offered to the houſe a moſt juſt and candid repreſentation of the ſtate of Ireland, concluded with the following motion:—"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, "that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to direct, that there be laid before this "houſe, ſuch part of the correſpondence between his majeſty's miniſters and "Earl Fitzwilliam, late lord-lieutenant of Ireland, as related to the motives "and grounds of his recal from the government of the ſaid kingdom, during "a ſeſſion of parliament, in which the two houſes of parliament had voted "their confidence in him, and their approbation of his conduct, and with "a munificence unexampled, had granted ſupplies for the general exigencies "of the ſtate."*

The Earls of Mansfield, Coventry, and Carnarvon, and Lord Sydney, oppoſed the Duke's motion. Lord Fitzwilliam's character not having ſuffered by his removal, they maintained that no inquiry was needed to clear it up. The prerogative of the crown empowered it to diſmiſs miniſters at diſcretion: it were unconſtitutional to inſtitute enquiries into the reaſons for ſuch diſmiſ-

* Parl. Debates, p. 468.

ſions;

ſions; and parliamentary diſcuſſions were the more improper, as they might diſcloſe matters that ought never to have been divulged. The diſmiſſion of Lord Fitzwilliam proved no more than a difference of opinion on his part, touching the affairs of Ireland, that made it improper he ſhould any longer act with miniſters who were of another: neither was there ſufficient evidence of the diſcontents in Ireland, to require any particular inveſtigation.

The Earl of Weſtmorland decidedly condemned the introduction into the Iriſh parliament, of the buſineſs relating to the Catholics, which he aſſerted was contrary to the inſtructions carried from England: their emancipation, he maintained, was repugnant to ſound policy, as well as to the king's oath, and the laws of the land.

To this Lord Fitzwilliam replied, that the moſt neceſſary policy had called upon him to act as he had done. Ireland was in a ſtate of imminent danger from internal feuds and external foes: the Catholics were equally powerful and diſſatisfied: the French were become maſters of Holland; and thirty-ſix hoſtile ſail of the line were hovering on the weſtern coaſt of Ireland. In this perilous ſituation he had the happineſs to unite all parties in a determination to act vigorouſly for the defence of the kingdom. But could he have effected this, had he not convinced the Iriſh of the liberal intentions of this country?

He was anſwered by Lord Grenville, who, after alleging the very ſame reaſons againſt an enquiry as had been adduced, remarked, that were parliament to aſſume the right of enquiring into the motives for the diſmiſſion of miniſters, they might, by the ſame rule, proceed next to the examination, whether thoſe who were appointed to ſucceed them, had been properly choſen. This would obviouſly lead to ſtill more dangerous enquiries, tending ultimately to unhinge the conſtitution.

After many warm arguments on both ſides of the queſtion, the motion for an enquiry was rejected by one hundred againſt twenty-five.

In the Houſe of Commons very ſpirited debates alſo took place on this ſubject. Mr. Jekyll propoſed the ſame motion that had been in the Houſe of Lords, and ſupported it by ſimilar arguments. It was ſtated in reply by Mr. Pitt, that no communication of the correſpondence between Lord Fitzwilliam and the miniſtry could be permitted without the king's aſſent; and miniſters were officially bounden to the ſtricteſt ſecrecy in all caſes of this nature. He would not for that reaſon, enter into any verbal explanations of the buſineſs in queſtion, and neither ſhould admit nor deny the facts or the inferences

alleged. The king had clearly the right to nominate and to diſmiſs miniſters without aſſigning his motives, caſes of an extraordinary nature excepted. He forcibly urged the indiſpenſable neceſſity of an entire agreement in ſentiments between the king's miniſtry, without which it were impracticable to conduct the affairs of the nation with any regularity or ſucceſs; and yet they might differ without any diminution of reciprocal friendſhip or eſteem. He deprecated the diſcuſſion of ſubjects now before the Iriſh parliament, as a manifeſt violation of its independence; and warmly exhorted the houſe to leave the ſettlement of affairs in that nation to its repreſentatives, who certainly were beſt qualified for that purpoſe. Mr. Pitt was ſeconded by other members. Meſſrs. Fox and Grey ſpoke very warmly for the enquiry. Mr. Fox compared the diſmiſſal of Earl Fitzwilliam with the reſignation and diſmiſſion of Lord Carliſle, Lord Temple, Lord Northington, and others; and pointed out the difference between this and all of them. In the caſes of all thoſe noble perſons, the diſmiſſals and reſignations aroſe in conſequence of the change of adminiſtration, and therefore they differed entirely from the preſent caſe. Some perſons might perhaps object to this motion, as the very words of it conveyed an idea, that it was dangerous to ſuffer any enquiry whatever to take place, as it ſtated circumſtances, which went to infer that Ireland was in danger. The conduct of Earl Fitzwilliam was certainly very dangerous. But to whom was it dangerous: to the people of Ireland? By no means. It was dangerous only to the few individuals whoſe plan it was to govern Ireland by corruption: it was dangerous to thoſe who held the intereſt and the ſentiments of the people of that country in contempt; and therefore the cauſe of the removal of the noble earl upon that principle was eaſily perceived. The noble earl was, he believed, the only perſon who had the good fortune to obtain the applauſes of all the Catholics and diſſenters of Ireland; the only perſon who, ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Brunſwick, had been able to unite all parties in that kingdom; and that circumſtance, perhaps, to his majeſty's preſent adviſers, was a ſufficient reaſon for his recal. Here Mr. Fox entered into a ſhort hiſtory of facts with regard to the adminiſtration of Earl Fitzwilliam in Ireland; as alſo of the applications which were made to the throne by delegates from that country on behalf of the Catholics, and maintained the right which the Houſe of Commons of this country had to inſtitute enquiries into public matters which related to the intereſts of both. He was of opinion, that what had been allowed to the Catholics in that country and in this, ſo far as

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it went, was highly proper: but that while there was any diſtinction made between them and the Proteſtants with regard to political rights, they would ſtill continue to have claims upon the juſtice of the legiſlature. His opinion, indeed, was well known to thoſe who had done him the honor to attend to him: it was, that at all times, in all countries, and upon all occaſions, there ſhould be no diſtinctions in political rights, on account of religious opinions. He thought that the prejudices of the people were, generally ſpeaking, worthy of attention. But when prejudices bent againſt the general principles of toleration, he did not think them entitled to much reſpect. What was the caſe in Ireland when Lord Fitzwilliam became lord-lieutenant? When he arrived in Ireland, he found the Proteſtants ſo far from having any alarm at the idea of the emancipation of the Catholics, that they all wiſhed for it: even when his recal was known to be about to take place, there was only one place in the whole kingdom where alarm was affected to be felt, in conſequence of the plan propoſed in favor of the Catholics; and even there the vote upon that occaſion was carried by a ſmall majority, and therefore it was demonſtrable, that the almoſt unanimous wiſh of the people of Ireland, was for the entire emancipation of the Catholics.

An end was put to the moſt warm and intereſting debate during the ſeſſion, by Mr. Pitt moving for the order of the day, which was carried by 180 againſt 49.

The ſpirit of Defenderiſm encreaſed and ſpread very widely in this year, through the kingdom; and many even in Dublin were found to have entered into this execrable band. To them were attributed the outrages committed upon ſome of the firſt officers* of the ſtate, immediately after the arrival of Lord

* The nature of theſe outrages appears from the proclamation publiſhed on the occaſion.

" By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland,

" A PROCLAMATION.

" CAMDEN.

" WHEREAS on the thirty-firſt day of March laſt, after his excellency the " lord lieutenant had been ſworn into office, before his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Armagh and " his excellency the lord chancellor, the lords juſtices, a great number of perſons aſſembled in " and near his majeſty's Caſtle of Dublin, did moſt daringly and illegally inſult the ſaid Archbi- " ſhop of Armagh and the ſaid lord chancellor, as they were returning from the ſaid Caſtle, by " throwing ſtones at their carriages, and did purſue the ſaid lord chancellor from the ſaid Caſtle of " Dublin, to his houſe in Ely-place, and did aſſault him ſeveral times by throwing paving ſtones of

Lord Camden in the metropolis. They alſo aſſailed the houſe of Mr. John Claudius Beresford. The characters of the chancellor, and of the whole houſe of Beresford, were particularly obnoxious to the people at this time. They had given a decided oppoſition to parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation: Earl Fitzwilliam had wiſhed to remove the chancellor, but was over-ruled by the Britiſh cabinet: he had actually removed Mr. Beresford from the revenue board, though he were afterwards reſtored by a more powerful mandate. They were prominently active in procuring the removal of Lord Fitzwilliam; and on that account alſo they were expoſed to the full reſentment of the mob.

In the provinces too the outrages of the defenders were encreaſed and multiplied to ſuch a degree, that in ſome counties gentlemen were forced to keep in

" a very large ſize at him, by one of which the ſaid lord chancellor was ſtruck and wounded in " his head.

" And whereas various mobs aſſembled at the ſame time, in various parts of the city of Dublin, " and did attack ſeveral houſes therein.

" Now we the lord lieutenant and council, being determined to bring to condign puniſhment, " the perſons guilty of offences of a tendency ſo dangerous to the public peace, and to the lives and " properties of the inhabitants of this city, do by this our proclamation publiſh and declare, That " if any perſon or perſons ſhall within the ſpace of ſix calendar months from the date hereof, diſ- " cover any of the perſons who committed any of the offences aforeſaid, or who adviſed, encou- " raged, inſtigated, moved, ſtimulated, or incited the perſons concerned in the ſaid offences, or " any of them, to commit the ſame, ſuch perſon or perſons ſo diſcovering ſhall receive as a reward " the ſum of five hundred pounds, for the perſon or perſons who made the attack on the lord pri- " mate and lord chancellor, or either of them, and one hundred pounds for every of the firſt three " perſons who ſhall be apprehended and convicted of attacking the ſaid houſes or any of them.

" And we do likewiſe publiſh and declare, that if any of the perſons concerned in the ſaid " offences ſhall diſcover any other of the perſons who committed any of the ſaid offences, ſo that " ſuch perſon or perſons, ſo diſcovered, ſhall be convicted thereof, ſuch perſon or perſons ſo diſ- " covering, ſhall, over and above ſaid reward, receive his majeſty's moſt gracious pardon for the " ſaid offences.

" And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command the lord mayor of the city of Dublin, and all " juſtices of the peace of ſaid city of Dublin, and of the county of Dublin, and all ſheriffs and " other magiſtrates and officers within their ſeveral juriſdictions, and all other his majeſty's loving " ſubjects, that they uſe their utmoſt endeavours and diligence in ſuppreſſing all riots and unlaw- " ful aſſemblies, and in apprehending, and cauſing to be apprehended, all and every the perſons " concerned in the ſaid audacious offences.

" And we do hereby caution his majeſty's loving and peaceable ſubjects, carefully to avoid all " unlawful

in their houſes a conſtant military guard to preſerve them and their families from depredation and murder. This was perhaps, the moſt awful and critical period of modern Iriſh hiſtory. From this time the very tint of moderation ſeems to have been effaced from every tranſaction that affected the public weal. There certainly were, at this time, many ſub-diviſions of the people into particular claſſes, who aſſociated together for different purpoſes, moſt with laudable views, many with motives of conſcious innocence, others with deſigns of a ſuſpicious tendency, and ſome with intentions directly nefarious. But one grand diviſion ſuperſeded all theſe ſub-diſcriminations: the caſtle and the popular party. The general marſhalling of individuals into theſe two great bodies, was effected with ſo much heat and acrimonious zeal, that tyranny and treaſon became the only medium through which they reſpectively viewed the conduct and actions of each other. To this preternatural tenſion of principle are to be reduced all the exceſſes of violence, which for ſome years afflicted that ill-fated country, till the powerful balm of incorporate union was applied to heal and prevent the evil. It is impoſſible ſo to analyze the ſincerity of individuals, as to arraign their profeſſed views and intentions. No man can ſo narrowly watch the workings of his neighbour's mind, as to aſcertain the inſtant, at which juſtifiable conviction takes place: few can

" unlawful aſſemblies, leſt they ſhould expoſe themſelves to the conſequences, neceſſarily reſulting
" from the executing the duties of the magiſtrates in the preſervation of the public peace.

" Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 1ſt day of April, 1795.

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|---|---|
| " W. Armagh, | H. Meath, |
| " Fitzgibbon, C. | G. L. Kildare, |
| " R. Dublin, | Londonderry, |
| " Cha. Caſhel, | John Foſter, |
| " Wm. Tuam, | T. Pelham, |
| " Clanricarde, | H. Cavendiſh. |
| " Waterford, | J. Blaquiere, |
| " Shannon, | Theo. Jones, |
| " Louth, | Henry King, |
| " Glandore, | Joſ: Cooper, |
| " Clonmell, | Wm. Conyngham, |
| " Ely, | Robert Cuninghame, |
| " Dillon, | James Cuff, |
| " Pery, | Arthur Wolfe. |
| " Goſford, | |

" God ſave the King."

anſwer

anſwer even for their own. Allowing therefore, what every man claims for himſelf, full credit for ſincerity in that, which he profeſſes to do for the good of his country and the preſervation of its conſtitution, we proceed to the detail of what was attempted and effected by the different parties under this great pervading maxim, that different meaſures adopted with the ſame motive may and generally do produce contrary effects.

The bulk of the nation unanimouſly looked up with confidence to the adminiſtration of Earl Fitzwilliam: all parties were united in ſupport of it, and the civil union of different religions threatened immediate overthrow to whatever party exiſted in Ireland, that wiſhed, promoted, or throve by the internal diſunion of the people. For more than a century this diſuniting principle had been the regular ſyſtem and avowed language of the government in every ſpeech from the throne. Proteſtant union of leſs than a million againſt the common enemy conſiſting of three millions, was encouraged and enforced: the private emoluments and advantages of that ſyſtem were long felt and enjoyed, even after the public had ceaſed to avow it.

A power from this ſide of the water had replaced thoſe perſons, whom the people, at that time, looked upon as their greateſt enemies in the plenitude of dominion. Irritated at the popular wiſh to diſplace them, they reſumed their former ſituations with redoubled diſpoſition to ſtrong and ſevere meaſures, which their adverſaries called arbitary rule and oppreſſion. Henceforward the popular ſocieties began to ſettle into a ſyſtem of myſterious ſecrecy, infinitely more dangerous than their former plan of confident and open boldneſs. This was the fatal effect of a change of meaſures. The ſecret committee of the lords explicitly ſaid, that * "the attainment of what are called par-
"liamentary reform and Catholic emancipation were and continued to be
"held out by them merely as a pretence for their aſſociations, and with a
"view to ſeduce perſons, who were not apprized of their traiterous deſigns,
"to unite with them." The diſappointment and forwardneſs of the public mind diſpoſed immenſe multitudes to aſſociate upon theſe lawful, and, according to them, moſt laudable grounds. Some leading heads of theſe ſocieties, whoſe real views, according to the Report of the ſecret committee, always were to ſeparate Ireland from Great Britain, took advantage of the critical moment, and converted this encreaſed auſterity of government into a moſt powerful engine for forwarding their traiterous deſigns. That Report informs us, that

* 7 Lords' Journal, 580.

in

" in 1795 * the teſt of the ſociety underwent a ſtriking reviſion, the words " in the amended teſt ſtand, 'a full repreſentation of all the people,' omitting " the words 'in the Commons' Houſe of Parliament:' the reaſon for which " had been admitted by three † members of the executive, examined before " your

* 17 Commons Journal, Appendix DCCCXXIX.

† Theſe were Meſſrs. O'Connor, Emmett, and Dr. M'Neven, who, whilſt in priſon wrote a detailed Memoire of the origin and progreſs of the Iriſh union, and delivered it in to the Iriſh government. It has been ſince printed, together with their report of their examination before the committee, whom they accuſe of having publiſhed a partial and garbled account of it. In that work, they give the following account of the progreſs of the union at this critical period. (Page 3) " The " firſt of theſe ſocieties was, as we beſt recollect, in the year 1795. In order to ſecure co-operation " and uniformity of action, they organized a ſyſtem of committees, baronial, county, and provin- " cial, and even national; but it was long before the ſkeleton of this organization was filled up. " While the formation of theſe ſocieties was in agitation, the friends of liberty were gradually, but " with a timid ſtep, advancing towards republicaniſm; they began to be convinced, that it would " be as eaſy to obtain a revolution as a reform, ſo obſtinately was the latter reſiſted; and as the " conviction impreſſed itſelf on their minds, they were inclined not to give up the ſtruggle, but to " extend their views; it was for this reaſon that in their teſt the words are 'an equal repreſentation ' of all the people of Ireland,' without inſerting the word parliament. This teſt embraced both the " republican and the reformer, and left to future circumſtances to decide, to which point the com- " mon ſtrength ſhould be directed; but ſtill the whole body, we are convinced, would rejoice " to ſtop ſhort at reform. Another conſideration, however, led the minds of reflecting united " Iriſhmen to look towards a republic and ſeparation from England; this was the war with France; " they clearly perceived that their ſtrength was not likely to become ſpeedily equal to wreſting from " the Engliſh and the borough intereſt in Ireland even a reform; foreign aſſiſtance would, there- " fore, perhaps become neceſſary; but foreign aſſiſtance could only be hoped for in proportion as " the object to which it would be applied was important to the party giving it. A reform in the " Iriſh parliament was no object to the French, a ſeparation of Ireland from England was a mighty " one indeed. Thus they reaſoned: ſhall we, between two objects, confine ourſelves to the leaſt " valuable, even though it is equally difficult to be obtained, if we conſider the relation of Ireland " with the reſt of Europe.

" Whatever progreſs the united ſyſtem had made among the Catholics throughout the kingdom, " until after the recal of Lord Fitzwilliam, notwithſtanding many reſolutions, which had appeared " from them, manifeſting a growing ſpirit, they were conſidered as entertaining an habitual ſpirit " for monarchy, but alſo as being leſs attached than the preſbyterians to political liberty. There " were, however, certain men among them, who rejoiced at the rejection of their claims, becauſe it " gave them an opportunity of pointing out that the adverſaries of reform were their adverſaries; " and that theſe two objects could never be ſeparated with any chance of ſucceſs to either. They " uſed the recal of that nobleman, and the rejection of his meaſures, to cement together in political " union the Catholic and Preſbyterian maſſes.

" The

" your committee, to be the better to reconcile reformers and republicans in " a common exertion to overthrow the ſtate."

Having failed in their attempt and deſpairing of ever attaining Catholic emancipation under the then exiſting ſpirit of the government, the united Iriſhmen held out, that the only gleam of hope was to ariſe out of a reform of parliament; that had ever been their great rallying point; they now gave out, that they ſyſtemized their plan merely for the purpoſe of obtaining with quicker and ſurer effect, *a radical* reform in the repreſentation of the people, founded on the principles of civil, political and religious liberty. From reflection and experience, they were convinced, that no ſyſtem but that of union could ſucceed; they therefore formed themſelves into affiliated ſocieties, and adopted the following ſolemn teſt;

" In the awful preſence of God, I. A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will " perſevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Iriſh- " men of every religious perſuaſion; and that I will alſo perſevere in my en- " deavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate repreſentation of all the " people in Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, " or puniſhments, ſhall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on, " or give evidence againſt any member or members of this or ſimilar ſocieties, " for any act or expreſſion of theirs done or made, collectively or individually, " in or out of this ſociety, in purſuance of the ſpirit of this obligation."

So eagerly did perſons of every denomination give into that plan, that in the courſe of the year ſocieties were formed in moſt parts of the kingdom. The moment the people began to feel the powerful effects of union, the gentlemen in place became frightfully alarmed for their ſituations; active agents were ſent down to Armagh, to turn the ferocity and fanaticiſm of the *Peep of Day Boys* into a religious conteſt with the Catholics under the ſpecious appearances of zeal for church and king. Perſonal animoſity was artfully converted into religious rancour: and for the ſpecious purpoſe of taking off the ſtigma of delinquency, the appellation of *Peep of Day Boys* was changed into that of *Orange Men.* At firſt no perſon of conſequence appeared in it: the firſt lodge was formed on the 21ſt of September, 1795. Like the *United Iriſh-*

" The modern ſocieties, for their protection againſt informers and proſecution, had introduced " into their teſt a clauſe of ſecrecy. They did more,—they changed the engagement of their pre- " deceſſors into an oath; and mutual confidence encreaſed, when religion was called in aid of " mutual ſecurity."

*men,*

*men*, they were ſoon affiliated, and their numbers increaſed. Their profeſſions widely differed from their practices: they pretended to ſupport only that conſtitution, which had been given to the country by William the Prince of Orange: but their conduct, as will be ſeen hereafter, was little guided by the liberal principles of the Revolution. *Their teſt is ſaid to have been: "In the awful preſence of Almighty God, I A. B. do ſolemnly ſwear, "that I will, to the utmoſt of my power, ſupport the king and the preſent "government; and I do further ſwear, that I will uſe my utmoſt exertions "to exterminate all the Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland." But this oath, though ſecret, has latterly been denied by the Orangemen of reſpectability and conſequence. It has been generally credited, that it was taken by all the original lodges, and continued afterwards to be taken by the lower claſſes at leaſt, if not privately by all Orangemen. The exterminating ſpirit of the oath was too often acted upon, as will be ſeen hereafter. The great increaſe of the Orange inſtitution did not take place till the enſuing year.

The ſpirit and boldneſs of the defenders in the ſummer of 1795 aſſumed a moſt formidable appearance: but ſo far were they from being countenanced and ſupported by the body of Catholics, that their moſt open outrages were attempted againſt ſome Catholic magiſtrates in the county of Kildare; where they appeared† in bodies of ſeveral hundreds. In the courſe of this year Lord Carhampton finding that certain diſtricts under his command were overrun by theſe defenders with impunity, took a ſummary mode of reſtoring tranquillity, by exerting a vigour beyond the law,‡ which was as highly applauded by government, as it was ſeverely reprobated by the oppoſition.

In

* This form of teſt is what is generally believed to have been in uſe amongſt the Orangemen: but the author has no authentic document for it. It is ſo ſtated in a pamphlet publiſhed in 1797, called, A View of the preſent State of Ireland, by an obſerver, ſaid to have been written by Mr. A. O'Connor. They were always ſaid to have a ſecret teſt, which they called their *Purple Oath*. The ſecret committee of the Lords in 1798 aſked Mr. A. O'Connor, if government had any thing to do with their *Oath of Extermination*.

† The reſolutions of the county of Kildare, which ſhew the conduct of the defenders and the ſpirit of the county in reſiſting them, are to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. XCVIII.

‡ What the real conſequence of this ſtrong meaſure of Lord Carhampton was, remains ſtill doubtful to many. It is thus repreſented by Sir Richard Muſgrave, p. 145. "Lord Carhampton "finding that the laws were ſilent and inoperative in the counties which he viſited, and that they "did not afford protection to the loyal and peaceable ſubjects, who in moſt places were obliged

In this alarming ſtate of the country a very laudable example was ſet to the nation at large by the Marquis of Waterford, by heading a ſubſcription of ſome hundred reſpectable perſons, who took that opportunity of ſhewing their loyalty

" to fly from their habitations, reſolved to reſtore them to their uſual energy, by the following ſa-
" lutary ſyſtem of ſeverity :

" In each county he aſſembled the moſt reſpectable gentlemen and landholders in it, and hav-
" ing, in concert with them, examined the charges againſt the leaders of this banditti, who were
" in priſon, but defied juſtice, he, with the concurrence of theſe gentlemen, ſent the moſt nefarious
" of them on board a tender, ſtationed at Sligo, to ſerve in his majeſty's navy.

" By this bold meaſure, founded in obvious principles of political neceſſity, he completely re-
" ſtored peace in the diſturbed counties.

" The loyal inhabitants, and the grand juries in them, thanked Lord Carhampton for his wiſe
" and ſalutary exertions; but the diſaffected in every part of the kingdom, exaſperated that he had
" checked the progreſs of their revolutionary ſchemes, raiſed a great clamour in conſequence of it;
" and as they meditated many proſecutions and civil actions againſt him, a law was paſſed in the
" month of February, 1796, to indemnify ſuch perſons as had exceeded the limits of the law in re-
" ſtoring peace and good order; which, as a matter of courſe, was violently oppoſed by the mino-
" rity in the Houſe of Commons."

On the other hand it is repreſented from the pen of Mr. Grattan in the petition from the Whig club in the following light, p. 6. " In order to puniſh additional diſcontents, the effect of Lord
" Fitzwilliam's removal, and the public diſappointment that followed; in order to ſupport the
" Iriſh miniſtry that ſucceeded, and returned with their old maxims of government, they thought
" proper to proceed againſt the people without any form or proceſs whatſoever; and laying aſide the
" incumbrance of ſtatute, and the delay of law, they ſuffered their general and other magiſtrates to
" form themſelves into a ſpecies of revolutionary tribunal, where theſe men ſat without law, tried
" without law, ſentenced without law, and puniſhed without law; not a few individuals, but
" hordes, tribes, and generations of country people, ſent on board a tender often on this principle,
" that if tried before a court of law, they would probably be acquitted. His majeſty has heard the
" effect of this policy, in the mutiny of his fleet. It has been ſaid, that the law was open; we
" ſubmit to his majeſty, that it was far otherwiſe: for a bill of indemnity was paſſed, nearly in
" the ſtyle and manner of acclamation, without enquiry, the propoſal of which was rejected with
" an outcry; which bill of indemnity went to ſecure the offending magiſtrates againſt the conſe-
" quences of their outrages and illegalities; that is to ſay, in our humble conception, the poor were
" ſtricken out of the protection of the law, and the rich out of its penalties; and then another bill
" was paſſed, to give ſuch lawleſs proceedings againſt his majeſty's ſubjects continuation; namely, a
" bill to enable the magiſtrates to perpetrate by law, thoſe offences which they had before committed
" againſt it; a bill to legalize outrage, to barbarize law, and to give the law itſelf the caſt and co-
" lour of outrage. By ſuch a bill, the magiſtrates were enabled, without legal proceſs, to ſend on
" board a tender his majeſty's ſubjects, and the country was divided into two claſſes, or formed
" into two diſtinct nations, living under the ſame king, and inhabiting the ſame iſland; one con-
" ſiſting

loyalty and attachment to our gracious ſovereign by publicly concurring in opinion, that a Waterford regiment ought to be raiſed, in which there ſhould be no diſtinction of religion, but that Proteſtants and Catholics ſhould be indiſcriminately united. This example was not followed up. So rapidly and widely did defenderiſm this year ſpread its baneful effects, that the reſpectable inhabitants of moſt counties throughout the kingdom found it neceſſary to enter into aſſociations and ſubſcriptions in ſelf-defence. In the ſummer aſſizes of this year ſeveral defenders were tried and found guilty of high treaſon; and in the month of September, the animoſities of the defenders and peep-of-day boys were renewed in the county of Armagh, to ſuch a degree, that the defenders remained for ſeveral days openly under arms. On the 21ſt of September, the battle of the Diamond, ſo called from the village of that name, was fought, in which the defenders, though greatly ſuperior in number, were worſted with conſiderable ſlaughter. From this defeat of the defenders, is to be traced the increaſed rancour and ferocity of their opponents, who, as before obſerved, henceforward had formed themſelves into clubs of Orangemen, and thereby having increaſed their ſtrength, proceeded, as will afterwards appear, to exterminate the whole race of Catholics out of the county of Armagh, and that neighbourhood.

When the parliament met on the 21ſt of January, 1796, the lord lieutenant in his ſpeech from the throne congratulated with them on the improvement of the general ſituation of affairs on the continent. The continued and brilliant ſucceſſes of the Auſtrian armies upon the Rhine, the important captures of the Cape of Good Hope and Trincomale by his majeſty's forces, and the decided and confirmed ſuperiority of his fleets, were circumſtances of the utmoſt importance to the common cauſe; and their effect was ſtrengthened by the internal diſtreſſes, the ruined commerce, and financial embarraſſments of the enemy. The criſis lately depending in France had led to an order of things in that country, ſuch as would induce his majeſty to meet any diſpoſition to negociation on the part of the enemy, with an earneſt deſire to give

" ſiſting of the king's magiſtrates, and the other of the king's ſubjects; the former without re-
" ſtraint, and the latter without privilege.

" The ſupporters of his majeſty's miniſters have boaſted of the effects of their bills, in eſtabliſhing
" ſecurity; we lament that we cannot believe them; and we know very well how ſanguine they
" have been on ſimilar ſubjects, and how miſerably they have deluded government and themſelves."
* 16 P.D. p. 2.

it the fulleſt and ſpeedieſt effect, and to conclude a treaty of general peace, when it might be effected on juſt and ſuitable terms for himſelf and his allies. The treaty of commerce between his majeſty and the United States of America having been mutually ratified, he had ordered copies of it by his majeſty's command to be laid before them.

The event of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales having been happily delivered of a Princeſs was alſo announced.

His excellency congratulated the commons, that notwithſtanding the continued preſſure of the war, the commerce and revenues of the kingdom had not in any degree fallen from that flouriſhing ſtate of advancement, which in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament was a ſubject of ſuch juſt congratulation. That circumſtance afforded a deciſive proof that their proſperity was founded on a ſolid baſis, and led to indulge the flattering hope, that whatever additional burdens might be neceſſary to impoſe would not be materially felt by the people.

He then generally adverted to thoſe ſecret and treaſonable aſſociations, the dangerous extent and malignity of which had in ſome degree been diſcloſed on ſeveral trials, and to the diſturbances, which had taken place in ſome parts of the kingdom. It had at the ſame time been a ſource of great ſatisfaction to him to obſerve the ſucceſsful and meritorious exertions of the magiſtrates in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and the alacrity, which his majeſty's regular and militia forces had univerſally manifeſted in aid of the civil power, whenever they had been called upon for the preſervation of the peace and ſupport of the laws. It remained for their prudence and wiſdom to deviſe ſuch meaſures as, together with a continuance of thoſe exertions, and the additional powers, which, by the advice of the privy council, he had thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh in different counties, would prevent the return of ſimilar exceſſes, and reſtore a proper reverence for the law of the country.

Lord Tyrone moved an addreſs to his majeſty, and was ſeconded by Col. Foſter.

Mr. Grattan ſaid, that the addreſs, as far as expreſſing our abhorrence at the daring outrage committed on the perſon of our ſovereign, and as far as expreſſing our congratulations on the increaſe of his domeſtic happineſs, and as far as it went to compliment Lord Camden, met with his approbation; but that part of the addreſs, which expreſſed a confidence in the preſent adminiſtration,

niſtration, met with his decided diſapprobation. He ſaid, that Ireland had not been treated with reſpect. The people of Ireland were loyal to their ſovereign, and how had they been treated? The ſyſtem of the Britiſh miniſter had been to treat them uniformly with inſolence and contumely; and the ſyſtem of the adminiſtration for theſe ſeveral years paſt had been profligate and corrupt. He took a retroſpect of the adminiſtration of the Marquis of Buckingham, who was ſent over to promiſe that which he did not perform. He adverted to the ſale of peerages, for the purpoſe of obtaining a corrupt and undue influence in the Houſe of Commons, which had been part of the ſyſtem of the Buckingham adminiſtration; he next adverted to the diſpenſing power of the Earl of Weſtmorland to take away the army from that kingdom, contrary to law, which ſhould always conſiſt of an effective force of 12,000 men for the home defence, and which in the months of June, July, Auguſt, September, October, and November, were conſiderably under that number. In the American war, they had been left naked; and in the French war they had been left naked. Theſe were two impeachable crimes under the Britiſh adminiſtration.

He reprobated the conduct of a former adminiſtration towards the Catholics of the country: the hornets of government were ſent out to the different county grand juries, in order to procure addreſſes and reſolutions to wall out the Catholics from the conſtitution, as the Engliſh had formerly walled out the Scotch, and the Chineſe the Tartars. He ſaid, that the Britiſh cabinet, during the adminiſtration of Lord Fitzwilliam, had broken faith with Ireland. He reprobated the conduct of Lord Weſtmorland in granting the reverſion of every capital employment in the kingdom, after his ſucceſſor had been appointed; and that during his adminiſtration, fourteen new employments had been created, and thirteen reverſions granted away; this ſyſtem he reprobated in very ſtrong and ſevere terms: he ſaid, that the conduct of the Britiſh cabinet towards their country was influenced by falſe witneſſes againſt Ireland; by bad viceroys, who had acted in their adminiſtration unfavorably to Ireland; and if not by bad viceroys, the Britiſh cabinet was influenced by clerks, by ſpies, and by runners.

Having dwelt for ſome time on the conduct of the Britiſh cabinet towards his country, which had drained itſelf of its men and money for the ſupport of Great Britain, he contraſted the conduct of the Britiſh cabinet towards other

other countries. He concluded a ſpeech of conſiderable length with moving an amendment to the addreſs nearly to the following purport:

"That they ſhould pay the utmoſt attention to every meaſure for the purpoſe "of preſerving the peace and good order of the country, and to amend the "condition of the lower deſcription of the people in this kingdom; with a "view to render the connection between the two countries the more endear-"ing, and to enable them more cheerfully to contribute to ſuch burthens as "ſhould be impoſed upon them, they humbly beſeeched his majeſty, that he "would be graciouſly pleaſed to recommend to his parliament in England "to adopt ſuch meaſures for the admiſſion of the manufactures of that king-"dom into the ports of Great Britain on terms not leſs advantageous than "what manufactures of Great Britain were admitted into the ports of "Ireland."

Mr. Vandeleur ſeconded the motion.

After Mr. Grattan's amendment had been rejected by a majority of 122 againſt 14,* the attorney general called the attention of gentlemen to the ſubject of diſturbances in ſome parts of the country; to check thoſe offences, he would introduce a bill, and in that bill perhaps, or in a ſeparate bill, would have a clauſe to indemnify certain magiſtrates and others, who acted for the public good, though not exactly under the exiſting laws, in ſuppreſſing theſe diſturbances. He had mentioned, upon his return from ſome proſecutions, which were carried on about three years ago, his intention to bring in a bill to make a conſpiracy to murder felony; he had hoped, that this declaration would in ſome meaſure have checked the evil; but he was ſorry to ſay, it had not: conſpiracies to murder were ſtill frequent, and the idea of aſſaſſination had become as familiar as that of fowling.

Mr. Curran wiſhed to know the extent and nature of that delinquency, which it was intended to indemnify; when Mr. M. Beresford obſerved, the word delinquency was not applicable to the perſons intended; a part of the country was alarmingly diſturbed; the magiſtrates and others inveſted with power had, in order to prevent the neceſſity of proclaiming martial law univerſally, acted in that particular diſtrict, as if martial law were proclaimed: this conduct, ſo far from being delinquency, was juſtifiable and laudable, and of happy conſequence in the event.

* 16 Parl. Deb. p. 12.

On the 28th of the month the attorney general adverted to the notice he had given on the firſt night of the ſeſſion of his intention of bringing in two bills: the object of one of them was, for preventing in future inſurrections, and tumults, and riots in this kingdom; and the object of the other bill was, to indemnify certain magiſtrates and others, who, in their exertions for the preſervation of the public tranquillity, might have acted againſt the forms and rules of law; he ſtated, that the bill for the more effectually preventing of inſurrections, tumults, and riots by perſons ſtyling themſelves defenders, and other diſorderly perſons, was however repugnant to his feelings, a bloody penal code.

He ſaid, that the acts then in force for adminiſtering unlawful oaths was not ſufficiently ſtrong, and the adminiſtering of unlawful oaths was the ſource of all the treaſonable actions, which had taken place in the country; the bill propoſed, that the adminiſtering of unlawful oaths ſhould be felony of death; but he would propoſe, that that bill ſhould be but a temporary law; there was alſo a clauſe in the bill to enable the magiſtrates, at the quarter ſeſſions, to take up all idle vagrants and perſons who had no viſible means of earning a livelihood, and ſend them to ſerve on board the fleet: he ſaid, he did not propoſe to hurry this bill through the houſe, but give time for the conſideration, as it might be neceſſary to add much, and make ſeveral alterations. He then moved for leave "to bring in a bill for the more effectually preventing "of inſurrections, tumults, and riots, by perſons ſtyling themſelves defenders, "and other diſorderly perſons;" and leave was given to bring in the bill. Then he moved for leave "to bring in a bill for indemnifying ſuch magiſ-"trates and others, who might have, ſince the 1ſt of January, 1795, exceeded "the ordinary forms and rules of law for the preſervation of the public "peace, and ſuppreſſion of inſurrection prevailing in ſome parts of this king-"dom;" which was alſo given without any oppoſition.

On the ſame day Mr. Curran's motion for appointing a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the poor, and the price of labour in that kingdom, after a conſiderable debate was negatived by the queſtion of adjournment, there being only 16 for going into the committee, and 137 for the adjournment. A proportionate diviſion alſo took place, by the chancellor of the Exchequer's moving the order of the day on Mr. Grattan's motion for equalizing the channel trade between Great Britain and Ireland, by reciprocally admitting

mitting the manufactures of either country into the other upon equal rates of duty.*

†On the 20th of February, 1796, the attorney general prefaced four reſolutions, which he propoſed to the houſe, with an hiſtorical detail of the outrageous conduct of the defenders. The country had been for a ſeries of years diſturbed in various parts of it; he ſhould not then enter into the cauſes of thoſe diſturbances, but he ſhould take them up at the period of 1790, when thoſe diſturbances chiefly raged in the county of Meath. The Defenders object then was to plunder the peaceable inhabitants in that county of their fire arms: they aſſociated together, and bound themſelves by the ſolemn tie of an oath. The Defenders, it had ſince appeared, had their committee men and their captains, whom they were bound to obey, and their object was to overthrow the eſtabliſhed order of government. Seditious emiſſaries diſperſed themſelves among the people; in one place, telling the labouring man that his wages would be raiſed; and in another, working upon their feelings, and enticing them to acts of violence and of outrage. To repreſs theſe diſturbances, the efforts of government were exerted in 1790, 1791, and 1792; and the conſequence was, that a great number were brought to juſtice, and ſeveral were tranſported: notwithſtanding theſe examples, the diſturbances continued, and they proceeded from the eaſt to the weſt, and in three counties in Connaught, theſe banditti, in open day, made an attack upon the king's forces: the army always routed them, and in one engagement, forty or fifty of theſe miſcreants fell: there were proſecutions in that province, and ſeveral were brought to juſtice; and a great number were tranſported: that province then was in a ſtate of tranquillity (thanks to Lord Carhampton), through whoſe exertions, humanity, and good conduct, quiet was reſtored. Notwithſtanding theſe examples, diſturbances continued in other parts of the kingdom. Theſe wretches aſſociated together by night for the purpoſe of plunder, murder and devaſtation. To prevent witneſſes appearing againſt them on trial, they had adopted a ſyſtem of aſſaſſination. He inſtanced the tranſaction which took place about ten days before, near Lutrelſtown, where the Cormicks, who were to proſecute Defenders the very next day, at the quarter ſeſſions of Kilmainham, were moſt inhumanly murdered. Another

* 16 Parl. Deb. p. 77. This much debated on the 15th of February, 1796.

† 16 Parl. Deb. p. 102.

part

part of their ſyſtem was, to put witneſſes to death after trial; and he inſtanced a caſe, where a witneſs who had proſecuted Defenders at the aſſizes of Dundalk, had been murdered after the trial: he inſtanced many acts of atrocity committed in the county of Longford, particularly the caſe of Mr. Harman, one of the repreſentatives for the county, and in the county of Weſtmeath, Cavan, and Meath: under theſe circumſtances, ſome new ſcheme was neceſſary to put an end to ſuch enormities.

His firſt object was, to prevent theſe riſings in future; in order to do this, it was proper to enable government, on the petition of gentlemen reſident in a county where any riſing ſhould be, to ſend a force to that county, ſufficient to quell ſuch riſing: another was, to enable the magiſtrates at ſeſſions to take up at unſeaſonable hours all perſons, who could not give a ſatisfactory account of themſelves, and if they could not find bail at aſſizes, the juſtices might ſend them to ſerve on board the fleet: another was, to enable magiſtrates to ſearch houſes, and if the perſons were not found at home, they might be brought to the quarter ſeſſions, and if they could not give a ſatisfactory account of the cauſe of their abſence from home, they were to be dealt with as perſons found abroad at unſeaſonable hours; but previous to that, proclamation ſhould be made, and public and fair notice given, ſo that no perſon ſhould have any excuſe to plead: another object was, to enable magiſtrates to ſearch houſes for arms and ammunition. It might be ſpread abroad by evil and diſaffected men, that it was the deſign of government to diſarm the people; but there was no ſuch deſign; it was only to take away arms from improper perſons; but, he ſaid, he ſhould introduce a clauſe in the gunpowder bill, to make every perſon, both great and ſmall, to regiſter their fire arms; he ſhould propoſe to make the adminiſtering of ſuch oaths, as bound the parties to any treaſonable purpoſe, a capital offence; there was another meaſure, which was, that in caſe of a witneſs being murdered, his written teſtimony ſhould be competent to go as evidence to the jury. After ſome further ſtatements, he read the reſolutions which he intended to propoſe, and he afterwards moved them ſeparately, which were as follow:

1. "*Reſolved*, That the ſpirit of conſpiracy and outrage, which has appeared in certain parts of this kingdom, and has ſhewn itſelf in various attempts to aſſaſſinate magiſtrates, to murder witneſſes, to plunder houſes, and ſeize by force the arms of his majeſty's peaceable ſubjects, requires, that more effectual powers ſhould be given to the magiſtracy.

2. " *Reſolved,* That (in ſuch parts of this kingdom, as the ſaid ſpirit has " ſhewn itſelf, or to which there may be cauſe to apprehend its being ex- " tended) it will be neceſſary, that the magiſtracy ſhould have enlarged " powers of ſearching for arms, ammunition, and weapons of offence, and of " ſeizing or ſecuring the ſame, for the preſervation of the peace, and the " ſafety of the lives and properties of his majeſty's peaceable and loyal ſub- " jects.

3. " *Reſolved,* That from the many attacks which have been made on " the houſes of individuals, by large bodies of armed inſurgents, for the pur- " poſe of taking arms and money by force, and murdering thoſe, who had " the ſpirit to inforce the laws, or give information againſt offenders, it will " be neceſſary, that the magiſtracy ſhould have enlarged powers, to prevent " ſuch bodies hereafter from aſſembling or meeting, either to plan or execute " ſuch horrid purpoſes.

4. " *Reſolved,* That it will be neceſſary to give the magiſtracy further " powers with reſpect to vagabonds, idle and diſorderly perſons, and to per- " ſons liable to be deemed ſo, or who have no lawful trade, or any honeſt " means to obtain a livelihood."*

Mr. Vandeleur perfectly agreed with the attorney general, as to the neceſſity of adopting ſome ſtrong meaſures at that juncture. With reſpect to the laſt of the reſolutions—that which related to the inveſting of the ma-

* The only perſon in the houſe who oppoſed theſe reſolutions, was Lord Edward Fizgerald. His unfortunate end may affix a retroſpective import to his conduct, perhaps, before he had harboured the dreadful deſigns, which tarniſhed the latter period of his life. (16 *Parl. Deb. p.* 105.) " Sir," ſaid he, " I ſhall oppoſe this reſolution, becauſe I think that this reſolution will not prevent the " crimes of which the right honorable gentleman complains: the diſturbances of the country, ſir, " are not to be remedied by any coercive meaſures, however ſtrong: ſuch meaſures will tend ra- " ther to exaſperate, than to remove the evil. Nothing, ſir, can effect this, and reſtore tranquillity " to the country, but a ſerious and candid endeavour of government, and of this houſe, to redreſs " the grievances of the people. Redreſs thoſe, and the people will return to their allegiance and " their duty: ſuffer them to continue, and neither your reſolutions nor your bills will have any " effect: I ſhall, therefore, ſir, oppoſe, not only this reſolution, but all the reſolutions, which the " right honorable gentleman has read to you, except, perhaps, one—that which goes to conſtitute " the written teſtimony of a dying witneſs, good evidence. This, I think, is fair, and likely to " facilitate the courſe of juſtice, without violently infringing, as all the other reſolutions ſeem to do, " the liberty of the ſubject."

giſtracy

giſtracy with new powers—he ſhould not now, he ſaid, give any opinion. Of the others he heartily approved, though he could not help expreſſing a wiſh, that they had taken ſome notice of the wanton and barbarous outrages, which had been committed by the Peep-of-Day Boys, as well as thoſe, of which the Defenders had been guilty.

On the next day upon the attorney general's reſolutions being read, Mr. Grattan obſerved, that he had heard the right honorable gentleman's ſtatement, and did not ſuppoſe it to be inflamed; but he muſt obſerve at the ſame time it was partial: he did indeed expatiate very fully and juſtly on the offences of the Defenders; but with reſpect to another deſcription of inſurgents, whoſe barbarities had excited general abhorrence, he had obſerved a complete ſilence: that he had proceeded to enumerate the counties that were afflicted by diſturbances, and he had omitted Armagh;—of that, neither had he comprehended the outrages in his general deſcription, nor in his particular enumeration: of thoſe outrages, he had received the moſt dreadful accounts; that their object was the extermination of all the Catholics of that county; it was a perſecution conceived in the bitterneſs of bigotry, carried on with the moſt ferocious barbarity, by a banditti, who being of the religion of the ſtate, had committed with the greater audacity and confidence, the moſt horrid murders, and had proceeded from robbery and maſſacre to extermination; that they had repealed, by their own authority, all the laws lately paſſed in favor of the Catholics, had eſtabliſhed in the place of thoſe laws, the inquiſition of a mob, reſembling Lord George Gordon's fanatics, equalling them in outrage, and ſurpaſſing them far in perſeverance and ſucceſs.

That their modes of outrage were as various as they were atrocious: they ſometimes forced, by terror, the maſters of families to diſmiſs their Catholic ſervants—they ſometimes forced landlords, by terror, to diſmiſs their Catholic tenantry—they ſeized, as deſerters, numbers of Catholic weavers—ſent them to the county goal, tranſmitted them to Dublin, where they remained in cloſe priſon, until ſome lawyers from compaſſion pleaded their cauſe, and procured their enlargement—nothing appearing againſt them of any kind whatſoever.—Thoſe inſurgents, who called themſelves Orange Boys, or Proteſtant Boys, that is, a banditti of murderers, committing maſſacre in the name of God, and exerciſing deſpotic power in the name of liberty—thoſe inſurgents had organized their rebellion, and formed themſelves into a com-

mittee, who ſat and tried the Catholic weavers and inhabitants, when apprehended falſely and illegally as deſerters. That rebellious committee, they called the committee of elders, who, when the unfortunate Catholic was torn from his family and his loom, and brought before them, in judgment upon his caſe—if he gave them liquor or money, they ſometimes diſcharged him—otherwiſe they ſent him to a recruiting office as a deſerter. They had very generally given the Catholics notice to quit their farms and dwellings, which notice was plaiſtered on the houſe, and conceived in theſe ſhort but plain words: "Go to Hell, Connaught won't receive you—fire and faggot. Will "Treſham and John Thruſtout." That they followed theſe notices by a faithful and punctual execution of the horrid threat—ſoon after viſited the houſe, robbed the family, and deſtroyed what they did not take, and finally completed the atrocious perſecutions, by forcing the unfortunate inhabitants to leave their land, their dwellings, and their trade, and to travel with their miſerable family, and with whatever their miſerable family could ſave from the wreck of their houſes and tenements, and take refuge in villages, as fortifications againſt invaders, where they deſcribed themſelves, as he had ſeen in their affidavits, in the following manner: "We (mentioning their names), "formerly of Armagh, weavers, now of no fixed place of abode or means of "living, &c." In many inſtances this banditti of perſecution threw down the houſes of the tenantry, or what they call racked the houſe, ſo that the family muſt fly or be buried in the grave of their own cabin. The extent of the murders that had been committed by that atrocious and rebellious banditti, he had heard, but had not heard them ſo aſcertained as to ſtate them to that houſe; but from all the enquiries he could make, he collected, that the Catholic inhabitants of Armagh had been actually put out of the protection of the law; that the magiſtrates had been ſupine or partial, and that the horrid banditti had met with complete ſucceſs, and from the magiſtracy with very little diſcouragement. This horrid perſecution, this abominable barbarity, and this general extermination had been acknowledged by the magiſtrates, who found the evil had now proceeded to ſo ſhameful an exceſs, that it had at length obliged them to cry out againſt it. On the 28th of December thirty of the magiſtrates had come to the following reſolution, which was evidence of the deſigns of the inſurgents, and of their ſucceſs: "*Reſolved*, That it appears to this meeting, that the county of Armagh is at "this moment in a ſtate of uncommon diſorder; that the Roman Catholic

"inhabitants

" inhabitants are grievouſly oppreſſed by lawleſs perſons unknown, who at-
" tack and plunder their houſes by night, and threaten them with inſtant
" deſtruction, unleſs they abandon immediately their lands and habitations."
It was ſaid by the mover of the reſolutions, that of the Defenders, multitudes had been hanged, multitudes had been put to death on the field, and that they were ſuppreſſed, though they were not extinguiſhed; but with regard to the outrages of the Orange Boys, he could make no ſuch boaſt: on the contrary, they had met with impunity, and ſucceſs, and triumph; they had triumphed over the law, they had triumphed over the magiſtrates, and they had triumphed over the people. There perſecution, rebellion, inquiſition, murder, robbery, devaſtation and extermination had been entirely victorious.

The paſſing over theſe offences in the ſtatement introducing the reſolutions, would be of little moment, if they were not alſo paſſed over in the reſolutions themſelves: the reſolutions deſcribed four different kinds of offences: 1ſt, attempts to aſſaſſinate magiſtrates; 2d, to murder witneſſes; 3d, to plunder houſes; 4th, to ſeize by force the arms of his majeſty's ſubjects: but of attempts to ſeize the perſons of his majeſty's ſubjects, and to force them to abandon their lands and habitations, the reſolutions ſaid not one ſyllable; crimes not leſs great, nor leſs notorious, and more emphatically calling for the interpoſition of the ſtate, becauſe they had triumphed over the ſupineneſs of the magiſtracy, and had no chance of being checked, but by the interpoſition of government or parliament. In the other reſolution, which deſcribed that kind of armed inſurgency, which the magiſtracy were to prevent by extraordinary exertions, the crime of driving away his majeſty's ſubjects, is alſo omitted: the words were, that from the many attempts which have been made on the houſes of individuals, by large bodies of armed inſurgents, for the purpoſe of taking arms and money by force, and murdering thoſe who had ſpirit to enforce the law, or give information againſt offenders, it will be neceſſary to give the magiſtrates enlarged powers; attempts made on the houſes of the individual to rob or take arms; attempts to murder witneſſes; thoſe were the offences which attracted their notice; but the attempt to exterminate his majeſty's ſubjects—attempts in part completed, which were very different from ſeizing arms, or taking money, or murdering witneſſes—theſe attempts and perpetrations, as notorious as horrible, appeared to be neither in the contemplation of the reſolutions, nor of the member who moved them. Thus the ſilence of the reſolutions might become a hint to the ſupineneſs of the magiſtracy,

magiſtracy, and where they ſhould have counteracted their partiality, gave it countenance. On a further examination of the reſolutions, he found them not merely defective in deſcribing the offence, but they ſeemed to have omitted the remedy: certainly the giving magiſtrates further powers to ſearch for arms and ammunition, or to prevent from aſſembling or meeting bodies of men aſſembling for the purpoſe of taking arms and money, or murdering witneſſes; or the giving the magiſtrates enlarged power to ſeize vagabonds for the fleet or army, did not go to the caſe of Armagh, where the ſubjects complained, that they had been ſeized as deſerters, falſely and illegally, through the ſupineneſs or partiality, or connivance of the magiſtrates; and through the ſame ſupineneſs, to ſay no worſe, had been by force driven with impunity from their lands and habitations: many of the weavers of Armagh had at that moment ſworn affidavits againſt the magiſtrates. To give the magiſtrates extraordinary powers as the means of redreſſing the complainants, ſeemed to him, however, a remedy for ſome part of the kingdom, but a very inadequate one for another. In ſhort, the meaſure of the right honorable gentleman, in its preſent ſhape, did not go to the whole of the ſituation of the country: it did not go to redreſs the North; it was, therefore, a defective meaſure, it was a partial deſcription of the outrages of the kingdom, and a partial remedy: it propoſed to ſuſpend the operation of the conſtitution, with a view to produce peace, leaving at the ſame time, in one great county, violence and inſurrection in a ſtate of triumph. It left the families of Armagh, whom a violent mob, and a ſupine magiſtracy, had cauſed to abandon their dwellings; it left them without any certainty of redreſs, ſo that they might carry themſelves and families, and tales of woe, to their brethren in the other parts of the kingdom, and ſpread the flames of diſcontent, and ſpirit of retaliation, notwithſtanding the member's bills and reſolutions.

On a principle, therefore, that it was neceſſary for the redreſs of that deſcription of ſubjects, who had ſuffered in Armagh, that the magiſtrates ſhould be called upon to act for the protection of the ſubject, and that the county ſhould be obliged to pay thoſe inhabitants, who had been aggrieved, full compenſation for all their loſſes, charges and diſtreſſes, he had taken the liberty to ſuggeſt to the right honorable member amendments, which he did not move, becauſe the attorney general ought to have moved them, and made them his own meaſure.

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The amendments he ſuggeſted, were after the words " to ſeize by force of " arms," to add " and alſo the perſons of his majeſty's ſubjects, and to force " them to abandon their lands and habitations;" and in the third reſolution, after the words " murdering thoſe who had ſpirit to give information," to add, " alſo attempting to ſeize the perſons, and obliging his majeſty's ſub- " jects by force, to abandon their lands and habitations."

Sir Lawrence Parſons arraigned government for not having timely ſent a general officer and a military force to the diſturbed parts of the North, as they had done to the South, particularly as Lord Camden had avowedly come over to reſiſt the Catholic claims.

The attorney general oppoſed Mr. Grattan's amendment. He ſaid he had, throughout the whole of thoſe reſolutions, avoided making any diſtinction as to perſons. They were intended for general good, and perſons of every claſs would partake of their benefits; were the amendment received, they would have a different complexion.

Mr. Secretary Peſham followed on the ſame ground. If no general officer was ſent to the North, it was becauſe they were all before engaged. An officer, however, was ſent, and an experienced officer (Colonel Craddock), on whoſe capacity and character he delivered a high encomium. He mentioned that Lord Camden did not come over to oppreſs any part of his majeſty's ſubjects, but to afford equal protection to all.

Colonel Craddock avowed, that he had the moſt decided inſtructions from government, to act in the commiſſion, in which he had been employed, with equal juſtice to all offenders. He had been aſſiſted by General Nugent, and ſuch was the nature of the diſturbance, that after repeated conſideration, they could ſee no poſſible way in which the troops could be employed: he therefore recommended his recall in letters to government, as he thought that he could be of no uſe. He admitted, that the conduct of the Proteſtants, called Peep-of-Day Boys, in the county of Armagh was at that time moſt atrocious, and that their barbarous practices muſt certainly be put down; but at the ſame time he muſt mention, that in September laſt, the Catholics were the aggreſſors.

Mr. Grattan, in reply, obſerved, that the amendment appeared the more neceſſary, from what fell from an honorable gentleman, a magiſtrate of the county of Armagh, who diſſenting from every other perſon, had ſpoken of the uſe of what he called Orange Boys, of the ſervices rendered by theſe murderers;

murderers; this atrocious banditti; the northern rebels, whoſe barbarity exceeded modern times, and brought back the recollection of ancient ferocity and bloodſhed. He aſked gentlemen who had heard the magiſtrate apologize for ſuch murderers, whether the encreaſing the power of the magiſtracy would be of itſelf ſufficient to redreſs the ſufferings of the northern Catholics.

He muſt therefore perſiſt in recommending to the right honorable gentleman his amendments, which, if he perſiſted to refuſe, it was vain for him to move them; lamenting at the ſame time, that he ſhould have loſt an opportunity of ſo clearly diſplaying what he muſt preſume he wiſhed—impartiality and juſtice.

The attorney general preſented the bill, which was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time the next day.

On the ſecond reading of the inſurrection bill, Sir Lawrence Parſons ſpoke very fully to the principle of it, though he did not mean to oppoſe the ſecond reading. He thought that a bill ſo ſevere in its nature ſhould have been preceded by ſome meaſure, which would evince the diſpoſition of the houſe, to attend as well to the ſufferings as to the offences of the people. If the deſign were to tranquillize the country, and he had no doubt but that was ſincerely the object of the right honorable gentleman who had introduced the bill, it would have been right firſt to have enquired into the cauſe of the diſturbances, before ſuch ſevere meaſures were taken to repreſs them; if the root of the evil were once come at, the evil itſelf would have been eaſily removed: but by applying merely to the effect, the cauſe of the evil was left untouched, and the conſequence would be, that it would continue to germinate new evils. He was willing to admit, that the ſituation of the country was rather improved; but who would deny, that the peaſantry of Ireland were ſtill miſerable to a very great degree. Let gentlemen enter into the cabin of an Iriſh labourer, and ſee it without a chimney, often without a fire, and ſometimes without food; and then compare his ſtate with the affluence, the elegance, and the pomp, with which the caſual circumſtances of birth ſurrounded themſelves. He hoped no man would impute to him any wiſh to inflame the popular mind, or to embarraſs his majeſty's government. From the commencement of the ſeſſion, to that hour, he had not brought forward any ſubject of complaint, nor had he oppoſed any tax propoſed for the ſecurity of the ſtate, or the expence of the war. With reſpect to the bill itſelf, he thought it was unneceſſarily ſevere; that it was a uſeleſs violation of the firſt principles

of

of the conſtitution, and that inſtead of doing ſervice, it was likely to produce a contrary effect. He knew the country gentlemen of Ireland well; he loved them, and throughout that ſeſſion he had in a great meaſure regulated his opinion by theirs: he could never believe, that they would ſupport this bill, if they ſaw it in the true point of view: he could not bring himſelf to think, that they wiſhed to drive their chariot wheels over the necks of the poor; they wiſhed only to reſtore tranquillity, and to preſerve the peace of Ireland, and certainly they would not ſurrender the eſtabliſhed conſtitution as an experiment. The bill by enabling the magiſtracy to ſend out of the kingdom any man they might think guilty, enacted, in fact, a ſurrender of the conſtitution, and inſtead of reſtoring tranquillity, would aggravate the diſorder. It was a peculiar quality of the common people of Ireland, that they communicated quickly and rapidly their pleaſures and their diſcontents. By that bill, if it paſſed, and if men were ſent out of the kingdom by its operation without trial, the common feeling would be, that the men ſo tranſported were innocent; and therefore inſtead of quieting the diſcontent of the people, it would afford a new topic for murmur. If on the contrary, the men ſo puniſhed had been convicted by a jury, if they were puniſhed for crimes fully proved in an open court of juſtice, the puniſhment would operate as a ſalutary example; and if ſedition ſhould murmur at their fate, the good ſenſe of the people would diſregard its inſinuation. The evil conſequences of that bill would extend beyond the preſent time; for the common people of Ireland were remarkable for a tenacious remembrance of injuries. He inſtanced the affair of the regiment raiſed in Ireland, principally in the metropolis, in the laſt war; they were called the Green Linnets: theſe men had been enliſted under a promiſe, that they ſhould not be ſent out of the kingdom; but when the regiment was completed, the officers took an opportunity one evening of ſecuring and confining the whole of them, and embarking them in the morning for America. After a lapſe of ſeveral years, the people of Ireland remembered this fraud ſo well, that it was a very great impediment, in the beginning, to the recruiting of the militia. If this law would probably be a cauſe of diſcontent to every quarter of the country, how much more ſo muſt it be in the county of Armagh. In that county it had been proved on oath, that ſeveral magiſtrates refuſed to take the examination of the injured Catholics. By ſome of thoſe magiſtrates, they had been moſt cruelly proſecuted; others would hear them only out of the window, and ſome actually turned them

from their doors with threats. If ſuch men were entruſted with a power of tranſporting men at pleaſure, what was there to be expected, but the moſt groſs and flagrant violations of juſtice? After expatiating for ſome time on this ſubject with great earneſtneſs, he concluded by recommending it to gentlemen, if they perſevered in the meaſure, that they would at leaſt remember, that the country was engaged in a war, of which the wiſeſt among them could not foreſee the event; that a great part of the able and young in the country were then engaged in guilt, which that act would make capital; that it might ſoon become neceſſary to apply to thoſe very perſons for ſafety, againſt a powerful foe, and that therefore it would be wiſe to introduce ſome clauſe of amneſty for paſt offences, not including murders: to neglect ſuch a clauſe, would be to reduce the majority of the peaſantry of Ireland to the alternative of either perſiſting in guilt and treaſon or ſubmitting to the halter.

Mr. Cuffe could ſcarcely believe that his honorable friend had uttered ſuch ſentiments as he had juſt heard. He could not help expreſſing his ſtrong diſapprobation, he might ſay indignation, at the ſpeech of the honorable baronet. He had taken up preciſely thoſe two topics, which of all others it was moſt miſchievous to diſcuſs, and had diſcuſſed them in ſuch a manner as was beſt fitted to make them the moſt miſchievous. He had in the firſt inſtance diſplayed and exaggerated the wretchedneſs of the peaſantry; and in the ſecond, he had talked of allowance for their crimes, and indulgence for their treaſon. The debate* was carried on till two o'clock in the morning: the bill was read a ſecond time, and on the queſtion for committal, it was oppoſed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald alone.

When the report from the committee on the attorney general's bill for the better prevention of conſpiracies in that kingdom, was before the houſe, on the 29th of February, †Mr. Grattan obſerved, that not having been preſent at the committee, he had been prevented from propoſing an amendment,

* In the courſe of this debate Mr. Archdall animadverted to the affairs of Armagh: he profeſſed habits of intimacy with the noble Lord (Gosford) whoſe letter or ſpeech upon the ſubject of that country had made ſuch noiſe: he declared he thought that letter incautious, and ſuch as the noble lord on reflection would not approve of: he recommended rather the conduct of that nobleman, than his publication as an object of imitation. For this letter, which is a moſt valuable piece of unimpeachable evidence of the ſpirit and nature of the perſecutions then going forward in Armagh, vide Appendix No. XCIX.

† 16 Parliamentary Debates, p. 150.

which

which he feared from its length, would have but a ſmall chance of being adopted, unleſs the bill were recommitted; he knew he could move it on report, but it would not have a fair trial in that ſtage of the bill, and for that reaſon he wiſhed much, that the bill ſhould be recommitted, as the moſt parliamentary mode of receiving new matter, and affording to that matter full and ample diſcuſſion; the amendment he intended, was to compel the county to pay the countryman, whether labourer or manufacturer, full compenſation for his damage and loſſes to his perſon, family, or dwelling, ſuffered in conſequence of violent mobs; that he was apprehenſive that if the compenſation were left optional to the grand jury, nothing would be done; that the grand jury would readily preſent for damages ſuffered by magiſtrates or witneſſes, but they probably would not, in the county of Armagh particularly, give any adequate, or indeed any ſatisfaction for loſſes ſuffered by the Catholic weaver or peaſant, and therefore it was not enough that grand juries ſhould have the power, it was indiſpenſable to impoſe the obligation. Government trifled with the northern weaver, when he ſent him for ſatisfaction to a grand jury, compoſed of thoſe very magiſtrates, whoſe ſupineſs, or partiality, or bigotry, had been the cauſe of his loſſes and his emigration. He ſaid he therefore had formed a clauſe, which he would read, and by which it was rendered obligatory on the county, to indemnify the countryman for the injury he received when beaten or abuſed, or driven from his land and habitation. He ſaid he had read the bill, that he could find no remedy whatſoever in the bill, as at preſent formed, for ſuch a caſe, that in the different preambles the grievance was not ſet forth, and in the various proviſions it was not comprehended; that the bill complains of violence to magiſtrates, of the murder of witneſſes, of illegal oaths, &c. &c. but of the threats, and force, and violence offered to certain of his majeſty's ſubjects, whereby they have been forced to quit their trades, their lands, and their tenements, outrages of which the governor of a northern county had complained as unexampled in hiſtory, and to which violence and atrocity the magiſtrates of that county had borne their teſtimony by a formal reſolution, there was in the bill complete ſilence and omiſſion. The bill propoſed to give extra power to magiſtrates; this might be very effectual, as to certain parts of the country; but what was the grievance of Armagh? That the magiſtrates had not uſed the ordinary powers, and in ſome caſes had abuſed thoſe powers in ſuch a manner, that the ſubject had no been protected, and the rioter had been encouraged; that the bill

appeared therefore without that clauſe, was not faithful to its own principle, it was a bill, unleſs amended, of partial coercion, and partial redreſs: it puniſhed (as it ſtood) diſturbance in one part of the kingdom; it compromiſed with diſturbances in another; it protected the magiſtrates of the weſt and left expoſed the poor of the north; it ſays, if you murder a magiſtrate, you ſhall pay his repreſentatives; but if you drive away whole droves of weavers in Armagh, you ſhall pay nothing, except thoſe perſons pleaſe, by whoſe fault they have been driven away, and ſcattered over the face of the earth. He ſaid that miniſters muſt know perfectly well, that unleſs the amendment were adopted, the unfortunate deſcription of perſons he mentioned would get no redreſs; the government might indeed ſend a military force to guard what remained of them, but as to the bill, it left them preciſely as they were; to ſay that the exiſting law puniſhed the offences committed againſt them was true, ſo did the exiſting law puniſh the offences committed againſt magiſtrates and witneſſes, it was therefore an argument againſt the whole of the bill, as much as againſt the amendment: but to ſay that exiſting law puniſhed thoſe offences in ſuch a ſummary manner as was neceſſary to reſtrain them, was unfounded; the truth was, the exiſting law was not ſufficient for the caſe of Armagh, and the bill did not advert to that caſe at all; but it had happened that the poorer claſſes of people had ſuffered in other places as well as Armagh from mobs, and their houſes had been burned without any redreſs. When the magiſtrate had ſuffered, the jury had given meet compenſation; when the countryman had his houſe pulled down, they in ſome caſes had given nothing; a proof that the exiſting law was not ſufficient, and therefore that the amendment was neceſſary, and accordingly the amendment was not confined to one county, but was general; and wherever the ſubject had ſuffered in his perſon, property, or dwelling, obliged the county to give him ſatisfaction: for gentlemen will indemnify one another; but it is not equally certain, that they would indemnify their inferiors; it was therefore ſubmitted to them, that they ſhould take that into conſideration, and for the cure of a grievance, as notorious as any ſet forth in the bill, and as unrelenting and outrageous as any thing ſuffered by gentleman or magiſtrate; that they ſhould amend their bill, and adopt a propoſal which made it a bill of general relief, and which would tend to reconcile the country people, to the ſtrength of the whole of its proviſions, when they found themſelves included in its redreſs and protection. The beſt way of adopting the amendment, was to recommit

commit the bill; for if it were propoſed on the report, it was eaſy to foreſee that it would not have a full diſcuſſion or a fair chance, whereas if the bill were in a committee, it was impoſſible that thoſe perſons, who were friends to the principle of the bill on the real motive of protecting the ſubject in a ſummary manner, ſhould not be friends to the amendment. It was the more deſirable to proceed by recommitting the bill, becauſe there were other gentlemen who had amendments to propoſe, one with reſpect to juries, which ſeemed deſerving of every conſideration. That that propoſal, however, of recommitting the bill, did not proceed from a wiſh to oppoſe its progreſs, or to interpoſe delay, but from a conviction that the bill, without the amendment ſuggeſted, was falſe to its own principle, and from a well grounded fear that the propoſal of ſuch an amendment in the houſe, would not be attended with a fair trial, a full diſcuſſion, or the chance of ſucceſs.

The attorney general replied to Mr. Grattan. He oppoſed the recommittal, becauſe the objects at which the amendments to be propoſed aimed, were already attained by the exiſting laws. Thoſe offences which had been mentioned by the right honorable gentleman, as being prevalent in the county of Armagh, and which were called papering, i. e. the expulſion of perſons from their lands or habitations, by affixing written threats on their houſes, &c. were already made felony of death, by the acts of the 15th and 16th of George II. It was therefore unneceſſary to enact new puniſhments in this bill, againſt a crime to which the law had already annexed the higheſt penalty which could be inflicted. With reſpect to the other object, that of indemnity to the ſufferers, that too was already provided for by law; for at preſent the grand jury at the recommendation of the judge before whom the loſs ſuſtained by the party complaining muſt be proved, may preſent ſuch a ſum as they may think adequate. If the right honorable gentleman did not think this enough, the proper mode would be to bring in a bill, to amend the exiſting act on that ſubject, inſtead of introducing the ſubject into that bill.

Sir Lawrence Parſons ſaid, that the powers, which the bill created, were in many inſtances ſo dangerous and arbitrary, that he ſhould vote for its recommittal, hoping ſome qualifications might be adopted on further deliberation; but at the ſame time he confeſſed, he was not without fears that the recommittal might be productive of a contrary effect; for in the preſent temper of gentlemen's minds, the longer it would be under conſideration the more repugnant perhaps it would become to his principles. Such an apprehenſion

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was juſtified by the clauſe againſt perſons ſelling ſeditious papers, which from being a partial encroachment upon the liberty of the preſs, had grown under the correction of the committee into a power totally deſtructive of it. By that clauſe, there was not a printer or bookſeller in the kingdom, that might not be ſeized at any time, by any two magiſtrates whatſoever, for ſelling any paper or pamphlet, which they might deem ſeditious,* and without any form of trial ſent aboard the fleet. It had always been maintained in England by the moſt conſtitutional judges, that it was contrary to law and liberty in the trial of any publiſher of a ſeditious paper, to deny the jury the power of judging of the law as well as the fact, but in that country thereafter, a jury was not to judge of the law, nor even of the fact, nor to have any part in ſuch adjudications, nor were its judges independent and immoveable but by parliament, nor was it in public court with the ſolemnities of a trial, but two magiſtrates holding their offices at will under a ſervant of the crown, who were to decide on both law and fact, in private, in their own chamber.

Such was the law, which their committee had framed in a midnight hour, and in a thin and exhauſted houſe, and which they were then called upon to adopt without further deliberation. If the moſt arbitrary ſpirits through the whole kingdom had been brought together, with the moſt ſtudious ſelection, to compoſe an arbitrary law againſt the liberty of the preſs, they could ſcarcely have deviſed any thing more deſtructive than that. Yet that was but a ſubordinate part of the preſent bill. Look at the other clauſes; in every one of them the ſame ſummary power, depoſited in the ſame perſons. Now if the popular diſturbances made it neceſſary to depoſit an arbitrary power ſome where, would it not be wiſe to pauſe a little, and conſider where it might be beſt depoſited? Was it with the magiſtrates? Men, in order to be good judges, ſhould be cool and impartial; but in all diſturbed counties the magiſtrates, inſtead of being cool, were in a high ſtate of inflammation againſt the objects of that bill, and it was natural they ſhould be ſo. They were not to be re-

* Mr. Tighe had in his ſpeech obſerved, that it was, perhaps, one of the niceſt points to decide what was a ſeditious writing. Among gentlemen, even of that houſe, there probably would be a great difference of opinion on any given publication, whether it were ſeditious or not? He was not ſure that ſome gentlemen would not think Arthur Young's book ſeditious. It was doubtful whether Burke's letter to Sir Hercules Langriſhe was not in ſome paſſages rank ſedition; and even Locke, the beſt writer he knew on government, might, probably with truth, in a country ſo governed as this, be called a ſeditious and inflammatory publication.

prehended

prehended for that, but certainly on that account, they were among the laſt perſons, that ſhould be entruſted with an uncontrolable power. And ſo far from being impartial, it was impoſſible that they ſhould be ſo, for they were themſelves parties. What was the temper obſervable in that houſe? There from ſuperior manners and education, the human paſſions were much mitigated, and they ſaw far more temper and clemency in that houſe than could be expected from the inferior magiſtrates in the country? Yet what was the fact? That even there, every thing ſaid, however violent againſt the diſturbers of the peace was received with plaudits, but if any thing be ſaid to ſoften over-charged reſentments, and to mix mercy with puniſhment, it was heard with diſcontent and murmurs. Liberty of ſpeech was queſtioned —the moſt unworthy motives were aſſigned; they were called advocates for thoſe diſturbers—and for what? Becauſe, though they reprehended their atrocities, though willing to concur in powerful laws for their ſuppreſſion, they would not with a ſavage ferocity conſider nothing but their vices, and refuſe to offer ſome humane conſiderations to ſooth, if poſſible, the exacerbated feelings of the time. That theſe diſturbers muſt be put down, they all agreed. The difference was as to the mode. Some ſaid, that any two magiſtrates, without any trial, ſhould ſend any man they ſuſpected, aboard the fleet, any man out of his houſe before ſunriſe, &c. They ſaid, add a jury to the magiſtrates—and let it be by trial in open court. The ſtronger the law was made againſt them, the more deſperate their ſituation. In the county of Armagh, an amneſty for both parties ſeemed peculiarly neceſſary; for either under the denomination of Peep-of-Day boys, or of Defenders, almoſt every man of the lower orders of every ſect was implicated in offences againſt law. An honorable magiſtrate of that county had deſcribed the conduct of one party as at one time eminently uſeful; were they therefore to be baniſhed? The governor of the county had deſcribed the other party, as ſuffering moſt cruel perſecutions without having committed any crimes; were they to be baniſhed? In ſhort if there be there, as is generally repreſented, a religious feud countenanced or connived at by the upper orders, ſome favouring one ſect ſome the other, it would be the greateſt cruelty on the lower orders, without any amneſty to inflict that law upon them.

The two great amendments he propoſed, were the addition of a jury and amneſty, under certain reſtrictions. A principal advantage from adding a jury would be, not only that it would better enſure juſtice being done, but

but would alſo ſatisfy the people that it was done. When a man was condemned by his peers, the people might lament, but they never murmured. They all went away ſatisfied, that he had had a fair trial. They went away ſatisfied with that and thoſe laws, which ſecured to them ſo impartial a tribunal, and ſuch an open and deliberate adjudication. They went away ſatisfied that they lived in a free country, and they felt an elevated gratitude for that order of things, where the wealthieſt noble, and the pooreſt peaſant were alike amenable to the ſame laws, and received equal attention and juſtice, when accuſed of any breach of them.* But paſs this law, and the triumph of the poor man was at an end. He would then ſee that thoſe inſtitutions, which were repreſented as ſo ſacred, that they could never be violated, might be thus depoſed, and without any proceſs, without any form of trial, without any regular judge or jury, he might, on the warrant of two magiſtrates, be torn from the boſom of his family, and ſent on board the fleet—for what? not for being a Defender, or any way connected with Defenders, but for being a little too late or a little too early, in going in or coming out of his hovel. Gentlemen talked of the miſchief of inflaming the people, but he would tell them, that one ſuch act unjuſtly done would inflame them more than what could be ſaid in that houſe for ages. It was not what they might ſay, but what they were going to empower others to do, that would inflame them.

Was it wiſe then to riſk the abuſe of ſuch powers at ſuch a time? They knew not what turn that extraordinary war might take, or whither its operations might tend before or after its concluſion. The proſpect of peace ſeemed as diſtant as it did the firſt day. France, whatever ſhe might be ſuffering in external and diſtant parts, was ſtill gaining ſtrength at home. Brabant had been added to her—Holland has been added to her—Spain was at her feet—Her armies were over-running Italy—Her finances were deranged, but her pecuniary reſources were not annihilated; in men and arms ſhe was inexhauſtible. What ſhould this teach the gentlemen of Ireland—but to conciliate, as well as to chaſtiſe—to reclaim by amneſty thoſe who were reclaimable, and to puniſh by juſt and open law thoſe who were not. It was thus, they would produce content and ſolidity at home, while other king-

* It has been before obſerved, that Sir John Davies, and Sir Edward Coke both allowed this prominent diſpoſition in the Iriſh character to be ſatisfied with impartial juſtice, even ſhould it be againſt themſelves. 1 Vol. p. 22.

doms

doms were ſhaken to their foundations. Let the war then move in what direction it might, they ſhould ſhew them that their people might be contented and attached, and that they need not fear its iſſue.

Mr. Pelham ſpoke againſt the recommittal of the bill, as did ſeveral leading gentlemen on the Treaſury Bench, ſuch as Sir John Parnell, Mr. Maſon, Sir Henry Cavendiſh, Mr. M. Beresford, and others of inferior note. Not one of them attempted to contradict or even attenuate the guilt of the Peep of Day boys or Orange Men of Armagh. This debate in fact is the chief hiſtorical ſource of information for the true nature of the Armagh perſecution. Suppreſſion of the truth on one hand, the fear of publiſhing it on the other, confuſion, exaggeration, and violence on all ſides have left little elſe upon the ſubject, that can be credited. Mr. George Ponſonby, in ſpeaking upon the nature of thoſe diſturbances in reply to the gentlemen of the miniſterial ſide of the houſe, whoſe ſole argument was, that it was unneceſſary to take any particular notice of the county of Armagh, becauſe the exiſting laws were ſufficient to puniſh the crimes, by which that country was diſgraced, he anſwered, that the enormities, which had been declared by the governor of that county (Lord Viſcount Gosford) to have been committed, and which the governor himſelf emphatically ſaid, went beyond any enormities, which ever diſgraced any country, were ſuch as the exiſting laws were not calculated fully to reach; they were of that kind, that a fair and impartial government ſhould be glad to catch at every opportunity to puniſh or prevent them. If adminiſtration were ſincere in a wiſh to protect the unfortunate ſufferer in that county, as they were to puniſh the offenders in other parts, they could not heſitate for a moment to adopt the amendment. There was as yet no good reaſon for reſorting to the dangerous and deſperate remedy of that bill.—There then were only five counties diſturbed, and even in thoſe counties the diſturbances had much abated within the laſt months.*

Sir

* 16 Parl. Deb. p. 166. Mr. Ponſonby alluding to himſelf concluded his ſpeech by diſclaiming any party motive in his preſent conduct; he did not oppoſe the bill, but thoſe two clauſes of it which he thought no friend to the liberty or conſtitution of Ireland could ſupport, and which for himſelf he would never agree to. Had he been influenced by party views, and wiſhed to ſerve the cauſe of adminiſtration, he would have eſpouſed the cauſe of the inſurgents, for they were their beſt friends.

Here Mr. Ponſonby reprobated the conduct of the diſorderly part of the people, who, while a conſtitutional

Sir John Parnel complimented Mr. Ponſonby on the manly and open manner, in which he had ſpoken thoſe ſentiments, which every man muſt feel on the conduct of the inſurgents. After a very warm debate the queſtion was negatived without a diviſion. No other queſtion of an intereſting nature was debated in this ſeſſion. On the 24th of March the money bills were preſented,* and on the 15th of April the parliament was prorogued. His excellency's ſpeech from the throne, beſides the uſual topics on ſuch occaſions, adverted to the ſteps taken by his majeſty for ſetting on foot a negociation for a general peace, if the enemy ſhould be diſpoſed to enter into ſuch a negociation on grounds conſiſtent with the ſafety, honor, and intereſt of his majeſty's kingdoms and of his allies. He confided that the vigorous meaſures they had adopted for the ſuppreſſion of inſurrection and outrage,

ſtitutional oppoſition were obtaining for them a place bill, a penſion bill, a reſponſibility bill, and other uſeful meaſures, had provided for themſelves a gunpowder bill, which deprived the freeman of his arms; a convention bill, which ſtopped the voice of the people, and brought liberty to almoſt its laſt gaſp; and now had enabled them to bring forward this meaſure, which, were it permanent, would be the grave of the conſtitution.

* The following was the ſpeaker's ſpeech at the bar of the Houſe of Lords. (16 *Parl. Deb. p.* 211). "I ſhould feel a pride in repeating the ſentiments of loyalty, which direct the commons "in all their deliberations, but the bills of ſupply which they now offer, declare it more effectually, "than it is in the power of any language to expreſs.

"We are part of the empire; we will ſtand or fall with Britain; it is our repeated determined "reſolution, and this nation will exert all its powers, and will call forth all its reſources to ſupport "with her the common cauſe, to uphold the ſafety of the land, the religion and the conſtitution, "againſt the overthrow which the preſent unprovoked and unexampled war attempts to threaten "them with.

"Peace is an object moſt devoutly to be wiſhed, but an inſecure peace is only a ſmothered "war; for a laſting and honorable one (and none can be laſting that is not honorable) we look "to the powerful impreſſions which the abundant reſources of the empire, the vigour of his "majeſty's exertions, and the cordial co-operation of all his ſubjects, muſt make on the common "enemy.

"We have accordingly, with a unanimous voice, granted ſupplies to the utmoſt deſire expreſſed "by his majeſty's miniſters, and in doing ſo we look back with great ſatisfaction to the energy, "wiſdom, and œconomy, with which the very liberal ſupplies of the laſt ſeſſion have been ad"miniſtered under your excellency's government. The defence of the kingdom has had due "attention paid to it. The ſpirit of inſurrection has been vigorouſly ſuppreſſed wherever it has "appeared, and we have the ſtrongeſt hope from the vigilance, the firmneſs and conciliating mo"deration, which have marked your excellency's conduct ſince your arrival in this kingdom, "that under the additional powers, with which the laws of this ſeſſion will have armed the magiſ"tracy, it will be totally and ſpeedily ſubdued."

and

and the wiſe proviſions they had made for preventing the extenſion of ſimilar offences, would have the moſt ſalutary effects; that the new regulation of licences under the ſuperintendence of magiſtrates, would tend to promote tranquillity and ſobriety. The eſtabliſhment of more frequent ſeſſions of the peace would afford an eaſy and expeditious adminiſtration of juſtice in the different diſtricts throughout the kingdom. The liberal increaſe of the ſalaries of the judges, and the alteration of the civil bill juriſdiction, for the convenience of the lower ranks of the people, would enſure the conſtant and regular attention of his majeſty's judges to the civil and criminal buſineſs, that would remain to be done on the circuits.

The very wide difference of opinion upon the political ſyſtem of governing Ireland was not confined to the diviſion of the treaſury and oppoſition benches in parliament. The warfare of ſentiment was wider and more violent out of doors. The numbers which adhered to the different parties were more than proportionally in the inverſe ratio of the majority and minority in the Houſe of Commons. An acrimonious and abuſive pamphlet was written by one of the ſecretaries of the caſtle, though publiſhed anonymouſly, ſeverely reflecting upon Mr. Grattan and Earl Fitzwilliam. The notice and indignation, which this pamphlet produced in the oppoſite parties, gave it notoriety, conſequence and effect; and the daily papers teemed with panegyricks and invectives according to the oppoſite diſpoſitions, or rather the engagements of their proprietors. So much had been ſaid, and not contradicted in parliament concerning the outrageous perſecutions of the county of Armagh, that it was found adviſeable to endeavour to ſoften down the public indignation, which had been too unequivocally expreſſed, not to create alarm at the caſtle. In the Spring of this year, the public believed, (whether rightly or wrongly, the effect was the ſame) that about 5000 (ſome ſay 7000) Catholics had been forced or burned out of the county of Armagh, and that the ferocious banditti, who had expelled them had been encouraged, connived at, countenanced, inſtigated, or protected by the government. At the Lent aſſizes of the year 1796* the ſheriff, governor, and grand

* It muſt appear more than ſingular to the impartial obſerver, that this addreſs contains not one ſyllable of reference to the appropriate outrages of that county, viz. religious feuds and rancour, conflagration, devaſtation and extermination.

*County of Armagh.*

At a meeting of the high ſheriff, governor, grand jury, and magiſtrates of the county of Armagh, aſſembled

grand jury of the county of Armagh publiſhed an addreſs and reſolutions, calculated to do away the impreſſions generally received by the public upon the

aſſembled at the Lent aſſizes, 1796, the following addreſs and reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to:

" To his Excellency JOHN JEFFREYS, EARL CAMDEN, Lord Lieutenant-General, and General " Governor of Ireland, &c. &c.

" The unanimous Addreſs of the Sheriff, Governor, Grand Jury, and Magiſtrates of the County of " Armagh, aſſembled at Lent Aſſizes, 1796.

" DEEPLY impreſſed with the attention which your excellency has been pleaſed to ſhew to this " county, and ſenſible of the readineſs with which military aid has been afforded, whenever it has " been required, on occaſion of the diſturbances that in ſome places have unfortunately prevailed, " we return your excellency our warmeſt acknowledgments, and beg leave to expreſs the firmeſt " confidence in the wiſdom and energy of your excellency's government.

" We have ſeen with the deepeſt regret the outrages, which for ſome time paſt have diſturbed " the peace, and interrupted the induſtry of this proſperous county—and as the grand jury of the " county have always diſcharged their duty with that rigorous and impartial juſtice, which is cal- " culated to protect the perſon and the property of all its inhabitants of every deſcription, ſo we " ſhall continue to uſe our utmoſt exertions to puniſh offenders of every denomination.

" We truſt that the peace of the county will in conſequence of the proceedings at this aſſizes, be " reſtored univerſally—but ſhould that unfortunately not be the caſe, we beg leave to aſſure your " excellency that we muſt feel it to be our duty, and the duty of all the other magiſtrates of the " county, to reſort to immediate proceedings under the law of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, " however much we muſt lament the unuſual rigor, which it will impoſe upon offenders, and how- " ever much we muſt deplore the burthens as well as the diſgrace, which ſuch meaſures muſt ne- " ceſſarily impoſe upon the county.

" JOHN OGLE, ſheriff.
" GOSFORD, governor.
" CAULFIELD, foreman, for ſelf and fellow-jurors."

*Reſolved*, That the thanks of the grand jury be given to our high ſheriff, for the care which he has taken in making returns of the very enlightened and diſpaſſionate juries that have attended, and for his very proper conduct throughout this aſſizes.

*Reſolved*, That the thanks of the grand jury be given to the right honorable the attorney general, for the very able ſpeech in which he addreſſed the county, for the candor and unwearied exertion with which he has conducted the proſecutions at this aſſizes, and for his readineſs in communicating with the grand jury on every occaſion, when applied to.

The above addreſs being preſented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, he was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

" I RETURN my moſt ſincere thanks to the ſheriff, governor, grand jury, and magiſtrates of " the county of Armagh for the addreſs which has been preſented to me.

" It

the ferocious outrages of thoſe exterminators. Their annunciation of impartial juſtice, and a reſolution to puniſh offenders of every denomination, was rather unſeaſonable, when there remained no longer any of one denomination to commit outrages upon, or to retaliate injuries.

*In the ſummer of 1796, great numbers of perſons, principally from the province

" It gives me the greateſt ſatisfaction to obſerve the anxious ſolicitude that has appeared during " the courſe of the laſt aſſizes, amongſt all deſcriptions of perſons, to endeavour to extinguiſh that " ſpirit of outrage, which has exiſted within your county for ſome time paſt. I lament that thoſe " endeavours have not hitherto proved totally ſucceſsful, but I look forward with confidence to the " expectation that a continuation of that temper and unanimity which have appeared at the late " aſſizes, may render it unneceſſary to recur to thoſe powers that have been given by the wiſdom " and energy of parliament, which powers I truſt will be called for with caution, but when granted " will be uſed with effect."

* Report of Secret Committee Com. Journ. Appendix DCCCXXIX. The above quoted Memoir (p. 5) gives the following detailed account of the progreſs of the union at this period:— " While they were almoſt entirely confined to the north, but increaſing rapidly there, the inſurrection bill was paſſed in the beginning of the year 1796, augmenting the penalties upon adminiſtering unlawful oaths, or ſolemn obligations, even to death: but death had ceaſed to alarm " men who began to think it was to be encountered in their country's cauſe. The ſtatute remained " an abſolute dead letter, and the numbers of the body augmented beyond belief.

" To the Armagh perſecution is the union of Iriſhmen moſt exceedingly indebted. The perſons " and properties of the wretched Catholics of that county were expoſed to the mercileſs attacks of " an Orange faction, which was certainly in many inſtances uncontrolled by the juſtices of peace, " and claimed to be in all ſupported by government. When theſe men found that illegal acts of " magiſtrates were indemnified by occaſional ſtatutes, and the courts of juſtice ſhut againſt them " by parliamentary barriers, they began to think they had no refuge but in joining the union. " Their diſpoſitions ſo to do, were much increaſed by finding the Preſbyterians of Belfaſt eſpecially ſtep forward to eſpouſe their cauſe, and ſuccour their diſtreſs. We will here remark, once " for all, what we moſt ſolemnly aver, that wherever the Orange ſyſtem was introduced, particularly in Catholic counties, it was uniformly obſerved, that the numbers of United Iriſhmen " encreaſed moſt aſtoniſhingly. The alarm which an Orange lodge excited among the Catholics, " made them look for refuge by joining together in the united ſyſtem; and as their number was " always greater than that of bigotted Proteſtants, our harveſt was ten-fold. At the ſame time that " we mention this circumſtance, we muſt confeſs, and muſt deeply regret, that it excited a mutual " acrimony and vindictive ſpirit, which was peculiarly oppoſite to the intereſt, and abhorrent to the " feelings of the United Iriſhmen, and has lately manifeſted itſelf, we hear, into outrages of ſo " much horror.

" About the middle of 1796, a meeting of the executive took place, more important in its diſcuſſions and its conſequences, than any that had preceded it; as ſuch, we have thought ourſelves " bound to give an account of it with the moſt perfect frankneſs, and more than ordinary preciſion.

province of Ulſter, had inrolled themſelves in that ſociety, About the ſame period a direct communication had been opened by the heads of the party with

" ſion. This meeting took place in conſequence of a letter from one of the ſociety, who had emi-
" grated on account of political opinions: it mentioned, that the ſtate of the country had been
" repreſented to the government of France in ſo favorable a point of view, as to induce them to
" reſolve upon invading Ireland, for the purpoſe of enabling it to ſeparate itſelf from Great Britain.
" On this ſolemn and important occaſion, a ſerious review was taken of the ſtate of the Iriſh na-
" tion at that period: it was obſerved, that a deſperate ferment exiſted in the public mind; a
" reſolution in favor of a parliamentary reform had indeed been paſſed early in 1793, by the Houſe
" of Commons; but after it had been fruſtrated by ſeveral ſucceſſive adjournments, all hope of its
" attainment was vaniſhed, and its friends every where proſcribed, the volunteers were put down,
" all power of meeting by delegation for any political purpoſe, the mode in which it was moſt uſual
" and expedient to co-operate on any ſubject of importance, was taken away at the ſame time.
" The provocations of the year 1794, the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the re-aſſumption of coer-
" cive meaſures that followed it, were ſtrongly dwelt on: the county of Armagh had been long
" deſolated by two contending factions, agreeing only in one thing, an opinion, that moſt of the
" active magiſtrates in that county treated one party with the moſt foſtering kindneſs, and the other
" with the moſt rigorous perſecution. It was ſtated, that ſo marked a partiality exaſperated the
" ſufferers, and thoſe who ſympathized in their misfortunes. It was urged with indignation, that
" notwithſtanding the greatneſs of the military eſtabliſhment in Ireland, and its having been able
" to ſuppreſs the Defenders in various counties, it was not able, or was not employed to ſuppreſs
" theſe outrages in that county, which drove ſeven thouſand perſons from their native dwellings.
" The magiſtrates, who took no ſteps againſt the Orange men, were ſaid to have overleaped the
" boundaries of law to purſue and puniſh the Defenders. The government ſeemed to take upon
" themſelves thoſe injuries by the indemnity act, and even honored the violaters; and by the inſur-
" rection act, which enabled the ſame magiſtrates, if they choſe, under colour of law, to act anew
" the ſame abominations. Nothing, it was contended, could more juſtly excite the ſpirit of reſiſt-
" ance, and determine men to appeal to arms, than the inſurrection act; it puniſhed with death
" the adminiſtering of oaths, which, in their opinion, were calculated for the moſt virtuous and
" honorable purpoſes. The power of proclaiming counties, and quieting them by breaking open
" the cabins of the peaſants between ſun-ſet and ſun-riſe, by ſeizing the inmates, and ſending them
" on board tenders without the ordinary interpoſition of a trial by jury, had, it was alleged, irritated
" beyond endurance the minds of the reflecting, and the feelings of the unthinking inhabitants of
" that province. It was contended, that even according to the conſtitution and example of 1688,
" when the protection of the conſtituted authorities was drawn from the ſubject, allegiance, the re-
" ciprocal duty ceaſed to bind; when the people were not redreſſed, they had a right to reſiſt, and
" were free to ſeek for allies wherever they were to be found. The Engliſh revolutioniſts of 1688
" called in the aid of a foreign republic to overthrow their oppreſſors. There had ſprung up in our
" own time a much more mighty republic, which, by its offers of aſſiſtance to break the chains of
" ſlavery, had drawn on itſelf a war with the enemies of our freedom, and now particularly ten-

" dered

with the enemy: and French aſſiſtance was ſolicited and promiſed to be ſpeedily ſent to aid the diſaffected in that kingdom. It appears ſufficiently clear that ſome of the heads of the union at this time had fully conceived the execrable deſign of attempting to effectuate a total ſeparation from Great Britain, and conſequently the neceſſary overthrow of the exiſting government. But the extent of theſe traiterous views was cautiouſly ſuppreſſed from the multitude, whom they hitherto led as the blind inſtruments of their nefarious project, under the plauſible avowal of uniting only for the purpoſes of obtaining Catholic emancipation, and full and equal repreſentation in parliament. The determination, with which government ſeemed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament to have extinguiſhed every proſpect of attaining either of thoſe two objects, and the ſyſtem of coercion and rigor which they had now avowedly adopted, were uſed by the deſigning heads of the union as the moſt efficient means to propagate diſaffection, to ulcerate the popular ſoreneſs, to bring into contempt the Proteſtant aſcendancy, and to work up the diſappointment, deſpair and licentiouſneſs of the multitude, into civil and religious enthuſiaſm for effecting thoſe two great objects, from the want of which they were taught to derive the ſum total of their wretchedneſs. It had been obſerved in parliament by ſome of the moſt reſpectable country gentlemen, that ſuch a ſyſtem tended more to inflame than heal. No means of faſcination and ſeduction were omitted to rivet the paſſions of the multitude to the attainment of emancipation and reform, who all gloried in their efforts to obtain theſe two points: and thus engaged, they became ductile to the ulterior views of their traiterous conductors. It is, however, to be remarked, that at this time few of the moſt dangerous of the rebels* were acting with the members of the union.

" dered us its aid. Theſe arguments prevailed, and it was reſolved to employ the proffered aſſiſt-
" ance for the purpoſe of ſeparation. We were aware it was ſuſpected that negotiations between
" the United Iriſhmen and the French were carried on at an earlier period than that now alluded
" to, but we ſolemnly declare ſuch ſuſpicion was ill-founded. In conſequence of this determina-
" tion of the executive, an agent was diſpatched to the French Directory, who acquainted them
" with it, ſtated the diſpoſitions of the people, and the meaſures which cauſed them: he received
" freſh aſſurances that the ſuccours ſhould be ſent, as ſoon as the armament could be got ready."

* In the memoir of O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin, they ſay (p. 9) " None of us were " members of the united ſyſtem until September or October in the year 1796." Mr. T. W. Tone had fled the country in the beginning of 1795, upon ſuſpicion of his being implicated in the treaſon of the Rev. Mr. Jackſon, who was tried for high treaſon and found guilty on the 23d of April,

* With a view of being prepared as much as poſſible to co-operate with the enemy then expected, and in order to counteract the effect of the armed aſ-

April, 1795: and when he was called up to receive ſentence on the 30th of April, he died in court of the poiſon he had previouſly taken. Mr. Hamilton Rowan about the ſame time having been tried, convicted, and ſentenced to two years impriſonment for ſedition, eſcaped out of priſon to the continent: and Mr. Napper Tandy having been indicted for high treaſon about the ſame time, was proceeding to take his trial at Dundalk; when he was met about twelve miles from that town by his attorney, who apprizing him of the dead weight of evidence againſt him, he returned to Dublin, and fled alſo to the continent.

* Report of the Secret Committee XVII. Com. Jour. DCCCXXIX. The following account of the military organization is given in the before mentioned Memoir. "The military organization "had no exiſtence until towards the latter end of 1796, and was as near as could be engrafted on "the civil: in order to avoid giving alarm, it continued to conceal itſelf as much as poſſible under "the uſual denominations. The ſecretary of a ſociety of twelve, was commonly the petty officer; "the delegate of five ſocieties to a lower baronial, when the population required ſuch an imme- "diate ſtep, was uſually the captain, and the delegates from the lower to the upper baronial was "uſually the colonel. All officers to colonels up, were indiſpenſably elected by thoſe they were "to command, but at that point the interference of the ſocieties ceaſed, and every higher com- "miſſion was in the appointment of the executive; only as ſoon as ſufficient numbers of regiments "were organized in any county, the colonels were directed to tranſmit to the executive the names "of three perſons, fit, in their opinion, to act as adjutants general for that county, of thoſe, the "executive choſe one; and through this organ all military communications were made to the ſe- "veral counties; in conſequence of ſuch arrangements not more than one of the executive need "ever be committed with any county; and that only to a perſon of his own choice from among "the three. It ſo happened, that the ſame member was entitled to hold communications with ſe- "veral adjutants general, which ſtill further diminiſhed the riſk to the executive: we refer to the "amended printed conſtitution, where the military conſtitution without being named, is more "correctly ſet forth, than we can give from memory. As to the manner in which theſe men were "to be provided with arms and ammunition, every man who could afford it, was directed to pro- "vide himſelf with a muſquet, bayonet, and as much ammunition as he could; every other man "with a pike, and if he were able a caſe of piſtols; but this, we apprehend, was not ſtrictly ad- "hered to. We have heard it ſaid, that treaſurers were appointed for raiſing money to purchaſe "arms, but no ſuch appointment was ever made, at leaſt by the executive. Perhaps ſome private "ſocieties might have adopted ſuch a meaſure.

"In many inſtances the lower orders went about to private houſes to ſearch for arms; this the "executive conſtantly endeavoured to prevent, becauſe they were unwilling to raiſe alarm in their "adverſaries, or let the members of their body acquire habits of plunder, and be confounded with "robbers. They endeavoured to diſſuade them from theſe acts, by repreſenting to the people, "that the arms would always be kept in better condition by the gentlemen than by them, and "could be eaſily ſeized whenever neceſſary. In other reſpects our ſtores were in the arſenal in the "caſtle, and the military depots throughout the country; our ſupplies were in the treaſury.

ſociations

ſociations of yeomanry, eſtabliſhed in October 1796, directions were iſſued by the leaders to the ſocieties, to form themſelves into military bodies, and to be provided with arms and ammunition.

Theſe directions were ſpeedily obeyed, the ſocieties aſſumed a military form, and it appears by the original papers, ſeized at Belfaſt in the month of April 1797, that their numbers at that period, in the province of Ulſter alone, were ſtated to amount to nearly one hundred thouſand men. That they were very largely ſupplied with fire-arms and pikes, that they had ſome cannon and ammunition, and were diligently employed in the ſtudy of military tactics; in ſhort, that nothing was neglected by the party, which could enable them to take the field on the arrival of the enemy,* or whenever they might receive orders to that effect from their ſuperior officers, whom they were bounden by oath to obey.

The report of the ſecret committee of the commons, continues to inform us, that in the ſummer of 1796, the outrages committed by a banditti, calling themſelves Defenders,† in the counties of Roſcommon, Leitrim, Longford,

* Memoir IX. "In the autumn of 1796, it muſt be confeſſed, the reaſons already alleged, "and the initiations of the preceding ſummer in the North, had diſpoſed us to a ſeparation and "republic, principally becauſe we were hopeleſs, that a reform would ever be yielded to any peaceable exertion of the people. We cannot be accurate as to the progreſs either of the numbers or "organization of the United Iriſhmen; it having been an invariable rule, to burn all the returns "or other papers, after they ceaſed to be uſeful; we have no documents wherewith to refreſh our "memories, but we apprehend the report of the ſecret committee to be, in that caſe, ſufficiently "accurate, except that the numbers were always much greater than appeared by thoſe reports; "the documents on which they rely, only noticed thoſe who went regularly into ſocieties; but "great numbers, perhaps at a rough gueſs, half as many were ſworn to the teſt, who were prevented by private motives and local circumſtances, from committing themſelves in that way; "we are, however, convinced, that the numbers of the whole body could not latterly be leſs than "500,000.

"The returns from the different ſocieties, and committees upwards, ſpecified among other "things, arms and ammunition; they were not originally included in them, nor were they introduced until after the paſſing the inſurrection and indemnity acts, when the people began to be "more than ever carried towards reſiſtance, and were extremely irritated by the indemnified violations of law in the North. The returns alſo ſtated, ſums of money having been collected; "thoſe ſums were always very ſmall, and applied towards the ſupport of perſons impriſoned on "charges connected with the Union, and in conducting of their defences, any other expences "were defrayed by occaſional private ſubſcriptions."

† The purport of this part of the report appears hiſtorically incorrect: inaſmuch at leaſt as it

ford, Meath, Weſtmeath and Kildare, together with a religious feud prevailing in the county of Armagh, induced the legiſlature to paſs a temporary act of parliament, generally called the Inſurrection Act, by which the lord lieutenant and council were enabled, upon the requiſition of ſeven magiſtrates of any county, aſſembled at a ſeſſions of the peace, to proclaim the whole or any part thereof, to be in a ſtate of diſturbance; within which limits this law, giving increaſed power to the magiſtracy, was to have operation.

Many diſtricts in Ulſter, in which outrages prevailed, occaſioned by the active and perſecuting ſpirit of the United Iriſhmen, were in the courſe of the winter of 1796, and ſpring of 1797, put under the proviſion of the act above mentioned; and the committee obſerved, that although where the law was put in force with activity by the magiſtrates, very beneficial conſequences were found to reſult from it, yet the treaſon was then too deeply rooted to yield to that remedy.

Although it be true, as the committee has reported, that in the latter end of 1796, and the beginning of 1797, the loyal inhabitants of Ulſter ſuffered moſt ſeverely from the United Iriſhmen; that throughout the province, they were ſtripped of their arms: that the moſt horrid murders were perpetrated by large bodies of men in open day, and that it became nearly impoſſible to

appears and intends to identify the cauſe of the Union and the Defenders in the year 1796. The Memoir gives this candid and apparently true account of the only connection, which at that time exiſted between them. "Defenderiſm has been ſuppoſed to be the origin of the modern ſocieties "of United Iriſhmen: this is undoubtedly either a miſtake or a miſrepreſentation; we ſolemnly "declare, that there was no connexion between them and the united Iriſh, as far as we know, "except what follows:

"After the Defenders had ſpread into different counties, they manifeſted a rooted but unen-"lightened averſion, among other things, to the ſame grievances, that were complained of by the "Union. They were compoſed almoſt entirely of Catholics, and thoſe of the loweſt order, who, "through a falſe confidence, were riſking themſelves, and the attainment of redreſs by premature "and unſyſtematic inſurrection. In the North they were alſo engaged in an acrimonious and "bloody ſtruggle with an oppoſite faction, called Peep of Day Boys. The advantage of reconcil-"ing theſe two miſguided parties, of joining them in the Union, and ſo turning them from any "views they might have excluſively religious, and of reſtraining them from employing a mutual "deſtructive exertion of force, moſt powerfully ſtruck the minds of ſeveral United Iriſhmen. For "that purpoſe, many of them in the northern counties went among both, but particularly the De-"fenders, joined with them, ſhewed them the ſuperiority of the union ſyſtem, and gradually, while "government was endeavouring to quell them by force, melted them down into the United Iriſh "body. This rendered their conduct infinitely more orderly, and leſs ſuſpicious to government."

bring

bring the offenders to juſtice, from the inevitable deſtruction, that awaited the witneſſes or jurors, who dared to perform their duty: yet was it alſo true, that this ſpecies of barbarous outrage did not exiſt in the county of Armagh, and a part of Louth, but that another ſpecies of outrage from the Orangemen did there exiſt, of which the report is wholly ſilent. Hiſtorical juſtice requires us alſo to notice a moſt material fact aſſerted in the report of the lords, which does not appear to be founded in the ſame ſpecies of evidence, either by confeſſion or voucher, upon which moſt of the facts contained in the report of the commons had been ſupported. The lords fully confirmed the report of the commons, and having received and inveſtigated ſuch further evidence as they thought in prudence they were called upon to examine, had come to an unanimous reſolution, immediately to report that they were fully ſatisfied and convinced, from the evidence laid before them, that a traiterous and alarming conſpiracy has been formed, and that ſundry acts had been done in purſuance thereof by certain affiliated ſocieties and perſons in different parts of the kingdom, calling themſelves United Iriſhmen, for the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitution, and the introduction of a ſyſtem of anarchy, plunder and confuſion, ſimilar to that which had fatally prevailed in France. That they thought it neceſſary further to report, that it appeared diſtinctly to them that ſuch a ſyſtem was the firſt and fundamental object of theſe ſocieties, at their original inſtitution in the ſummer of the year 1791, and that the attainment of what were called parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation were and continued to be holden out by them merely as a pretence for their aſſociations, and with a view to ſeduce perſons, who were not apprized of their traiterous deſigns, to unite with them. This was a clear avowal, that all the members of the union were not at that time apprized of the traiterous deſigns of ſome of their leaders. For it is unqueſtionable, that numerous individuals were engaged as members of the union, who had no treaſon in their minds or hearts. The term affiliated ſocieties was too extenſive to be applied to thoſe who were guilty at that time of treaſon. And therefore, the committee a little after applied, as the truth was, the guilt of uniting with the Defenders to the leaders and directors of their ſocieties. For it had further appeared to them, that the leaders and directors of theſe aſſociations then were and had been for ſome time paſt anxiouſly engaged in uniting with them a claſs of men, who had formerly diſturbed the peace of this country by acts of outrage, robbery and murder,

under the appellation of Defenders, and they had reaſon to apprehend, that in a certain degree they had ſucceeded. In addition to the facts contained in the report of the commons, they found it neceſſary to ſtate, that it had appeared diſtinctly and unequivocally to them, that a traiterous correſpondence and communication had been carried on between the leaders and directors of the ſocieties of the United Iriſhmen and the executive directory of the French Republic; the period at which that correſpondence was proved to have taken place, had appeared to have been between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796, and the means by which it was carried on in that inſtant, had been fully proved; and it had alſo appeared to their committee, that in the event of ſucceſs on the part of thoſe conſpirators, it had been decided, that all perſons who from their principles or ſituation might be deemed inimical to the conſpiracy, ſhould be maſſacred: the firſt proſcribed liſt, it had appeared to their committee, had been calculated by one of their leaders at thirty thouſand perſons.

It cannot elude the obſervation of every candid man, who conſiders the nature and progreſs of that horrible rebellion, which afterwards broke out openly in the year 1798, that the greater part of the individuals were unfortunately involved in it, by imperceptible gradation, by deception, art, malice, menace, or intimidation of the leaders and directors. The committee of the lords charged the affiliated ſocieties of United Iriſhmen generally with the treaſon, and they attempted only to prove it againſt their leaders and directors in the particular inſtances of uniting with the defenders and French Republicans. Too much guilt alas attached upon a numerous part of that nation, to excite a wiſh in the moſt ſavage breaſt to aggravate the criminality or extend the treaſon. Some individuals, who can only meaſure their own loyalty by the acrimony, with which they calumniate their country, have upon the ſtrength of this report, ſpecifically charged the United Iriſhmen with holding regular committees of aſſaſſination. But no evidence whatever is offered by the lords even to ſupport their looſe inuendo or charge of ſyſtematic aſſaſſination. The private murders, though numerous and bloody, rather rebut than ſubſtantiate the charge of any organiſed ſyſtem of that atrocious nature.*

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* Mem. p. 7. " It has been alleged againſt the United Iriſhmen, that they eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of aſſaſſination. Nothing has ever been imputed to them, that we feel more pleaſure in being able

As the ſummer advanced, the public fever was quickened. Many outrages of the defenders were puniſhed in a moſt unwarrantable manner upon innocent untried perſons by the military: upon mere ſuſpicion or abſence of a landlord, they burnt houſes, they often maimed, and in ſome inſtances murdered the natives, who unfortunately inhabited the diſtricts, into which they were ſent. Nothing ſo ſtrongly tends to irritate the popular mind, as the commiſſion of crimes under the colour of authority. In one inſtance a certain colonel was at the aſſizes of Armagh tried and found guilty of murdering a Mr. Lucas; upon his receiving ſentence, he produced his majeſty's pardon, and was inſtantly liberated. This circumſtance greatly irritated the people. The many barbarities committed by the Orangemen in Armagh and Down, if not with connivance,* at leaſt with impunity, greatly inflamed the irritation

able to diſavow. In ſuch immenſe numbers as were to be found in that body, although uniformity of ſyſtem may have given a wonderful uniformity of action, yet it is unfair and unjuſt to charge the whole body with the vices of a few of its members: individual grievances produced individual reſentments, and the meeting of many ſufferers in the ſame way frequently cauſed them to concur in the ſame reſolutions. It appears, indeed, by ſome trials, that a baronial once took that ſubject into conſideration; but it was manifeſt, that it was taken up by them as individuals, whoſe principles, as it afterwards appeared, were not repugnant to the act. A committee of aſſaſſination has been much talked of; we have heard perſons mentioned as members of it, whom we know, from the moſt private and confidential obſervations, to be utterly abhorrent from that crime. We ſolemnly declare, we believe that ſuch a committee never exiſted. We moſt ſolemnly aver, it never was with the cognizance of a part of the union. We alſo declare, that in no communication from thoſe, who were placed at the head of the United Iriſhmen, to the reſt of that body, and in no official paper was aſſaſſination ever inculcated, but frequently and fervently reprobated. It was conſidered by them with horror, on account of its criminality, and with perſonal dread, becauſe it would render ferocious the minds of men, in whoſe hands their lives were placed, moſt particularly placed; inaſmuch as between them and the reſt of that body were they out of the protection of the law. In proof of this aſſertion, we would beg leave to refer to a ſketch of a publication, which we believe was ſeized among the papers of one of us, at the time of his arreſt, and which it was intended ſhould appear, if the paper to which it alluded had not been diſcontinued. One other conſideration, which we intreat may not offend, will, we hope, be deciſive. If ſuch committee had exiſted, and if the men at the head of the United Iriſhmen had thought aſſaſſination a juſtifiable mode of attaining their ends, and had been capable of encouraging ſuch atrocity, poſſeſſed as they were of wide-ſpread means of acting, and powerful control over men, who, it is now manifeſt, held the loſs of life in utter contempt, the poignard would have been directed, not againſt ſuch petty objects as an obnoxious county magiſtrate, or an informer."

* Three Orangemen voluntarily made oath before a magiſtrate of the county of Down and Armagh, that they met in committees; amongſt whom were ſome members of parliament, who gave theſe

irritation of the oppoſite party, which throughout the nation was by far the more numerous. I forbear to retail the particular outrages, leſt malice ſhould miſrepreſent their ſtatement, as a juſtification of rebellion. In the autumn of this year government greatly encouraged the formation of different armed corps,* particularly of yeomanry, in imitation of thoſe in England. The dread

theſe people money, and promiſed they ſhould not ſuffer for any act they might commit; and pledged themſelves, that they ſhould hereafter be provided for under the auſpices of government. The magiſtrate wrote to the ſecretary of ſtate, enquiring of him how he ſhould act in theſe critical times; that hitherto he had preſerved peace on his large eſtate, but wiſhed to know how he ſhould act in future; that if it were neceſſary for the preſervation of the preſent ſyſtem for him to connive at or encourage the Orangemen in their depredations, he ſaid, as a man he knew his duty: if it were not neceſſary, he hoped the magiſtrates of the county at large would be made reſponſible, and be compelled to act againſt theſe depredators. That letter was written in conſequence of a large meeting of Orangemen intended to be convened in about ten days after. About the ſame time a number of delegates from the Orangemen met in the town of Armagh, and entered into reſolutions, which they publiſhed: in theſe reſolutions they recommended to the gentlemen of fortune to open a ſubſcription, declaring, "That the two guineas per man allowed them by government was not "ſufficient to purchaſe clothes and accoutrements."

* Theſe corps, which afterwards proved highly ſerviceable to the ſtate, were at firſt ſtrongly diſreliſhed and oppoſed by numbers: all thoſe of courſe were againſt them, who entertained any real evil deſigns againſt the government: thoſe who had *bona fide* united for the purpoſes of attaining reform and emancipation conceived, that they were to be dragooned out of their purpoſes: and the Catholics not being generally admitted into theſe corps, reſented their rejection as an invidious diſtinction, tending to queſtion their loyalty and ſincerity in their country's cauſe. They accordingly waited on Mr. Pelham for leave to raiſe a Catholic corps, but were told, that if they choſe they might join the corps then raiſing by their Proteſtant fellow ſubjects. Some few in fact did; but the ſhyneſs and reluctance, with which Catholics were admitted into the Proteſtant corps of yeomanry, kept moſt from joining them. Certain it is alſo, that the antiminiſterial party diſcouraged them at the time, as appears from party publications of thoſe days. One of them ſpoke thus: "The manner, in which adminiſtration are about to prepare a force in this kingdom is exceeding "ſuſpicious. Were the liberties of the nation to be deſtroyed, its independence, or imperial ex-"iſtence to be voted away, the plan to be acted upon could be no other than that which developes "itſelf. In the metropolis the *canaille de la cour* only are to be armed; we are to have armed pen-"ſioners, armed exciſemen, armed revenue officers, from the commiſſioner to the gauger; armed "contractors, armed clerks from all the public offices; every perſon in the court, about the court, "or deriving from the court, is to be armed. In the country our little great men, known at "court, and none others, are to be armed; their parafites and retainers are to be armed, their do-"meſtics are to be armed, their devoted tenants are to be armed, and this pye-bald maſs of incon-"gruous particles, this disjointed piece of patchwork, a juſt emblem of folly, weakneſs, and ridi-"cule, is to be called Yeomanry.

"See,

dread of a French invaſion was the oſtenſible reaſon for embodying theſe corps. Nothing however gave more ſanction and favour to them with the public, than the formation of the lawyer's corps. A general meeting of the bar was holden on the 14th of September, 1796, at which it was reſolved, that they held it expedient, with the permiſſion of government, to form an armed aſſociation for the defence of the kingdom. Great exertions were at this time made to feſter the ſoreneſs of the Catholics, and to inflame the differences between the Proteſtants and them. Complaints were made in the popular prints* of thoſe in the pay of government for their open endeavours to

" See, then, in what ſituation we will eventually find ourſelves. All the partizans of corrupt " influence, all thoſe whoſe intereſt it is to continue and multiply the abuſes of our political ſyſ- " tem, will have arms in their hands. All thoſe who rely upon their own independent properties, " or upon their own induſtry, the people whom it has become of late the faſhion to aſperſe, will be " naked. Thus naked, the people will ſtand like a fool in the middle, ſurrounded by a treble army, " an army of placemen and penſioners, a mercenary ſtanding army, and an army of militia, of- " ficered by the court."

* The Dublin Evening Poſt of the 24th of September, 1796, contained the following obſervations, which I copy, not to prove the truth or juſtneſs, but to ſhew the ſtate and diſpoſition of the public mind at that period. " The moſt ſevere ſtroke made againſt the character and conduct of " the viceroy, as a moral man and firſt magiſtrate of a free people, who ' ought not to hold the ' ſword *in vain*,' nor to exerciſe it *partially*, has been in Faulkner's Journal of this day. That " hireling print is undeniably in the pay of his lordſhip's adminiſtration; and what adminiſtration " permits, it is ſuppoſed to prompt or patronize. In that print, the blind fury of the banditti, " which uſurps and diſgraces the name of *Orange* in the north, is applauded, and all their bloody " exceſſes juſtified. Murder in all its horrid forms, aſſaſſinations in cold blood, the mutilation of " members without reſpect to age or ſex, the firing of whole hamlets, ſo that when the inhabitants " have been looked after, nothing but their aſhes were to be found; the atrocious excurſions of " furious hordes, armed with ſword, fire, and faggot, to exterminate a people, for preſuming to " obey the divine command, written by the finger of God himſelf, ' Honor thy father and thy ' mother,' and walking in the religion, which ſeemed good in their eyes. Theſe are the flagitious " enormities, which attract the mercenary applauſe of Faulkner's Journal, the literary prop of the " Camden adminiſtration; theſe are favorite themes, upon which it dilates with the copiouſneſs of " a full heart. O ſhame! where is thy bluſh?

" The ſame print, by inſinuation, would viſit the diſturbances, which have taken place in Louth, " Meath, Monaghan, Cavan, Weſtmeath, Roſcommon, Longford, Leitrim, Sligo, Limerick, Wex- " ford, and Dublin, upon the magiſtrates of thoſe counties. The ſuppreſſion of nocturnal inſur- " rections in theſe diſtricts is a full vindication of theſe magiſtrates. The violence of the other " inſurrection, and the impunity with which it rages in the north, leave the magiſtrates in that " quarter without excuſe. Recent deciſions in our courts prove, that they deſerve puniſhment,

" and

to blow up theſe nearly ſmothered embers into a freſh flame of rancour, animoſity, and perpetual diſcord. The unchecked and unpuniſhed perſecutions of the Catholics in the county of Armagh was the never-ceaſing theme of popular declamation: miniſters both in and out of parliament rebutted the charge of connivance, approbation, and encouragement, by flat and ſolemn denials. It was objected to the adminiſtration, that whilſt they proclaimed the houghing of a bullock in the ſouth, they ſmothered in ſilence the murder and proſcription of hundreds of human beings in the north: that they were vigilant to make every forcible poſſeſſion out of the county of Armagh the ſubject of a proclamation, whilſt within that county they winked at the perpetration of the moſt atrocious crimes. The popular party, which ſought nothing ſo eagerly as to diſguſt and inflame the public mind againſt the Caſtle, juſtified theſe charges by aſſerting, what was certainly true, though perhaps otherwiſe intended by government, that no ſtatute, no proclamation, no reſolutions of public bodies, had ſpecified or puniſhed the particular crimes of the Orangemen in Armagh, that no perpetrators of them had been puniſhed, that not a ſingle magiſtrate had been ſtricken off the commiſſion, though many were generally believed to have connived at and encouraged thoſe outrages: that ſeveral were rewarded by commands in the yeomanry corps, and otherwiſe favored by government. Whatever the real conduct of government were, with reference to the diſturbances in Armagh, the partiality of that county for Mr. Pelham the ſecretary, and the then well known intention of returning that gentleman with Dr. Duigenan for the borough of Armagh in the enſuing parliament, coupled with other reports, riveted in the minds of the great maſs of the people the firmeſt conviction, that the impunity of thoſe fanatic exterminators of Armagh found countenance and ſupport from the ſeat of civil and eccleſiaſtical power. Already had the reports of a general election brought forth many candidates for the counties, and the few open boroughs that admitted of election, to addreſs their conſtitu-

" and are themſelves accomplices in the crimes, which it is their duty as magiſtrates, as men, and " as Chriſtians, to prevent. It is ſilly and impudent to ſay, that *Defenders* have advocates in this " paper. Every rational man muſt abhor the practices of thoſe unfortunate miſguided people. " But there are ſhades in guilt; and guilt of a deeper and fouler ſtain, baſeneſs more black and " bloody never appalled the eye of man, than that which ſtalks in the counties of Armagh and " Down, however it may be hailed as the good genius of the country, by that literary dæmon of " the court, *Faulkner's Journal.*"

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ents. A more unequivocal teſt of the prevailing principles in thoſe particular diſtricts cannot be reſorted to, than the addreſſes, in which the candidates aſſume merit in the eyes of what they conceive and wiſh to be the majority. Thus the congenial oppoſition given by Mr. Pelham and Dr. Duigenan to the queſtion of Catholic emancipation, recommended them to the borough of Armagh: thus a contrary ſpirit of equal toleration endeared Colonel (now Lord) Hutchinſon* to the city of Cork. The early meeting of the parliament, the uncertainty of its duration, the importance of the expected debates, the progreſs of organization with the United Iriſhmen, their hopes of French ſuccours, others dread of French invaſion, the increaſed vigilance of government, and their new exertions to tranquillize Armagh, all tended in different ways to abate for the moment the heat of the public fever.

The parliament met on the 13th of October, 1796, when the lord lieutenant in his ſpeech from the throne informed them, that his majeſty had required their attendance thus early in parliament in conſequence of the enemy's threatening a deſcent upon that kingdom and Great Britain: he appealed to and confided in the ſpirit, loyalty, and zeal of his faithful people of Ireland to repel ſuch an attack: he apprized them of his majeſty's intention to ſend a perſon to Paris to treat for a peace: informed them of the

* In his addreſs to the electors of Cork on the 6th of October, 1796, amongſt other matters, this gentleman, whoſe gallant conduct his ſovereign has ſince rewarded with a peerage, thus accoſted his conſtituents after the uſual introductory compliments. "It would be ridiculous in me to make "you a vain diſplay, and an idle pageantry of my loyalty, which no man has ever preſumed to "doubt or deny. Brought up in the army almoſt from my infancy, and now a general officer in "the king's ſervice, I muſt be loyal from duty, intereſt, affection, habit, and feeling; it would be "too late for me to deſert that cauſe, for which I have fought, and for which I am ready to die.

"I too love and revere our glorious conſtitution; I have ſtudied and endeavoured to comprehend "its principles, and have yet to learn that they tend to excluſion or intolerance. Sure I am, "that the repreſentation of all freehold property is the baſis upon which it is erected; and that "every departure from this its vital principle, is a violation of that conſtitution, which will be "moſt applauded by thoſe who underſtand it beſt. To unite all ſects in one common comprehen- "ſion, to conſolidate the nation in order to give ſecurity to the people, ſtrength to the empire, and "dignity to the crown, has ever been the firſt object of my political life. Theſe were my ſenti- "ments open and avowed long before I had the honor of repreſenting you in parliament. Your "own experience has proved, that they were not founded in error; you muſt have uniformly ob- "ſerved, that the proſperity of the country has increaſed in direct proportion with the relaxation of "the penal code; and you muſt be convinced, that the circumſtances of the times, and the ſitua- "tion of ſurrounding Europe, imperiouſly require the union of all the inhabitants of this iſland."

hoſtile diſpoſition of Spain, and congratulated with them upon our ſucceſſes in the Weſt Indies, and the ſteady and dignified conduct of the emperor, and the intrepidity and ſpirit of the Auſtrian forces under the Archduke Charles, which inſpired a well-grounded confidence of obtaining a peace. He truſted to the liberality of the commons for the ſupplies. He then adverted to the expediency of the vigorous meaſures of the laſt parliament, which appeared by the ſubſiding in great meaſure of thoſe outrages, which they were intended to ſuppreſs. His excellency now for the firſt time took tender and oblique notice of the diſturbances of Armagh. * "I have however to lament, that "in one part of the country good order has not yet been entirely reſtored; "and that in other diſtricts a treaſonable ſyſtem of ſecret confederation, by the "adminiſtering of illegal oaths, ſtill continues, although no means within the "reach of government have been left untried to counteract it."

†Mr. Grattan objected to the ſpeech. It contained no reconciling matter, no expectation of commercial benefits, and did in a great meaſure beſpeak a falſe confidence in our reſources both in commerce and revenue.

He lamented extremely, that the outrages againſt the Catholics in the north had been ſo ſlightly dwelt on. He could not conceive that government, with all the powers it now poſſeſſed, ſhould not have been able to quiet that part of Ireland; that he feared the mob had a confidence in the lenity of government, founded on the ſympathy of religion between the Caſtle and the Orange Boys, and that the latter had therefore, under the preſumption of connivance, continued to commit the moſt daring outrages. That to ſuppoſe that government was inadequate to ſuppreſs this inſurrection, when it has ſhewn itſelf not adequate only, but unreſtrained in putting an end to other inſurrections, was to allow government more indulgence than it deſerved. That he did not approve of that expreſſion in the ſpeech, which repreſented theſe raging atrocities in the north as a diſturbance not entirely ſuppreſſed; ſuch tenderneſs of language to ſuch enormous practices againſt the poor and induſtrious, betrayed an indifference in the government to the protection of the lower orders of his majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects; that he was an enemy to equality of property, but a friend to equality of protection; and that in his opinion the beſt method of preventing equality of property was to afford equality of protection. Mr. Grattan then proceeded to conſider the

* 17 Journ. Com. p. 9. † 17 Parl. Deb. p. 3.

war

war in general: he repreſented in the higheſt glow of colouring the different ſituations of the ſeveral powers of Europe, and when he came to his own country, he exclaimed, "There was alſo Ireland; poor, plundered, ill "uſed, inſulted, and forgiving Ireland; and though repreſented by the mi- "nions, *eaſily raiſed and eaſily put down*, pouring into the fleets and armies "until ſhe was forced to leave herſelf without a ſoldier, for her miniſter's ill- "fated and wide-waſting Weſt India expedition, where thoſe miniſters by "their plan and their delay ſupplied the place of plague, peſtilence, and fa- "mine: loans granted more in one year, than ſhe granted to any one mi- "niſter in the courſe of any former war. They have had every thing from "the two iſlands which an old country, that was relaxed, and a young one, "that was ill adminiſtered, could afford: every thing in England but en- "thuſiaſm, and in Ireland every thing but the good opinion of the people, "and all to ſend an ambaſſador to aſk peace of the French Republic." He concluded* a very long, eloquent, and ſevere harangue againſt the miniſters, by moving the following amendment: "To repreſent to his majeſty, that the "moſt effectual method for ſtrengthening the country and promoting una- "nimity, was to take ſuch meaſures, and to enact ſuch laws, as to enſure "to all his majeſty's ſubjects the bleſſings and privileges of the conſtitution,

* 17 Parl. Deb. p. 13. The concluſion of his ſpeech was to this effect. "Rely on it, miniſters "muſt reconcile: they muſt capitulate: it is not to them a new thing: they capitulated in 93 "to the Catholic claim. What great meaſure has been carried for this country but by their capi- "tulation? The declaration of rights, &c. &c. &c. nor can the Engliſh cabinet have any qualm "on this occaſion: the Engliſh cabinet have been of late years in the courſe of capitulation: they "capitulated to America: they now capitulate to the French Republic: and why not capitulate to "Ireland? This country can only be ſaved by her own force, and her own force can only be pro- "cured by adopting the Catholics; and they can only be adopted by a total and entire change of "maxims, meaſures, and manners, accompanied with a free and full participation of whatever pri- "vileges the conſtitution can boaſt, and what is infinitely more eſſential, whatever privileges the "conſtitution intended. This is the force, the power, the charm, the ſtaff of your ſaint, that will "baniſh from your iſle all noxious animals; the wand that opens the ſea to the Engliſh, and will "wall it up againſt the French. Quick, very quick! you have not a moment to loſe; you have "given your fellow ſubjects a ſhare of your taxes, your defeat, and depopulation; kindly, very "kindly—give them now a ſhare of your bleſſings, whatever your miniſters have left you. Let us "make no more ſacrifices of our liberties: let us now ſacrifice our prejudices: they will aſcend "in ſmoke, the beſt uſe we can make of them, and be a tiding to your God, that you are become "a convert to your country."

" without any diſtinction of religion." The amendment was ſeconded by Mr. W. B. Ponſonby.

The debate was carried on till two o'clock in the morning with extreme heat and virulence. Mr. Grattan's amendment was oppoſed, as unſeaſonable and violent by ſeveral of thoſe, who had been in the habit of voting with him on all occaſions; inſomuch that the minority on the diviſion conſiſted only of 12 againſt 149. To this circumſtance Mr. Grattan adverted in his reply. He was told, he ſaid, that he was near the cloſe of his political life: he would however borrow a few moments of that life to repeat the ſentiment, and reaſſert a claim dear to his heart, however reduced their number, however ſolitary their phalanx. In the courſe of this debate Lord Caſtlereagh replied with great warmth to Mr. Grattan; and Mr. Pelham ſpoke more at length than he uſually did: he adopted the obſervation of his friend Mr. Alexander, that the ſtatement of the Britiſh empire made by Mr. Grattan was more likely to have come from a member of the French Aſſembly than an Iriſh legiſlator. He particularly adverted to the two topics, which had formed the principal ground of the debate; namely, the queſtion of Catholic emancipation, and the diſturbances of Armagh. As to the firſt, he thought it very improperly brought forward at that juncture. It was then no time to make diſtinctions between Catholics and Proteſtants; no ſuch diſtinction was made by government. In the offers to arm, the Catholics had been as forward as the Proteſtants. In ſome *counties, where gentlemen attached to the Pro-

* Hiſtorical juſtice requires, that we notice, that the miniſter's aſſertion rather confirms, than defeats the former obſervations upon the diſcouragement given to the Catholics arming. He ſays, that in *ſome counties, ſome* gentlemen attached to the Proteſtant aſcendancy had included *many* Catholics in their liſts. The obvious inference is, that in moſt caſes, the reverſe had happened. The very term *many Catholics* beſpeaks a proportionate paucity, when bearing upon a population that conſiſts of more than three Catholics to one Proteſtant. Neither did his juſtification of the county of Armagh meet the objections, which had been complained of. The perſecution of the Catholics in that county had been complained of for years; and the application of remedy is ſpoken of, only *as ſince* the laſt ſeſſion. The reaſon he gave for not promulgating the inſurrection law in that county, could convey little ſatisfaction to the people aggrieved or to the public at large; becauſe the magiſtrates were always complained of as the immediate and efficient inſtrument of the evil. Mr. Grattan (17 Parl. Deb. p. 50.) thought the audacity of the mob aroſe from a confidence in the connivance of government; under an adminiſtration ſent thither to defeat a Catholic bill, a Proteſtant mob very naturally conceived itſelf a part of the ſtate, and exerciſed the power of life, and death, and tranſportation, and murder, and rape with triumph; and with the ſeeming ſympathy with the court religion the magiſtrates retire from the ſcene of action, &c.

teſtant

teſtant aſcendancy reſided, ſome of whom had ſaved their counties from ruin, thoſe very gentlemen had come forward with offers to raiſe corps, and in their liſts had included many Roman Catholics. Some Roman Catholics had, no doubt, been perſuaded, that ſuch diſtinctions were adopted by government, and he found it neceſſary to ſtate what he then did, leſt the high authority of ſome gentlemen who had that night promoted that opinion, ſhould ſanction the report. The Armagh diſturbance had been laſt ſeſſion a ſubject of diſcuſſion; government had been then exculpated by the gentlemen of that country. Since that time an officer of the higheſt credit and reputation had been eſtabliſhed there, and every effort made to reſtore that order, which was approaching every day. The noble lord near him had replied to the charge of not promulgating the inſurrection law; and he had only to add, that the diſturbances there appeared to the magiſtrates not to require the enforcement of that very ſevere law.

Mr. Archdal juſtified the magiſtrates of Armagh, by aſking, if aſſiſtance had ever been called for, and refuſed? No. Had means of prevention ever been pointed out and neglected? No. Had any culpable magiſtrates been particularized, and protected? No. If any magiſtrate ſhould be thereafter ſentenced as culpable, would he not be puniſhed? Yes, and exemplarily. Mr. Corry bore teſtimony of the exertions of government in ſuppreſſing thoſe diſturbances. He had been on the grand jury on the two laſt aſſizes: and though at the Spring aſſizes many rioters of all deſcriptions had been tried and convicted, ſuch was the good effect of the example then made, that very few came before the grand jury at the Summer aſſizes, in proportion to the number that had been committed in the Spring. Mr. George Ponſonby and Mr. Grattan replied in a very animated ſtrain to that part of Mr. Pelham's ſpeech, in which he had aſſerted, that the excluſion of Catholics from parliament and the ſtate, was neceſſary for the crown and the connexion: that he was ready then, and at all times, to meet the queſtion, and to ſupport it with his life and fortune.*

The

* To this, Mr. Grattan thus ſtrongly ſpoke: (17 *Parl. Deb. p.* 48.) "This dreadful, this "deadly, this wild, and this fatal proſcription, when he is calling for volunteers to enrol in the ſer-"vice, what language, what denunciation, what dictation could France have ſuggeſted more oppor-"tune in time, more pregnant in diſaffection, or more authoritative in miſchief? His practical "logic has been, that in times of apprehended invaſion, it is perilous to hold the language of recon-"ciliation,

The ſecond day of the ſeſſion was ordered for the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus Act, when Mr. George Ponſonby obſerved, that were he to ſtand alone, he ſhould exert his utmoſt powers to reſiſt the meaſure. He had every reſpect for his excellency, who was nominally the author of it, while it really belonged to others. He was aware, that the preſent members of adminiſtration in his country, were men of vindictive ſpirit, and he did not wiſh to entruſt the whole perſonal liberty of the ſubject to lovers of vengeance. After paſſing that bill into a law, they might apprehend any perſon obnoxious to them, without even giving reaſons for ſuch arbitrary conduct, and leave them to languiſh in gaol as long as they thought proper. He wiſhed the houſe to make a material diſtinction with regard to words. Miniſters confounded the words *adminiſtration* and *government*; they wiſhed to hold forth all who oppoſed their meaſures as inimical to the king and conſtitution. He was convinced there was a great portion of diſaffection to the preſent adminiſtration, but he could not think the quantum of diſaffection to the conſtitution was much; he did not mean to ſay, there were none diſaffected to the conſtitution, but he was aware, that no quantity of ſedition or treaſon exiſted ſo great or prevalent as to juſtify the paſſing of ſuch an arbitrary law. The end propoſed was not meant as a greater protection to the king and conſtitution. It was deſigned as an inſtrument of terror and vengeance in the hands of miniſters. In that idea he would always oppoſe it, and therefore he moved, that the chairman do leave the chair.

Mr. Prime Serjeant ſaid, if the honorable gentleman diſbelieved the ex-

" ciliation, and diſcreet to hold the language of proſcription. Eternal and indefeaſible proſcrip-
" tion! denounced by a miniſter of the crown, ſpeaking to three-fourths of his majeſty's ſubjects.
" France knew perfectly well, that ſhe had gained Brabant, but ſhe did not know till now, that
" ſhe had gained in the councils of the King of England, that fatal partizan, who, with the beſt in-
" tention in the world, could thus in his majeſty's dominions, and from his ſeat in parliament re-
" cruit for the French republic. The member may rely on it, the Catholic—the Iriſh will not
" long ſubmit to ſuch an interdict; they will not ſuffer a ſtranger (amiable as the right honorable
" member may be, he is but a ſtranger) to tell us on what proud terms Engliſh government will
" conſent to rule in Ireland, ſtill leſs to pronounce and dictate the incapacity of the natives, as the
" terms of her dominion, and the baſe condition of our connection and allegiance. We love the
" monarchy, and we love the connection, as compatible with, and inſtrumental to the preſervation
" of Iriſh liberties—preferring our own liberties and our own people of all religions, to all things,
" and to all other countries. Rely on it, the miniſtry muſt retract that denunciation."

iſtence

ſtence of treaſonable conſpiracies in the country, he muſt have rejected the evidence of his eyes and ears; he himſelf knew, both as a private gentleman and a profeſſional man, that ſuch treaſons did exiſt. Numberleſs concurring inſtances were notoriouſly in proof of that fact, from the trial and conviction of Jackſon to that of Weldon and his accomplices; that of Traynor and other traitors, who were convicted on the cleareſt evidence, proved the fact beyond all rational doubt.

Mr. Duquery called the attention of the houſe to a queſtion of the greateſt moment. A great portion of the liberty of the ſubject was to be ſacrificed without any evidence to juſtify ſuch a meaſure.

In England, when ſuch a law had been reſorted to, the Britiſh miniſter had given ſufficient previous notice, and collected a maſs of evidence; and he muſt wonder, and it muſt pierce the feelings of an Iriſhman, to perceive all the ſhelter of the ſubject to be removed, without the ſmalleſt proof that a conſpiracy exiſted; or if it exiſted, without allowing time for diſcuſſing the expediency of the ſuſpenſion. Why was not a ſecret committee appointed to enquire whether or not ſuch a conſpiracy had exiſted? Surely the houſe was not to rely on a ſhort ſpeech from an attorney general as ſufficient evidence to repeal the Habeas Corpus. He wiſhed miniſters to conſider the tendency of their meaſures; they ought rather to inſpire amongſt the people a love of their king and government, than to goad them to reſiſtance. The fleet being ſent abroad to Newfoundland, and elſewhere, ſhewed that no invaſion was apprehended. Mr. Duquery concluded a very ſtrong and able ſpeech, by ſaying, that laſt ſeſſions the trial by jury had been voted away, and that was to be made memorable by repealing the Habeas Corpus.

The attorney general inſiſted on the precedents which had been reſorted to, as a juſtification of the bill. Fifteen perſons had been lately committed by a warrant from the King's Bench, not inſignificant, but perſons of property and ſome influence, who joined to ſow ſedition and create diſaffection againſt the king and conſtitution. Beſide, the former trials ſhewed, that there did exiſt a rooted conſpiracy in the country, which called aloud for coercion and prevention. It was notorious, that there had been emiſſaries from France, to open the way to an invaſion; and the members of the convention in their ſpeeches talked of preparations for an invaſion.

Mr. Fletcher felt himſelf called upon to animadvert, as he did with ſome aſperity, upon the indecent ſpeed, with which ſuch a bill was ſought to be hurried through the houſe.

Mr.

Mr. Curran conjured the houſe to reflect ſeriouſly upon the moment that had been choſen by adminiſtration for the bringing in of the bill; he thought it a melancholy proof of their want of temper and judgment. In the debates upon that motion, the rights of the Roman Catholics had been ſtrongly urged, and as ſtrongly oppoſed; the diſpoſition of the adminiſtration towards them was fully manifeſted, and the motion was rejected; of the propriety of that rejection he would not ſpeak, he could not but lament it; he lamented ſtill more the effect, that he was ſure the making of the preſent bill the immediate ſequel to that rejection would have on the public mind. At two in the morning the houſe was moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the Habeas Corpus Act; at five minutes paſt two in the morning the bill was read a firſt time, and after a grave and mature deliberation, the bill was ordered to be read, and was accordingly read a ſecond time at ten minutes after two in the morning: its principle was then fully conſidered and approved of; and at fifteen minutes after two in the morning it was laid before a committee of the whole houſe.

Some gentlemen on both ſides held very inflammatory language, and the queſtion being called for at a late hour by the houſe upon Mr. G. Ponſonby's motion, 7 only voted for it, and 137 oppoſed it.

Mr. Grattan on the 17th of February, 1797, introduced the queſtion of Catholic emancipation. He travelled over every old argument, upon which he threw new light: he diſcuſſed all our continental alliances loſt, gained, or retained: ridiculed the idea of Popiſh tenets entering into the grounds of their formation or abandonment. He minutely inveſtigated the principles, pretext, and method of raiſing the Iriſh brigade of 6000 Catholics, under Catholic and French officers. He calculated the numerical and phyſical advantages, which the Britiſh navy and army received from Ireland. He concluded a very long, animated, and elaborate ſpeech, by the following reſolution: * "That the admiſſibility of perſons profeſſing the Roman Catholic "religion

* 17 Parl. Deb. p. 80. Towards the concluſion of the ſpeech, Mr. Grattan thus broke out againſt the perſons whom he conſidered as poſſeſſing and monopolizing the whole power of the ſtate: "Theſe men preſcribe for theſe things as the old natural jobbers of the country, they de-"mand all power and all place, in conſideration of the ſuperior purity and diſintereſtedneſs of their "religion; 'Give us all the good things on earth, in the name of God; and in God's mercy give "nothing to the reſt of our fellow ſubjects!' Thus this pure and pious paſſion for church and "ſtate, turns out to be a ſort of political gluttony—an aſcendancy hunger—a ſtate voracity—an "inordinate appetite for temporal gratifications; in conſideration of ſpiritual perfection; and in "conſequence

" religion to ſeats in parliament is conſiſtent with the ſafety of the crown, " and the connection of Great Britain with Ireland." The reſolution was ſeconded by Mr. G. Ponſonby. Mr. Knox, Sir B. Roche, Sir Frederick Flood, Sir Hercules Langriſhe, and ſeveral other members, who agreed with the principle of the reſolution, voted againſt it, merely becauſe they then thought it unſeaſonable to diſcuſs the queſtion. Dr. Duigenan made a moſt diffuſe and infuriated Philippic againſt Popery, impregnated with every inflammable matter, that the blind prejudice and bigottry of the moſt barbarous ages have ever adminiſtered to the fanatic. He was abuſive in the extreme to the exiſting generation of his Catholic countrymen, and treated Mr. Byrne and Keogh as notorious traitors. Meſſrs. Curran, Duquerry, Fletcher, and Mr. George Ponſonby ſpoke warmly for the queſtion. Mr. G. Ogle and Sir John Parnel againſt it. It was carried at half paſt three o'clock in the morning, by 143 againſt 19. This was the laſt time the queſtion of Catholic emancipation was brought before the Iriſh parliament.

When Mr. Secretary Pelham moved on the 26th of October, 1796, that the houſe ſhould adjourn for about a fortnight; Mr. Curran ſtrongly oppoſed it; particularly upon the grounds of the neceſſity of putting an immediate check upon the ſtill continuing outrageous diſturbances of Armagh, which ſurpaſſed in horror every thing he had ever heard or read. He had on the firſt day of the ſeſſion ſtated the number of families that had become the victims of that infernal barbarity at 700; it was with great pain he mentioned, that upon more minute inquiry, he found as many more muſt be added to the miſerable catalogue: he was in poſſeſſion of evidence, ready to be examined at their bar, and whom he hoped they would hear, which would ſatisfy

" conſequence of this vile and mean, ſelfiſh and beaſtly monopoly, your ſtate becomes an oligarchy, " the worſt ſpecies of oligarchy, a plebeian oligarchy. I love the Proteſtants, I love the Preſby- " terians, and I love the Catholics, that is, I love the Iriſh; if ever my affection abates, it is when " they hate one another." He ſaid he approved of the Britiſh miniſtry, when they liberalized towards the Catholic, and condemned the miniſtry in 1795, when it renounced its liberality and its honor, and returned to its barbarity, and employed Chriſtian ſects, like Hell-hounds, to hunt down one another. That in conſequence of this, they have ſet up in Ireland a proſcriptive ſtate—a proſcriptive parliament—a proſcriptive monarchy—a proſcriptive connexion; they have done ſo, when the condition of the empire is in a great degree feeble, and that of the conſtitution in the laſt degree corrupt. Thus they make the empire feeble, and the conſtituted authorities profligate, and after purpoſe to make them proſcriptive; and do this when they are to encounter abroad, not only the triumph of arms but of revolutions, as one way of defeating both and ſetting them at defiance.

them upon oath, that not leſs than 1400 families had been thus barbarouſly expelled from their houſes, and then were wandering about the neighbouring counties, ſave ſuch of them as might have been murdered, or burned in their cottages, or periſhed in the fields, or highways, by fatigue and famine, and deſpair; and that horrid ſcene had been tranſacted, and was ſtill continuing in the open day, in the heart of the kingdom, without any effectual interference whatſoever.

Mr. Pelham perſiſted in his motion for adjournment; and he thought it incumbent on him, to give his reaſons for ſo doing, to prevent on the one hand, an idea that government was averſe to the inveſtigation of the exceſſes, that had been ſtated by the honorable gentleman: and on the other, that his motive for not oppoſing that inveſtigation, ſhould not be miſunderſtood. He certainly neither wiſhed to evade, or to poſtpone ſuch an inveſtigation; but as what paſſed within thoſe walls, was not always confined to them, he begged to proteſt againſt this conceſſion to an inveſtigation being conſidered as an atonement to the people, for the neglect of government: on the contrary, he ſaid, he was firmly convinced, that when ſuch an enquiry ſhould be inſtituted, it would appear, that government had uſed the utmoſt vigilance and diligence in their endeavours to allay and quell the diſorders that had been ſo much complained of, and ſo ſtrongly painted by the honorable gentleman. He could not, however, help remarking, that all his eloquence had been employed in the deſcription of the outrages committed by one claſs of offenders, and that he had been totally ſilent, as to thoſe (certainly equally atrocious) committed by another claſs: and he hoped, that if it ſhould be thought proper to go into the enquiry ſought by the honorable gentleman, that enquiry might be extended to thoſe enormities practiſed by mobs raiſed for the purpoſe of exciting ſedition, and bearing the ſtandard of diſaffection.

Mr. Grattan thought that his honorable friend could not have any objection to extend the object of the enquiry as far as the right honorable gentleman had mentioned, and he recommended it to him not to preſs his motion: upon which Mr. Pelham's motion paſſed in the affirmative, and the houſe adjourned from various times to the 6th of January, 1797.

The Iriſh nation was at this time worked up to a ſtate of extraordinary fermentation. Some of the operative cauſes were natural and irreſiſtible; others were grounded in reflex malevolence: the moſt of them ſprang out of miſrepreſentation and the rancorous animoſity of party. That ſome of thoſe

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out of parliament, who ſtood the moſt forward on the popular queſtions in Ireland, had at this time baſely become patricides, and imbrued themſelves in the guilt of treaſon is a lamentable truth. But it is alſo a melancholy conſideration to reflect, that the negociations of thoſe traitors with the French cabinet were either unknown, connived at, or ſlighted. It is a notorious fact, that the preparations and intentions of the French government to make a deſcent upon Ireland had been ſpoken of throughout Great Britain and Ireland during the whole of the Autumn, with a conſtancy and familiarity, that bred diſcredit in the people and neglect in the government. The great project of invading that country was particularly encouraged, though not guarded againſt at that moment of renovated and extended hoſtility. Our cabinet either doubted or ſlighted the preparation and energy of the enemy. The armament, deſigned for this great expedition, had been preparing, at Breſt, during the whole Summer. It conſiſted of twenty-five ſhips of the line, including the ſeven that compoſed the ſquadron of Admiral Richery, who was to join it with all ſpeed, fifteen ſtout frigates, beſides ſloops and tranſports for an army of 25,000 men, to be commanded by General Hoche, whoſe military abilities were eſteemed equal to thoſe of any officer in the French ſervice, Moreau and Buonaparte himſelf ſcarcely excepted.

Through ſeveral unforeſeen accidents this armament was not ready for ſailing till the 18th of December. On going out of Breſt, ſome of the largeſt ſhips ſtruck upon the rocks at the mouth of the harbour, ſeveral were loſt, and others rendered unfit for ſervice. The day after its departure, a violent ſtorm aroſe, which diſperſed the fleet, and damaged many of the ſhips. This tempeſtuous weather laſted during the whole time of the expedition. On the 24th, Admiral Bouvet, commander in chief of the French fleet, anchored with ſeven ſhips of the line, and ten others, in Bantry Bay. In order to reconnoitre the country, a boat was diſpatched towards ſhore; but it was immediately captured, and multitudes appeared on the beach in readineſs to oppoſe a landing. After lying ſome days in this bay, the ſtorminеſs of the weather increaſed, and on receiving no intelligence of General Hoche and his ſtaff, who were in a frigate, that parted from the fleet in the gale of wind, the French admiral determined to quit his poſition, and return to France. The land officers inſiſted on landing the troops; but, as General Hoche was abſent, he refuſed to comply with their repreſentations, and ſet ſail for Breſt, where he arrived on the laſt day of December. The other di-

viſions of his fleet had alſo the good fortune to reach that harbour, with the loſs, however, of five ſhips; two of the line, and three frigates: one of the latter was captured by the Engliſh, and two foundered at ſea, with one of the former. The other, after a deſperate engagement, with ſome ſhips of the Britiſh ſquadron, off Breſt, ran aſhore to prevent being taken.

The fate of this fleet of the enemy, proved, that a ſuperior naval force is not, in all caſes, a certain ſecurity againſt invaſion. Ireland, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the Britiſh fleet, was ſixteen days at the mercy of the enemy, and ſaved from attack only by the elements.

Such was the iſſue of that famous expedition: the real object of which had long kept Europe in ſuſpence. The failure of it was owing to a ſtring of fortuitous circumſtances, which certainly leave no merit to the attention, vigilance, or energy of government. No preparation whatever was made either by land or ſea to reſiſt the invaſion, on behalf of either the Britiſh or Iriſh cabinet: the contradictory communications of the rebel leaders with the French cabinet, occaſioned a like want of preparation to receive the enemy on the part of the Iriſh directory.* And the people were loyal, becauſe

* The ſecret committee of the Lords in 1798 (viii Lords' Journ. p. 142) gives the following account of this tranſaction: "It appears by the report of the ſecret committee of this houſe made "in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, that a meſſenger had been diſpatched by the ſociety of United "Iriſhmen to the executive directory of the French republic, upon a treaſonable miſſion, between "the month of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-five, and the month of January, one "thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ſix, at which time the meſſenger ſo ſent had returned to "Ireland: and your committee have ſtrong reaſon to believe, that Edward John Lewins, who "now is, and has been, for a conſiderable time, the accredited reſident ambaſſador of the Iriſh re-"bellious union to the French republic, was the perſon thus diſpatched in the Summer of one "thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-five. It appears to your committee, that the propoſition ſo "made by the French directory, of aſſiſtance to the rebels of this kingdom, was taken into con-"ſideration by the executive directory of the Iriſh union immediately after it was communicated "to them, that they did agree to accept the proffered aſſiſtance, and that their determination was "made known to the directory of the French republic by a ſpecial meſſenger; and your committee "have ſtrong reaſon to believe, that the invaſion of this kingdom which was afterwards attempted, "was fully arranged at an interview which took place in Switzerland, in the Summer of one "thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ſix, near the French frontier, between Lord Edward Fitz-"gerald, the aforeſaid Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and General Hoche. It appears to your committee, "that in the month of October or November, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ſix, the hoſ-"tile armament which ſoon after appeared in Bantry Bay, was announced to the Iriſh directory by a "ſpecial meſſenger diſpatched from France, who was alſo inſtructed to enquire into the ſtate of pre-"paration

cauſe left to themſelves. Nothing could exceed the conſternation, which the report of the arrival of the French fleet off Bantry Bay created in the capital, except the loyalty and zeal of all ranks of people to go out and meet the enemy. Notwithſtanding the extreme rigor of the ſeaſon, the ſouthern roads were covered with troops on their march, and an active peaſantry vieing with each other in clearing the roads, and adminiſtering to the troops whatever comforts their ſcanty means and bountiful hearts enabled them. The fortuitous failure of the French invaſion was a critical moment for Ireland: it had furniſhed a very ſtrong and unexpected teſt of the loyal diſpoſition of the Iriſh people; and ſome real patriots fondly augured from it favorable ſymptoms from government towards their countrymen. Reports were circulated with credit, that meaſures of conciliation towards Ireland had been reſolved on by the Britiſh cabinet. Catholic emancipation and temperate reform were now confidentially again ſpoken of: and Lord Camden, whoſe adminiſtration was pledged to reſiſt thoſe two queſtions, it was generally expected would immediately reſign. Theſe flattering proſpects were encouraged by the then prevailing report, that the Prince of Wales had offered his ſervices to the King to go to Ireland in quality of lord lieutenant, and to exert all his popularity with that nation, in reſtoring it to tranquillity. His royal highneſs had propoſed to take with him Lord Moira as commander in chief, with a ſplendid eſtabliſhment worthy of the dignity of the people, whoſe royalty he was to repreſent. The prince had at this time entered cordially into the true political ſituation of that kingdom; and in order that no miſtake might even be pretended, relative to his royal highneſs's ſentiments upon the Iriſh nation, he delivered a paper to the miniſter, drawn up in the

" paration in which this country ſtood, which armament was then ſtated to the Iriſh directory to " conſiſt of fifteen thouſand troops, together with a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition, " intended for the uſe of the Iriſh republican union. In a few days after the departure of the meſ- " ſenger, who had been thus ſent to announce the ſpeedy arrival of this armament on the coaſts of " this kingdom, it appears to your committee, that a letter from France was received by the Iriſh " directory, which was conſidered by them as authentic, ſtating that the projected deſcent was " poſtponed for ſome months, and to this circumſtance it has been fairly acknowledged to your " committee, by one of the Iriſh directory, that this country was indebted for the good conduct " of the people in the province of Munſter, when the enemy appeared in Bantry Bay. He has " confeſſed, that theſe contradictory communications threw the Iriſh directory off their guard, in " conſequence of which they omitted to prepare the people for the reception of the enemy. He " has confeſſed, that the people were loyal, becauſe they were left to themſelves."

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moſt conciſe, energetic, and conſtitutional language, expreſſive of his diſpoſition and judgment in favor of a ſyſtem of conciliation. The Britiſh miniſter received the propoſition with all the reſpect, which the patriotiſm, judgment, and virtue of the exalted character who made it, deſerved. It was the ſubject for a time of moſt important diſcuſſion: but the power of the Iriſh junto prevailed: the ſyſtem of coercion preponderated: and the offer even of the heir apparent to the crown to attempt the conciliation of the Iriſh people was rejected. Both the Britiſh and Iriſh miniſters appeared to dread the opportunity, which Ireland would then have of teſtifying their predilection and admiration of that illuſtrious prince; and the occaſion, which ſuch an appointment would afford to his royal highneſs of diſplaying his affection for the people of Ireland, in a mild ſyſtem of meaſures, politic at all times, neceſſary at that time, and ſupereminently congenial with his own diſpoſition and ſentiments.*

The critical moment of the French retiring from the Iriſh coaſt from want

* Objections were induſtriouſly circulated againſt the appointment of the prince, as a matter wholly unprecedented. Many and powerful reaſons plead in favor of the appointment of their future monarch: few and weak are the reaſons againſt it. In the ſpace of about 300 years hiſtory affords us no fewer than fourteen precedents of princes of the blood having been appointed chief governors of Ireland. It muſt certainly be the true policy of a ſound government to ingratiate a country, ſeldom bleſt with the preſence of their monarch, to the reigning family. The following are the inſtances, in which princes of the blood royal have been appointed to the government of Ireland:

*Under* HENRY II.

A. D. 1177 John, Earl of Moreton, ſon to the king.
1185 The ſame.

HENRY III.

1252 Prince Edward, eldeſt ſon to the king.

EDWARD III.

Sept. 8th, 1361 Lionel, Duke of Lancaſter, third ſon to the king.

HENRY IV.

Nov. 13th, 1401 Thomas, Duke of Lancaſter, ſon to the king.
1406 The ſame.
1408 The ſame.

HENRY VI.

A. D. 1449 Richard, Duke of York.
1459 The ſame.

EDWARD IV.

1462 George, Duke of Clarence, brother to the king.

RICHARD III.

1483 Edward, eldeſt ſon to the king.

HENRY VII.

1495 Henry, Duke of York, ſecond ſon to the king, afterward Henry VIII.
1498 The ſame.

of

of internal co-operation, would have been a fortunate hour to that kingdom, had proper advantage been taken of it, to reclaim the malcontents, and afford that redreſs which then was generally called for, uprightly and ſincerely by moſt, inſidiouſly and traitorouſly by ſome few. It has been avowed by ſome of the leading characters of that rebellious *union, that after the intended deſcent had failed, it occurred to ſome members of the aſſociation, and their friends in the city, and to ſome of the moſt conſiderate of the united Iriſhmen, that one more attempt ſhould be made in favor of parliamentary reform. They hoped, that the terrible warning which had been given by the facility of reaching our coaſts, and if the armament had landed, the poſſibility at leaſt of its ſucceeding, would have ſhewn the borough proprietors the neceſſity of conceding to the popular wiſh. The ſtorm had diſperſed a cloud big with danger, but it might again collect, and the thunder of republic and revolution again roll, and perhaps burſt over their heads. This was then judged the beſt moment to perſuade them in the midſt of their fears, to a meaſure ſtrictly counter-revolutionary. On that occaſion the three memorializing unioniſts declared, that no greater connection had ever ſubſiſted between any of the members of the oppoſition and the united Iriſhmen, except in that inſtance, and for the accompliſhment of that purpoſe. In conſequence of their joint efforts, a meeting was holden at the Exchange, which declared in favor of the reform, and a propoſal of that nature was ſubmitted to parliament. If in the courſe of that effort for reform it had not become evident, that ſucceſs was hopeleſs, it was the wiſh of many among the united Iriſhmen, and the executive would have gladly embraced the occaſion of declining to hold any further intercourſe with France, except ſending a meſſenger there to tell them, that the difference between the government and the people had been adjuſted, and that they would have no buſineſs a ſecond time to attempt a landing.

It is not to be wondered at, that perſons, who have taken the deſperate ſtep of involving themſelves in high treaſon, ſhould for their iniquitous purpoſes aſſume the garb of extraordinary and zealous attachment to the conſtitution. Thus did Mr. Arthur O'Connor foully impoſe upon ſome of the firſt and moſt pure political characters of the age, both in his own country and in Great Britain. It is impoſſible to acquit him under the conſciouſneſs

* Memoir, p. 18.

of

of his own guilt of a malicious intent rather to injure and malign his pretended friends by his intimacy, than to ſcreen his crimes under their virtue. Hitherto he was not known to have proceeded to any overt act, by which he could be convicted of guilt. About the end of January, 1797, he wrote and circulated a very inflammatory letter to his fellow citizens upon the general criſis of affairs, and particularly in commendation of the ſpirit and engagements of the united Iriſhmen. It produced a ſtrong effect upon the public mind; government took the alarm; Mr. Arthur O'Connor was arreſted for it, by an order of the privy council, and cloſely confined as a ſtate priſoner in the Tower.*

†On the 6th of January, 1797, Mr. Secretary Pelham, in his place, read to the houſe a meſſage from his excellency the lord lieutenant, in purport, That his excellency was commanded by his majeſty, to acquaint his faithful parliament, with deep concern on the part of his majeſty, that his exertions to prevent a farther extenſion of the miſeries of warfare in Europe, by an amicable adjuſtment of the matters lately pending in diſcuſſion with the court of Spain, had failed of ſucceſs, and terminated, on the part of Spain, by an abrupt and aggreſſive declaration of war againſt Great Britain.

The meſſage then adverted to the failure of the negociation with the power executing the government of France, which was alſo abruptly broken off by that power, without any diſcuſſion of the principle or objects propoſed as a ground of peace, with peremptory orders for his majeſty's ambaſſador to quit the French territory within forty-eight hours.

The meſſage next recurred to the recent attempt of an enemy's ſquadron to invade the ſhores of that country; and while his excellency expreſſed the deep ſenſe of the ſpirit, the alacrity, and the loyalty manifeſted on that occaſion, he avowed his majeſty's command to declare in his royal name the moſt favorable ſenſe and higheſt approbation of the general ſpirit of loyalty and alacrity, which on that occaſion univerſally actuated his majeſty's regular troops, militia, yeomanry corps, and every claſs of his faithful ſubjects; expreſſing at the ſame time, that the ſame tempeſt, which, providentially for Ireland, proved ſo deſtructive to the enemy's ſquadron, had prevented

* In order to ſhew the progreſs of the rebellion, and the means, by which many were ſeduced from their allegiance, this letter may be ſeen in the Appendix, No. C.

† 17 Parl. Deb. p. 154.

his

his fleets from coming time enough to their coaſts to complete their ruin, but which, it was hoped, would be effected before they could reach France.

His majeſty, ever zealous for the ſafety of his kingdom of Ireland, had in readineſs to embark for her aid an ample force, had the landing of an enemy rendered it neceſſary.

Mr. Pelham then gave notice, that he ſhould on the morrow move for a committee of the whole houſe, to take his excellency's meſſage into conſideration. And when on the next day he moved an addreſs to his majeſty, for his gracious communication, which as uſual re-echoed the ſeveral parts of the meſſage, except the laſt paragraph, which expreſſed the gratitude of the houſe for the continuation of Lord Camden in the government of the country, and their high approbation of his adminiſtration;

Mr. Grattan ſaid, that the addreſs comprehended a variety of ſubjects, on which there would probably be no difference of opinion, but to ſeveral he could not, for one, perfectly agree. That part, for inſtance, which related to the failure of the negociation with France, and that relative to the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters, ſo far as it concerned the invaſion, would certainly not meet with a unanimous approbation. With reſpect to the invaſion, all would indeed agree, that the loyalty, the zeal, and the promptneſs of the country deſerved even more panegyric, than the addreſs beſtowed upon it: but why then combine that queſtion, on which all were agreed, with that other queſtion, whether the adminiſtration of Great Britain had been equally zealous in affording to Ireland the protection of the Britiſh navy? Why combine it with the negociation for peace, in which the ſincerity of the miniſter was at leaſt queſtionable? He thought it, therefore, neceſſary to amend the addreſs in theſe inſtances; and accordingly moved an amendment: "That "this houſe feel the higheſt confidence in his majeſty's wiſhes for the reſto- "ration of peace, and his ſolicitude for the ſafety of this kingdom; but "could not implicitly concur, that his majeſty's miniſters had been ſerious in "their negociations for that object with France; or that the naval force of "Great Britain had been exerted on the late alarming occaſion with due vi- "gilance or activity for the protection of this kingdom." It was ſeconded by Mr. William Brabazon Ponſonby.

The debate was continued with much heat and ſome acrimony; it principally bore upon the point of Great Britain's having ſo totally abandoned the defence of Ireland, even under the avowedly known purpoſe of the Breſt

armament, that not one Britiſh ſhip of the line was to be ſeen off the whole coaſt of that country. The oppoſition in parliament had ſo much dwindled, that upon the diviſion, 7 only voted for Mr. Grattan's amendment, againſt 90 who oppoſed it.

Although very beneficial effects might proceed from the appointment of aſſiſtant barriſters to attend the ſeſſions, which gave to government a new patronage of about 13,000*l.* per annum, under the civil bill act of the laſt ſeſſion, yet the gentlemen of the oppoſition within, and moſt of the popular party without the walls of parliament, inveighed againſt the eſtabliſhment, as calculated more for a miniſterial job, than for utility to the country: and on the 13th of February, 1797, Mr. William Smith, upon the report of an intended appointment of a country gentleman to fill a vacancy in the county of Wexford, who was no practiſing barriſter, made a long ſpeech upon the ſubject. He was, he ſaid, particularly called upon to advert to this threatened violation of a clauſe in that act, becauſe he had taken a ſhare in its introduction.* Upon a reply from the ſolicitor general, which imported, that the perſon alluded to would not be appointed, the matter paſſed over.

Sir Lawrence Parſons, than whom no man looked more earneſtly to the ſtrength, honor, and ſupport of his country, complained on the 20th of February, that pledged as he ſtood to bring forward on that day a propoſition for the defence of the kingdom at that critical period, he could not juſtify to himſelf or his conſtituents any further delay. Sir John Blaquiere then obſerved, that forty-four days had paſſed, ſince the enemy had quitted their ports, and that the addition of another day's delay would be but a ſmall ſacrifice. He made the ſtrongeſt eulogium on what Sir Lawrence Parſons had ſaid; that it was a ſpirit like his would ſave the country, but was happy that he had acceded to the adjournment, having the greateſt reliance on what might be expected from the wiſdom and talents of Mr. Pelham, on the following day.

Then Mr. G. Ponſonby gave notice of his intention to bring forward, on the firſt open day, a queſtion for inveſtigating the ſteps taken by his majeſty's miniſters for the defence of this country, previouſly to, and during the late

* 17 Parl. Deb. p. 305. The clauſe empowered the lord lieutenant to appoint either a barriſter of ſix years ſtanding and actually practiſing at the time of appointment, or who had actually practiſed for ſix years, and was not actually retired for more than two years from practiſing in his majeſty's courts in Dublin.

attempt

attempt of invaſion, and to move for certain documents preparatory to the enquiry. To which, by the deſire of the attorney general, he, after a ſhort preface, moved: "That an humble addreſs be preſented to the lord lieute-" nant, praying that his excellency would be pleaſed to order to be laid be-" fore the houſe extracts of ſuch communications as had been received by " government from his Grace the Duke of Portland, between the 1ſt of " Auguſt laſt and the 20th of December, relative to an invaſion of that " country."

Mr. Pelham oppoſed the motion, becauſe it appeared to him impoſſible, that ſuch papers could be made public without communicating to the enemy a knowledge of many things, which it would be highly improper they ſhould be informed of. He was willing to allow, and indeed the ſpeech of his excellency on the opening of the ſeſſion had declared, that adminiſtration had intelligence of the intended invaſion ſo early as the beginning of October laſt. He thought this would be conſidered as a ſufficient ground for the honorable member on which to found his enquiry, without ſeeking to diſcloſe the correſpondence of government.

Mr. Ponſonby contended, that it was of much importance to learn whether government had not full information on this ſubject, ſo early as the beginning of Auguſt, three months before the opening of the ſeſſion, within which period they had ample opportunity of putting the country into a ſtate of defence. But in order to obviate the objection of the right honorable member, he would be content if the right honorable member would ſtate to the houſe, at what time government firſt had notice of the intended deſcent; to which requeſt Mr. Pelham made no reply, and the queſtion was put, and negatived without a diviſion.

Mr. Ponſonby then moved, ſucceſſively, that addreſſes ſhould be preſented to his excellency, praying him to lay before the houſe,

"An account of the number of effective troops in the province of Mun-" ſter, on the 20th of December laſt:" and "An account of the number of " effective troops of the line, and in the regiments of militia and fencibles in " this kingdom, on the 20th of December laſt:" and "An account of the " cannon fit for ſervice on the ſame day, alſo the quantity of ammunition in " the magazines, and the quantity of camp equipage and arms fit for imme-" diate ſervice."

Each of theſe motions was oppoſed, as tending to diſcloſe the ſituation of the country, and create diſcontent and fear in the public mind.

Sir Lawrence Parſons then roſe to enquire of Mr. Secretary Pelham, on the part of the country, and of the houſe, what meaſures he intended to propoſe on that momentous ſubject, mutual defence.

Mr. Pelham ſtated, the reſult of his exertions for that country to be, that the two countries ſhould, as occaſion might require, aſſiſt each other; that if Ireland wanted troops, in caſe of an attack, Great Britain ſhould ſend ſome of hers; and that if Great Britain, on the other hand, ſhould need aſſiſtance againſt an invading enemy, Ireland ſhould lend her ſimilar aſſiſtance. Beſides this, he briefly mentioned ſome other arrangements of a pecuniary nature, in which Ireland was to receive aſſiſtance from Great Britain; but which would come more properly to be explained in the committee of ſupply.

A moſt extraordinary debate followed this reſolution. The houſe being in committee, many of the members availed themſelves of their privilege of ſpeaking more than once, and between three and four o'clock in the morning, they reported progreſs and adjourned. The oppoſition members were ſevere on government for leaving the country in that defenceleſs ſtate; and amongſt the various modes of defence propoſed, ſtrongly urged an augmentation of the yeomanry corps to the amount of 50,000 men; which Mr. M. Beresford, who ſpoke from authority, explicitly reprobated, as a moſt miſchievous meaſure; and he was ſupported by Lord Caſtlereagh. When Sir Lawrence Parſons complained of the oppoſition given by government to every mode of defence propoſed, Mr. Pelham thought proper to diſclaim any ſuſpicion on the part of government againſt arming the people under the yeomanry act. The debate ended in the adoption of Sir John Blaquiere's motion, that 10,000 men ſhould be raiſed for the public ſervice: it being underſtood, that the mode of raiſing them, and the bounties to be given, ſhould be entirely in the diſcretion of the government.

*On a ſubſequent night (the 24th) Sir Lawrence Parſons, after a very animated ſpeech on the neceſſity of a permanent internal defence, moved the following reſolution: "That it is the opinion of this houſe, that a conſidera-" ble augmentation ſhould be made to the yeomanry infantry, in addition " to the preſent force of the country; and an addreſs be preſented to his

* 17 Parl. Deb. p. 351.

" excellency

" excellency the lord lieutenant, praying, that he would be pleaſed to take " the moſt effectual and ſpeedy ſteps for that purpoſe; the exigency of the " preſent times requiring, that the moſt prompt and extenſive meaſures of " defence be taken."

Mr. Pelham ſaid, that in hearing the honorable baronet, he had for ſome time forgot himſelf; and ſuppoſed he had been in one of the circles of Germany, where different parties bid for the people. Was that the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, lately ſo zealous for the defence of the country, that he heard it urged, the people would attach themſelves to the firſt invader, if arms were not put into their hands by government? What had changed the people whom, as the honorable baronet had ſaid on a former night, he had ſeen with ſuch alacrity drawing the cannon of his battalion? He then went into a refutation of the aſſertions of Sir Lawrence Parſons, that the French had, in the laſt armament, 25,000 men; he contended, from the beſt authority, that there were not at moſt above 12,000 men; that were they to come again, ſuch meaſures had been concerted with Great Britain, that a large body of troops ſhould in a few hours be in Ireland. That it was abſurd to ſuppoſe, the Britiſh miniſter would not be intereſted for the ſafety of Ireland.

Mr. Grattan followed Mr. Pelham, and gave a very animated ſupport to the motion of the honorable baronet. One would have thought, he ſaid, from the vehemence with which the honorable baronet had been oppoſed, that he had propoſed to diminiſh or diſband the army or militia, inſtead of adding 50,000 men to the defence of the country. The honorable baronet ſaid, it was neceſſary to face a victorious enemy with a large force, and make that force conſiſt of the people. The Engliſh ſervant of the Engliſh miniſter ſaid, " What! " would you have me bid for the people?" He would ſay to that Engliſh deputy of that Engliſh miniſter, if he would not bid for the people, he might go about his buſineſs. If he would not bid for the people, the monſter of democracy, which had conquered Spain, Holland, Germany, and Italy, by bidding for the people, would bid for the people of Ireland. The bidding of the miniſter would then come too late. He had aſked, who could be more intereſted for the ſafety of Ireland, than the Britiſh miniſter? He would anſwer, Ireland herſelf. To refer to the Britiſh miniſter the ſafety of that country, was the moſt ſottiſh folly; it was falſe and unparliamentary to ſay, that the houſe had no right to recommend a meaſure, ſuch as the honorable baronet propoſed. Had it been a propoſition to increaſe the regular ſtanding army,

army, it might perhaps have been a little irregular; but when an increaſe of 10,000 to the ſtanding army was propoſed by a right honorable baronet the other night, it was not conſidered as an affront. Now another honorable baronet comes forward to give an army five fold as many, and five fold as cheap, and adminiſtration are affronted. Why? Becauſe that army was of the people. If the doctrine the right honorable member advanced were true, and that the duty of parliament now were become nothing more than merely to vote taxes, and echo three millions, when the miniſter ſaid three millions are wanted, then indeed *actum eſt de parliamento*; a reform of the repreſentation was become then more than ever neceſſary.

After a debate, which was kept up with unuſual heat till four o'clock in the morning, 25 voted for Sir Lawrence Parſons's motion, and 125 oppoſed it.

On the 27th, Mr. George Ponſonby moved for a vote of cenſure on the miniſtry for having been highly criminal for their neglect and unſkilfulneſs in the proviſion, direction, and diſtribution of the military and naval force of the country, in the threatened invaſion in the month of December laſt; which, after midnight, was negatived without a diviſion.* The like fate attended Mr. Vandeleur's motion for an abſentee tax, which was warmly debated to a very late hour: on this diviſion,† more ſided with the minority than on any

* It muſt readily appear, that the fate of this queſtion was decided by influence, not by an inveſtigation of facts. Mr. Grattan ſpoke in the debate, by merely making a ſtatement. (17 *Parl. Deb.. p.* 874.) "The circumſtance of the French fleet eſcaping two Britiſh fleets, riding triumphantly for ſeventeen days, and getting back unmoleſted, formed a phœnomenon in the naval hiſtory of Great Britain, which challenges enquiry. The plea urged in excuſe, that the Admiralty was not acquainted with the deſtination of the French fleet, was a great aggravation of the neglect; though the truth of the plea were confirmed, by the declaration of the Britiſh miniſter, that the report of the French fleet being off the coaſt of Ireland was nothing more than the phrenzy of common fame."

† Lord Caſtlereagh took a very prominent part in oppoſing this queſtion; to whom Mr. Vandeleur thus replied: "It was inſinuated by a noble lord (Caſtlereagh), that it was preſumptuous in a man of his age and experience to propoſe to that houſe a meaſure of ſuch vaſt importance: he muſt confeſs, he did not poſſeſs the ſame advantages of political education with the noble lord: he well knew the Caſtle was a hot-bed, which opened the underſtanding and matured the judgment. It had ſo completely eradicated all prejudices from the mind of the noble lord, that he was unable to perceive, whether he ſpoke the language of the miniſter, or deputy miniſter of the Engliſh cabinet, or that of the repreſentative of a great, populous, and independent country; which, by great and manly exertions, had uſhered him into that houſe on the ſhoulders of popularity."

other

other queſtion during the ſeſſion; there being 49 for, and 123 againſt the motion.

The internal ſituation of the country was at this time truly awful. For ſome months had turbulence and inſurrection ſhewn themſelves in different parts of the kingdom. The lord lieutenant had been obliged to proclaim ſeveral counties and diſtricts, under the inſurrection act, to be in a ſtate of diſturbance. The different inſurgents appeared to be unconnected with each other; for generally upon the appearance of the ſlighteſt military force they diſperſed or returned to their duty: their turbulence was various; not ſyſtematic, nor organized.

In the preceding months of December, January, and February, many diſtricts in the northern counties were proclaimed.* Amongſt other diſtreſſes of the times brought on by the war, was the order of the privy council to the governors and company of the Bank of Ireland to diſcontinue payments in ſpecie. This overwhelming circumſtance filled the minds of the public with freſh diffidence, alarm, and diſcontent. It was communicated by Mr. Pelham to the parliament on the 1ſt of March; and afterwards debated with ſome ineffectual oppoſition. So critical at this period was the internal ſtate of Ireland to the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire, that it arreſted the attention of both houſes of the Britiſh parliament.

In the Britiſh Houſe of Commons on the 3d of March, 1797, the order of the day having been read for inſtituting an enquiry into the conduct of miniſters on occaſion of the late attempt of the French to invade Ireland, Mr. Whitbread entered into a full detail of the circumſtances attending the whole of that expedition. After commenting upon the nature and effects of public and private information, and ſtating, that General Dalrymple had not at that time 3000 regular troops to oppoſe to the enemy; that there were ſtores unprotected in Cork to the amount of a million and a half, the great ſupply for the Britiſh navy for the enſuing year, he made the following regular ſtatement of the motions of our own and the French fleets from the time of the enemy quitting the harbour of Breſt, and a ſhort period antecedent thereto. Admiral Colpoys, with a fleet of fourteen or fifteen ſail of the line, was lying off Breſt harbour for ſome weeks. The French fleet, however, in

* The proclamations all ran in one form; a ſpecimen of which is to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. CI.

defiance

defiance of this, ſailed from Breſt on the 15th of December. On the 20th of that month they arrived on the coaſt of Ireland, and ſome of them dropped anchor in Bantry Bay. Previous to that, and during the time that Admiral Colpoys was with his ſquadron lying off Breſt, Admiral Richery, with ſix French ſhips of the line, paſſed the ſquadron of Admiral Colpoys, and got ſafe into Breſt. On the 21ſt the enemy caſt anchor in Bantry Bay; ſo that they were at ſea, and on the coaſt of Ireland, from the 18th of December to the 6th of January. On the 20th of December news arrived in England, that the French fleet had quitted Breſt. From the 23d to the 25th, the wind was favorable for the ſquadron under the command of Lord Bridport to have ſailed. It continued fair on the 26th and 27th, after which it came a-head, and the fleet could not ſail for ſome days. On the 31ſt intelligence came to this country, that the French fleet was off the coaſt of Ireland, and on the ſame day, exactly, Admiral Colpoys, with the fleet under his command, arrived at Portſmouth. The reaſons given for his return with this ſquadron were various and contradictory. One was, that his force was not ſufficient to encounter that of the enemy. If that were a true reaſon, it furniſhed an additional cauſe for an enquiry into the conduct of miniſters, and of the firſt lord of the admiralty in particular. What, when they had received information of the active and extenſive preparations going forward at Breſt, after the large ſums conſumed in ſecret ſervice money, and the immenſe navy in our poſſeſſion, ought they not to have ſent out freſh ſhips to reinforce that ſquadron? Admiral Colpoys muſt have received intelligence of the ſailing of the Breſt fleet. Did he ſail in purſuit of them? Did he ſail towards the coaſt of Portugal after them, where it might perhaps have occurred to him they were gone? No. Did he ſail after them towards the coaſt of Ireland? No: he ſailed directly for Portſmouth, where he arrived on the very day, that information was brought they were on the Iriſh coaſt. Another reaſon, which had been given for the return of this ſquadron into port was, that it was ſhort of proviſions. Admiral Elphinſtone arrived in Ireland, in the Monarch of 74 guns, accompanied by a frigate. He gave notice to the caſtle of Dublin, that he, with the ſhip under his command, and with that frigate, was ready to join any other force that might be allotted for the purpoſe to go in ſearch of the enemy. Admiral Kingſmill, who was ſtationed at Cork, alſo iſſued orders for ſeveral frigates and the Monarch to ſail in queſt of the enemy. Yet, on the 3d of January, Admiral Elphinſtone arrived at Spithead, with the Monarch,

without

without having ſeen any of the enemy's fleet. On the ſame day Lord Bridport, with the ſquadron under his command, ſailed from thence. He went firſt to Breſt, as the moſt likely track for falling in with the enemy's ſhips. In that idea, however, he was diſappointed: for his lordſhip, after ſome days waiting there to no effect or purpoſe, thought it neceſſary to ſhape his courſe to the coaſt of Ireland. In this farther purſuit he was equally unſucceſsful; and on the 3d of February he returned to Spithead with the fleet under his command, without having fallen in with, or even ſeen one ſingle ſhip belonging to the ſhattered, diſperſed, and divided fleet of the enemy. Thus the deſigns of the enemy were only fruſtrated by the winds, and the ſafety of Ireland entirely abandoned to the chance of the elements. Such was the regular ſtatement of events as they ſucceſſively occurred; and thoſe were the grounds on which he meant to found the motion: "That it be referred to "a committee, to enquire into the conduct of miniſters, with reſpect to the "late attempt of the French in the invaſion of Ireland."

Mr. Secretary Dundas in reply, after much prefatory matter, gave his ſtatement of facts to the following effect. Prior to the ſailing of the French fleet from Breſt, the admiralty had received intelligence, that ſuch a fleet was in preparation; it was not poſitively known whether it were intended to ſail againſt Portugal or Ireland, or ſome part of the Britiſh dominions. Sometimes it was rumoured to be intended againſt Gibraltar, and at others it was expected to be prepared for an attack upon ſome of our more diſtant poſſeſſions. The admiralty, however, had ſome reaſon to believe, that either Portugal or Ireland was the object of its deſtination. Miniſters adopted ſuch meaſures as the nature of circumſtances ſeemed to require. They took the propereſt and beſt poſſible meaſures which could be taken with their uncertainty of the enemy's deſigns; for it is to be obſerved, that they had not only to watch the hoſtile armaments of the enemy, and provide a ſufficient force in every quarter, which they deemed affailable, to reſiſt them, but they were compelled moreover to provide a large and adequate force at the ſame time for the protection of our outward and homeward bound fleets. Under theſe circumſtances, government thought it the wiſeſt plan to ſeparate the fleets into different diviſions. One fleet was ſtationed off Breſt to watch the enemy, and intercept the ſailing of the expedition; another fleet was ſtationed at home to relieve the fleet off Breſt, if neceſſary, or to purſue the enemy if it ſhould fail, or attend to any exigencies which might poſſibly ariſe. The fleet off Breſt, under the command of Admiral Thompſon, was

put under the command of Admiral Colpoys on the 9th of October; orders were iſſued from the admiralty to Admiral Thompſon, from whom Admiral Colpoys received his inſtructions to take care of a partial diſpoſition of the Britiſh fleet under his command off Breſt, in caſe of a diſperſion of the enemy in ſailing from that port. He was to hover about their coaſt, and watch over them till they ſhould ſail, and, provided they ſteered to the ſouthward, he was immediately to diſpatch a cutter to Admiral Vandeput at Liſbon, to give communication of the ſame; or, provided they ſteered to the northward, he was to diſpatch a cutter to Admiral Kingſmill at Cork, at the ſame time taking care to give the earlieſt intelligence at home. Surely it was impoſſible to ſelect any orders in preference to theſe; at leaſt he could not imagine, that, conſidering all the circumſtances of the caſe, any better could have been adopted. He then corrected a ſtatement which had gone abroad, that no frigate or ſquadron was appointed by the admiralty to watch over the preparations of the enemy in Breſt harbour, and give an account of the ſame to Admiral Colpoys, as circumſtances ſhould require: for it was a poſitive fact, that Sir Edward Pellew was appointed, and did actually cruize in Breſt harbour. He was there the very day the armament was in motion; he was there the very day it ſailed too, and he conveyed to Admiral Colpoys's look-out ſhip, the Marlborough, an account of their progreſs and their ſailing; and he ſent a farther intelligence of the loſs of one of the enemy's ſhips (Les Droits de L'Homme) in coming out of the harbour. So it appears, that what ought to have been done, was done. But notwithſtanding the diligence, intelligence, and ſkill of Admiral Colpoys, and notwithſtanding the experience, courage, and ability of Sir Edward Pellew, their exertions were in vain. Though Sir Edward Pellew ſent off intelligence, that the enemy ſailed the 16th, it was not till the 24th of December that the look-out ſhip, the Marlborough, received the account of it: for the ſtate of the weather was ſuch, that it was impoſſible for Admiral Colpoys even to keep his own fleet under his obſervation; and the air was ſo hazy and ſo foggy, that the fog guns were continually fired. With regard to the enemy's ſailing, the houſe was then in the real poſſeſſion of the caſe, but ſo uncertain were both the officers alluded to with reſpect to the actual views of the enemy, that both Sir Edward Pellew and Admiral Colpoys believed they were undoubtedly deſtined for Portugal, and Sir Edward Pellew ſent off to Admiral Vandeput, at Liſbon, to give him notice thereof. But Admiral Colpoys knowing, for the firſt time, on the 24th of December, that the enemy had

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ſailed on the 16th, and there having been a hurricane on the 17th, he believed the French ſhips might have been diſperſed in the ſtorm, and regulated his conduct accordingly. He thought it the wiſeſt reſolution not to follow them to Portugal or Ireland, becauſe he was uncertain of their deſtination, and he therefore kept his ſtation, on account of the chance of interrupting the return of all or part of the fleet in caſe of a diſperſion by the ſtorm. He recollected alſo, that the circumſtance of the enemy's having ſailed would be known by the admiralty, and that, by keeping his ſtation, he ſhould have the means of receiving ſuch authentic intelligence as he could not otherwiſe expect. If he were not able to keep his ſtation by the prevalence of the ſouth weſt winds off Breſt, he was to rendezvous off the Lizard Point; and therefore by keeping as cloſely upon his ſtation as he poſſibly could, he was provided for both alternatives, either for intercepting the enemy's fleet on the return of the whole or part to Breſt, or receiving ſuch an account of them from the admiralty, as might enable him to purſue them. Accordingly, being unable to keep his ſtation off Breſt, the fleet returned to the Lizard Point, in hopes of receiving ſome information, and was ſoon after driven up channel by the gales of wind, while the French found their way home in the mean time, though the hurricane ſtill blew.

Mr. Grey, Mr. Sturt, and Mr. Fox ſupported the motion, and Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Pitt very ſtrongly oppoſed it. The motion was loſt upon the diviſion by 201 againſt 62. A ſimilar motion was made on the 16th of the month by the Earl of Albemarle in the Houſe of Peers. Lord Spencer oppoſed the motion upon the general grounds of failure of information, and the unavoidable turn of the elements. Lord Carliſle was for the enquiry. The Earl of Moira, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Guildford, and the Marquis of Lanſdowne, ſpoke ſtrongly in ſupport of the motion. The Earl of Liverpool, Lord Hood, Lord Auckland, and Lord Grenville, oppoſed it. The Earl Fitzwilliam ſaid, that where there was blame, there ought to be enquiry. He lamented to have heard ſome expreſſions uſed in the debate of greater care being required for England than Ireland. Such ſentiments would produce deep impreſſions on the minds of the people of that country: to which Lord Grenville aſſured the houſe, that they might ſet their minds at reſt on the ſubject of Ireland, which ſo far from having been neglected, had been the object of particular attention. The motion was rejected by 74 againſt 14.

This determined reſiſtance to all enquiry, and the repeated aſſurances made

by miniſters of the ſecurity external and internal of Ireland, gave little ſatiſfaction to the gentlemen on the oppoſition benches, and diſpleaſed ſome, who generally voted with government. They returned to the charge, and in both houſes brought forward motions for enquiries into the internal ſtate, and allaying the diſcontents in that diſtracted kingdom, which gave riſe to very long and animated debates. On the 21ſt of March, the Earl of Moira introduced his promiſed motion by a very inſtructive and able ſpeech: it became the more intereſting, as that noble lord was known recently to have come from Ireland, ſo that his judgment could not be miſled in ſeeing the real ſtate of that kingdom, nor his candor and loyalty be ſuſpected of miſrepreſenting it. He introduced his ſpeech by a comment on the delicacy and importance of agitating queſtions, in which ſeparate and independent legiſlatures, and queſtions, in which the privileges and the independence of each other, were involved. The extent and rapid increaſe of the diſcontents, which prevailed in Ireland, were ſubjects of ſufficient notoriety to form the ground of his proceeding. He ſhould abſtain, therefore, from an enumeration of the particulars, which had come to his knowledge, and of which indeed he had recently been witneſs. In addreſſing his majeſty, to the effect propoſed, the houſe would not only exerciſe one of its moſt important privileges, but fulfil one of its moſt important duties. If it appeared that the counſellors, more immediately about his majeſty's perſon, had not given that advice, which was calculated to inſure the happineſs and proſperity of Ireland, it was the duty of their lordſhips to approach the throne with advice more wiſe and ſalutary. But it might be ſaid, what influence could ſuch an addreſs carry with it, to change the councils, by which Ireland was governed? To prove the influence of the Britiſh cabinet, he appealed to a recent fact; he meant the recal of the Earl Fitzwilliam, at a time when all Ireland concurred in the meaſures which he purſued, when that country gave the faireſt proſpect of tranquillity, and the ſureſt pledge of aſſiſtance and ſupport to Britain, in the arduous circumſtances in which ſhe was placed. It might be aſked, what plan he wiſhed to purſue? It was indicated in the motion he was about to make. When they addreſſed his majeſty to interpoſe his paternal care and benevolence, the known goodneſs of his nature left no room for doubt as to the reſult. It was by temper, equity, and good faith, that the diſtractions of the Iriſh were to be appeaſed, and their affections conciliated.

No

No good could be expected from a proſecution of the preſent ſyſtem. He was confident, however, that the adoption of meaſures, calculated to impreſs the people with confidence in government, would quickly call forth that fond affection of the inhabitants of Ireland to this country, which circumſtances might cloud but could not extinguiſh; inſpire that zeal ſo neceſſary in the preſent moment; and furniſh thoſe reſources, which were requiſite for the critical ſituation, in which the empire was placed, and the arduous conteſt in which it was engaged. On theſe grounds he reſted the motion, which was, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying that he would "be graciouſly pleaſed to interpoſe his paternal and beneficent interference "to allay the diſcontents, which at preſent ſubſiſt in his kingdom of Ireland, "and which threaten the deareſt intereſts of the Britiſh empire."

Lord Grenville ſaid, the motion could not be adopted without breaking the ſolemn contract, which had been entered into between the two countries; without tearing aſunder every bond of union and connection, and ſpreading diſtraction and diviſion between the members of the Britiſh empire. He ſhould, therefore, give his decided oppoſition to that motion, and every propoſition of a ſimilar tendency. The motion was unneceſſary, and miſchievous. Under the firſt head he expatiated on the meaſures that had been taken by his majeſty, in the courſe of a reign of thirty-ſix years, from year to year, to remove every ground of uneaſineſs or diſcontent, which the ſituation of the Iriſh preſented; the improved ſtate of their commerce; their full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty; the Catholics admitted to the enjoyment of their property; a participation in every civil and ſocial bleſſing, and even ſharing in the right of voting for members of parliament. Nor were the people of Ireland inſenſible or ungrateful for the benefits they had received: their good diſpoſitions, and contentment with their ſituation, he inferred from ſundry circumſtances, particularly their readineſs to reſiſt and repel the threatened invaſion. With regard to the miſchievous tendency of the motion, ſuch an interference was obviouſly improper: it was impoſſible for them to proceed with ſufficient information, which lay much more within the reach of their own legiſlature. The very interference of the Britiſh legiſlature, inſtead of remedying the diſcontents, which were alleged to prevail, would inflame them. It would induce the people of Ireland to imagine, that their own legiſlature was indifferent to their welfare, and thus ſtir up the diviſions, which it was its object to appeaſe. As the Britiſh legiſlature had given

given to Ireland the bleſſings of a free conſtitution, the beſt way to fix their attachment to it, was to engage their confidence in its favour.*

Earl Fitzwilliam admitted the improved ſtate of Ireland. But whatever circumſtances might have contributed to that proſperity, ſtill there might remain room for ſomething farther to be done. The noble ſecretary had ſaid, that the people of Ireland were not diſtracted and diſcontented, but tranquil and happy. Was it a proof of this that acts of indemnity had been paſſed, in the Iriſh parliament, for proceedings beyond the law, which muſt have been called for by a conduct not very conſiſtent with tranquillity. If no circumſtances of diſorder appeared, why were whole pariſhes, baronies, and even counties declared to be out of the king's peace? It was likewiſe ſtated, in the proceedings of the government in Ireland, that they were in certain diſtricts diſarming the people, from which it was evident they had been in arms.

The Earl of Liverpool approved the reaſoning of Lord Grenville, and put the caſe of a motion being made in the Iriſh parliament, for the purpoſe of inducing it to interfere in the diſcuſſion of the great queſtion of parliamentary reform or Catholic toleration in this country. How, he aſked, would ſuch

* On this occaſion Lord Grenville rendered the following teſtimony of the grateful and loyal conduct of the Iriſh Catholics. (3 Parl. Deb. p. 101.) "He would deſire any one to compare "the ſtate of Ireland, as it was left by his majeſty's anceſtors with its preſent ſituation. He would "aſk them to look at the Catholics, admitted to the exerciſe of their political rights, and to the "enjoyment of their property, to the participation of every civil and ſocial bleſſing, reſtored "to that confidence in themſelves which the laws had formerly deſtroyed; freely permitted to en- "gage in every ſpecies of commerce, and to apply themſelves to every profeſſion of honor and re- "putation, ſharing the right of voting for members of parliament; and in their whole conduct "manifeſting the effects of the benefits they had received in the beſt manner in which benefits "could operate on the human mind. He would deſire their lordſhips to conſider their conduct "upon the late occaſion, when the enemy, deluded by falſe repreſentations of the ſtate of Ireland, "riſked the laſt remnant of their fleet, and embarked an inferior army in the raſh hope of being "able to ſucceed in their deſigns, by the diſunion and diſaffection of the inhabitants of Ireland. "For a proof of the good diſpoſition of the Catholics upon that occaſion, he could refer with "pleaſure to the unexceptionable teſtimony of the reverend prelates, who worthily ſhewed them- "ſelves their guides in religious matters. (Here his lordſhip read ſome paſſages of the circular "letter from the Catholic biſhop of Cork, which vide in Appendix, No. CII.) Thus it appeared "that his majeſty's exertions had already been crowned with ſucceſs; that this ſucceſs was not per- "fectly complete was ſubject of regret; jealouſies had appeared in ſome degree, but they had "been conciliated by the benevolenceand the paternal care of his majeſty. What ſtronger pledge "could be given of his majeſty's intention to perſevere in the ſame courſe, than what he had "already done?"

a motion

a motion be taken by the Britiſh parliament? The motion before their lordſhips ſeemed to him to be as miſchievous in its tendency, as unconſtitutional in its principle.

The Earl of Guildford could not admit that miniſters had ſhewn any attention to the intereſts of Ireland, ſince the recal of Earl Fitzwilliam.

The Earl of Spencer was of opinion, that, if Lord Moira meant to do any ſubſtantial good by his motion, he ought to have gone much farther, and pointed out not only the nature of the diſcontents of the Iriſh nation, but the kind of meaſures, which ought to be reſorted to for removing them.

The Marquis of Lanſdown ſaid, that, if the preſent were a ſubject of delicacy, miniſters were the cauſe of it. The lord lieutenant of Ireland, as a miniſter, was accountable to the Britiſh as well as to the Iriſh parliament; and, therefore, they had a right to watch over the meaſures of his adminiſtration, and to cenſure or adviſe him, as they might deem proper. The motion now before their lordſhips was couched in terms ſo wiſe, ſo prudent, and ſo moderate, that he could ſcarcely have ſuppoſed that it could have been objected to. What was its purpoſe? It ſaid, to his majeſty, "Sire, you have, "by a happy conduct, attached the people of Ireland to your family and "government, by the ſame liberal and generous conduct, by which your "grand-father gained the affections of the Highlands of Scotland. There "is but one ſmall cauſe of diſcontent ſtill remaining, and it is only neceſſary, "that you follow up thoſe wiſe and ſalutary meaſures, which you have hi-"therto acted upon, to remove it." This was all that the motion propoſed. If it were done in time, the meaſures might be ſucceſsful, but it ought to be recollected, that the longer the delay, the greater the danger.

The Earl of Darnley oppoſed the motion. There were diſcontents in Ireland; but by no means among the general maſs of the people.

The Duke of Bedford was ſorry to ſay, that their lordſhips muſt ceaſe to liſten to the ſhifts of miniſters, if their objects were to ſave the ſtate from ruin. But it might be aſked, what it was that he thought likely to reſtore happineſs to the people of Ireland? "Reſtore to the people of Ireland the perſon you "have recalled; give back to them the man whom they have tried, and "whom they admire; act on the principles on which he acted, and then diſ-"contents will ceaſe: if you do not, God only knows into how much more "dreadful a ſtate that unhappy country may be reduced."

Lord Grenville was of opinion, that the remedy, propoſed by the noble duke,

duke, would have a tendency to create that which he ſeemed to dread; a diſturbance in Ireland; for, that muſt neceſſarily be the tendency of recalling the preſent lord lieutenant of that kingdom. If the talents, the virtues, and the exertions of that noble lord were not ſufficient to preſerve the tranquillity of Ireland, he believed it would be out of the power of any other individual whatever.

The Earl of Moira roſe up to make a few obſervations on the main point in queſtion: the contentment or diſcontentment of the people of Ireland. As their lordſhips could not try the veracity of one noble lord againſt another, the only way they had to decide, was, to refer to facts. His lordſhip again appealed to the various facts already mentioned or alluded to, by himſelf and the Earl Fitzwilliam: pariſhes and whole counties out of the king's peace, and diſarmed: inſurrections in divers places, murmurs of diſcontent in all; and a general aſſembly, within fifty yards of the caſtle of Dublin, headed by perſons, whoſe talents and characters were of the very firſt claſs, and who, after the moſt mature deliberation that could be had on ſuch an occaſion, reſolved and declared it to be their firm perſuaſion, that there was no chance for the ſalvation of Ireland, without an entire and immediate change in the whole ſyſtem of executive government. After this the houſe divided, and the noble earl's motion was rejected by 72 againſt 20.

Two days after this diſcuſſion in the Houſe of Peers, the ſubject was introduced, into the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. Fox, who prefaced his ſpeech by calling to mind the part he had taken in a recognition of the complete independence of Ireland, and how much he naturally conſidered himſelf to be bounden, in a particular manner, to follow up the principle on which it was founded. Though a variety of circumſtances had concurred to produce the preſent diſturbances in Ireland, he confined his obſervations to two or three leading points. Theſe were, whether, in conſequence of the conceſſions that had been made to Ireland, ſhe had, in fact and ſubſtance, enjoyed the advantages of an independent legiſlature? Whether, in that form of a free conſtitution which they had obtained, the people poſſeſſed that political weight to which they were entitled? And, whether, their juſt voice and influence had been promoted, by the alteration which had been effected? The people of Ireland were divided into two, though very unequal, claſſes; the Catholics and the Proteſtants: neither of which enjoyed their juſt ſhare of political power and influence. About nine years ago, a regular ſyſtem was deviſed for

for enſlaving Ireland. A perſon of high conſideration was known to ſay, that, 500,000*l.* had been expended to quell an oppoſition in Ireland, and that as much more muſt be expended in order to bring the legiſlature of that country to a proper temper. This ſyſtematic plan of corruption was followed up by a ſuitable ſyſtem of meaſures. Hoſtile ſuſpicions were inſinuated, not only againſt the lower order of Catholics, but againſt men of the firſt reſpectability for character and fortune, and whoſe loyalty could not be queſtioned. Numbers were taken up for high treaſon; and, when acquitted, it appeared that no ground of ſuſpicion could ever have been entertained againſt them. What could be the effect of ſuch proceedings, but to convince the Catholics, that the conceſſions in their favor were extorted? That the hoſtile mind ſtill exiſted, and that they were ſtill marked out as the victims of the moſt cruel proſcriptions and oppreſſions? Private animoſities too aroſe, and produced thoſe different claſſes of diſturbers of the public peace, about which ſo much had been ſaid. The remedies applied had tended to foment the diſeaſe. The authority of the laws was ſuperſeded. Thoſe againſt whom it was thought convictions could be procured, were taken up; and thoſe whom it would have been impoſſible to convict, were tranſported in great numbers, without the ceremony of a trial, or the form of conviction. It had been ſaid, that the Catholics are entitled to vote for members of parliament. But except in the counties, Mr. Fox obſerved, the repreſentation of Ireland was in what is here known by the name of cloſe corporation. The Catholics were carefully excluded from the corporations; ſo that their privilege of voting for members of parliament was almoſt entirely evaded.

Mr. Fox next conſidered the grievances of the Preſbyterians, the moſt numerous claſs, by far, in the North of Ireland. The diſcontents of the inhabitants of the northern parts of Ireland aroſe from two cauſes: one of them was the temporary preſſure of a war, in which they were involved without intereſt in the conteſt, and the diſtreſſes which the calamities, with which it had been attended, had entailed upon their trade and commerce; the other had been the abuſes, which they conceived to exiſt in the conſtitution, by which they are governed. The conſtitution of Ireland, they complain does not reſemble that of Great Britain. Whoever imagined, that a practicable reſemblance exiſted between the government of Ireland and the Engliſh conſtitution, would find, that the Iriſh government was a mirror in which the abuſes of this conſtitution were ſtrongly reflected. The jobbing ſyſtem

of influence and patronage, for purpoſes of perſonal advantage in Ireland, was an abuſe which totally deſtroyed the ſpirit of the form of government, and was an abuſe not to be endured. To ſuppoſe that a large, induſtrious, active, and intelligent body of men could be governed againſt the principles they had imbibed, and the prejudices by which they were guided, was an idea, which hiſtory and human nature proved to be abſurd. The intereſts of this country and of Ireland were the ſame. Its affairs were conducted by miniſters, and the Britiſh cabinet, and it was the privilege of that houſe to adviſe his majeſty. If he were to juſtify the meaſure by precedent, he might quote the caſe of an impeachment of the Earl of Lauderdale, by the Engliſh parliament, before the union, for the conduct of the government of Scotland. " But why," ſaid Mr. Fox, " ſhould I ſpeak of forms, when the " conſequences of the diſcontents in Ireland may be a conteſt to be ſupported " by Engliſhmen, and Engliſh money? I ſhall therefore move,

" That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, that his majeſty will " be graciouſly pleaſed to take into his royal conſideration, the diſturbed " ſtate of his kingdom of Ireland, and to adopt ſuch healing and lenient " meaſures as may appear to his majeſty's wiſdom beſt calculated to reſtore " tranquillity, and to conciliate the affections of all deſcriptions of his ma- " jeſty's ſubjects, in that kingdom, to his majeſty's perſon and government." This motion was ſeconded by Sir Francis Burdett.

Mr. Pitt aſked Mr. Fox whether the parliament, by which the independence of Ireland was recognized, were more accommodating to the wiſhes of the Diſſenters of the North, or to the Catholics of the South, than thoſe of a ſubſequent period? Quite the contrary. Whatever alteration had ſince taken place, tended more and more to include both Diſſenters and Catholics within the pale of civil and political liberty, than the principle recognized in 1782. But the main pillar of his defence of miniſters, in their conduct towards Ireland, and ground of his objection to the preſent motion, was the unconſtitutionality, the impropriety, and the dangers, to be apprehended from the interference of the Britiſh parliament in the affairs of Ireland; topics on which he expatiated with his uſual ability; in which as to the main conceſſion to be made, by way of remedy to the diſcontents and diſturbances in Ireland, that of allowing to the Catholics the privilege of ſitting in parliament, this could not be done, without reverſing the whole of its preſent form, and new modelling the conſtitution from beginning to end: and to make

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that change when ſuch principles were abroad in the world, and were even prevalent in the country, in which we lived, would be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences.

Colonel Fullarton, who had juſt come from Scotland, and that part of it which almoſt touches on Ireland, was aſtoniſhed to find, in the metropolis, ſuch an apparent indifference to the moſt alarming dangers; and wondered that ſo much time ſhould be ſpent in debate, and ſo little in military preparation. General Hoche would find, in Ulſter alone, 50,000 Iriſhmen united, with pikes in their hands, and arms concealed, buſily employed in ſecret diſcipline, in order to qualify themſelves for reinforcing the French army.

Mr. Courtney believed, that there were, in Ulſter, 50,000 men with arms in their hands, ready to receive the French; but not to ſupport them. The people in that province, almoſt all Preſbyterians, had a ſtrong ſpirit of liberty, and were attached to the popular, or, what had been called, the republican branch of the conſtitution, yet they were not to be confounded with Jacobins and banditti.

Lord Hawkeſbury repeated and applauded the arguments of Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Curwen thought, that the preſent motion was ſo far from being miſchievous, that even the diſcuſſion it had occaſioned would do good, inaſmuch as it would ſhew the Iriſh nation, that there was a part, at leaſt, of the Britiſh parliament, who were mindful of their intereſts.*

Lord

* If any thing could enhance the guilt of Mr. Arthur O'Connor's treaſon, it was that abandoned and reflex hypocriſy, with which he played off the appearance of the moſt conſtitutional loyalty, and was thus admitted to the ſympathy and confidence of men, who really poſſeſſed it in an eminent degree. But in the political and ethic ſyſtem, candor and uprightneſs are ever the earlieſt victims to duplicity, deſign, and baſeneſs. *Et virtus vitio ſub propriore latet.* In proof of theſe obſervations, Mr. O'Connor had ſo egregiouſly and baſely at this time duped Sir Francis Burdett, as well as many other of the Whig party, that the honorable baronet in the unſuſpecting generoſity of his ſoul, thus boaſtingly pledged himſelf for the pureſt loyalty of his falſe and baſe friend. "One perſon now immured within the walls of a dungeon in Dublin Caſtle, I have the honor of "being connected with, for honor, as well as happineſs, I ſhall ever eſteem it, by the ſtrongeſt ties "of friendſhip and affection, who I know to be incapable of treaſon to his country, (Good God! "that treaſon to Ireland and the name of O'Connor ſhould be prepoſterouſly coupled together!) as "he is capable of every thing that is great, generous, and noble, for his country's good; a man "whoſe whole conduct delineates the exact line of rectitude and honor; whoſe private virtues "equal, they cannot ſurpaſs, the integrity of his public conduct; who is indeed endowed with "every good as well as every great qualification; and of whom it may fairly be ſaid, '*Nil non*

Lord Wycombe thought that the diſturbances, which had taken place in Ireland, manifeſtly proved a diſaffection to the Britiſh government. Conciliation inſtead of rigour, ſhould have been tried; for it was time enough to employ force when mildneſs failed. He could have wiſhed that the Iriſh parliament had been left, for the ſettlement of affairs, to themſelves. But he well knew that, being for the moſt part at the beck of the Engliſh cabinet, they had loſt the confidence of the nation. He adverted to, and commented upon the proclamation of General Lake.

He dreaded that if the Britiſh parliament did not interfere, we might loſe Ireland altogether: a loſs that would be more ſevere than the loſs of America.

Mr. Hobhouſe remarked, that the chancellor of the exchequer ſeemed to have preſumed in the whole train of his reaſoning, that it was the object of the motion to requeſt the king's interference, excluſively of his Iriſh parliament. It only prayed his majeſty, in connexion with the Iriſh legiſlature, to adopt meaſures of a lenient nature, with a view to appeaſe the unhappy ſpirit of diſcontent which prevailed throughout the country. Mr. Fox's motion was negatived by 220 againſt 84 who ſupported it.

Theſe warm debates in the Britiſh ſenate were in ſome meaſure brought forward and more heated from the complaints made in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, of the culpable indifference, which the adminiſtration of England had ſhewn to their ſafety and welfare.*

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" *laudandum aut dixit, aut ſenſit, aut fecit.*' When ſuch men become the objects of fear and " hatred to government, it is not difficult to aſcertain the nature of their government. But per- " haps, Sir, it may be ſaid, that I ſpeak more like a diſcontented Iriſhman, than like a true friend " to the intereſt of England. Sir, I ſpeak like a friend to humanity and liberty; and like an " enemy to cruelty and oppreſſion. Sir, I believe the intereſts of Ireland and of this country to " be the ſame. I believe it for the intereſt of both countries, that both ſhould be free." (2 Eng. Parl. Deb. p. 121.)

* Scarcely any man in the Iriſh commons poſſeſſed a larger ſhare of perſonal confidence from the nation than Mr. G. Ponſonby: no man againſt whom leſs of democracy had ever been charged by his enemies. He had in the debate of the 22d of February, ſpoken the following language, which was replied to by the ſolicitor general in a manner, that ſhews the real iſſue of the government and oppoſition parties at that time in parliament. (17 *Parl. Debates*, p. 330) " He confeſſed he " had felt extreme concern and ſurpriſe at the return of the right honorable ſecretary from Eng- " land, after a five weeks ſtay, with nothing to communicate to the houſe, but an undertaking on " the part of the Britiſh miniſter, to endeavour to raiſe for the country a loan of a million and a " half. This the right honorable gentleman had brought back with him in the place of a fleet and

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The proceedings on this ſide of the water relative to the ſtate of Ireland, gave ſuch offence to Dr. Duigenan, that on the 30th of March he gave notice

" an army! Did the right honorable gentleman—did the Britiſh miniſter know the nature of the ene-
" my we have to contend with? Did he know their reſources—their energy—their courage—their
" diſcipline—their perſeverance? Will he baffle ſuch an enemy with a million and an half? Will he
" drive from our coaſts an enemy that has vanquiſhed Spain, Holland, Italy, and almoſt Germany,
" with a million and an half? Preſerve Ireland from France! It may be done—but not by a million
" and an half! No, nor by 100,000*l.* raiſed from the ſalt, with which the beggar ſeaſoned his
" miſerable morſel! Pitiful financier, who can find reſources only of this kind, and none in the
" bravery, ſpirit, and generoſity of the Iriſh people. Such meaſures would never do to preſerve
" Ireland in connexion with Britain. It was not his promiſe to the executive government by what
" means they ſhould defend the country; he ſat there as a member of parliament, rather to exer-
" ciſe a controling function: but ſo deeply did he feel that the meaſures which were taken could
" not preſerve Ireland, that he would venture to ſuggeſt ſome which he thought would. Thoſe
" were meaſures not for raiſing a given ſum of money, but for the much more momentous purpoſe
" of giving content and confidence to the people. Ill did they calculate the danger of the country,
" or the means to reſiſt it, who looked at this time to any thing but the univerſal and enthuſiaſtic
" force of the whole nation; and futile was every meaſure, which did not go to excite that power-
" ful energy. He was far, indeed, from wiſhing to raiſe diſcontent or create jealouſies that could
" impede the common defence. Whatever might be his opinion of the conduct of adminiſtration
" in Ireland, or of the culpable indifference which the adminiſtration of England had ſhewn to our
" ſafety, his object now was to ſtrengthen their hands, by pointing out to them meaſures of which
" the efficacy in ſaving the country could not be doubtful. He was not afraid to mention thoſe,
" whatever motives an intereſted party might attribute to him. The firſt, then, was a complete
" reform of the repreſentation of the people in parliament. For other meaſures, let thoſe anſwer
" who adviſed the government of the country to depend on them; for this he would be reſpon-
" ſible. The ſecond, was a perfect emancipation of the Catholics, and an abolition of all religious
" diſtinctions. The third was, a general equalization of commerce between the two countries.
" England ſhould have no reſerves to Ireland: if it were beneficial to England to preſerve Ireland
" as an united country, ſhe was now bound by intereſt as well as juſtice to give her a community
" of benefits and advantages. Temporiſing meaſures had been too long the policy with which ſhe
" had managed this country; and to thoſe temporiſing meaſures the preſent ſituation of the coun-
" try was to be attributed. They muſt now be given up if the country be to be ſaved."

Mr. Solicitor General, in a ſpeech of great vehemence, replied to Mr. Ponſonby:—" What was
" it come to, that in an Iriſh Houſe of Commons they ſhould liſten to one of their own members
" degrading the character of an Iriſh gentleman by language which was fitted but for hallowing a
" mob? Had he heard a man uttering out of thoſe doors ſuch language as that by which the ho-
" norable gentleman had violated the decorum of parliament, he would have ſeized the ruffian by
" the throat, and dragged him to the duſt! What were the houſe made of? Who could liſten in
" patience to ſuch abominable ſentiments—ſentiments which, thank God! were acknowledged by

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tice in the Houſe of Commons, that after the receſs, he ſhould bring forward a motion tending to refute the lying and malicious aſſertions made by Mr. Fox in the parliament of Great Britain.* On the 11th of April, 1797, when

" no claſs of men in this country, except the execrable and infamous neſt of traitors who were " known by the name of United Iriſhmen, who ſat brooding in Belfaſt over their diſcontents and " treaſons, and from whoſe publications he could trace word for word every expreſſion the honor- " able gentleman had uſed. But the men of Ireland are too wiſe and too loyal to be led aſtray by " ſuch artifices: the men of Ireland know whom they can truſt—they know who have been hollow " in the cauſe. The men of Ireland know who they are that are now armed in their cauſe to de- " fend their lives, their property, their families, and their conſtitution, from the tremendous foe " which threatens all: and the men of Ireland obſerve alſo thoſe who are lying by in a ſuſpicious " apathy, as if wanting but to view the event of the conteſt. Who are they that have been fore- " moſt in arming to face the enemy? Not, certainly, the honorable gentleman or his friends. " None of them were foremoſt in the work of glory. But the honorable gentleman does not paſs " unnoticed; his conduct is marked—it has given a ſtamp to his character. He had intended not " to have ſpoken in this debate; but it was impoſſible that a man ſtanding in the ſituation in which " he ſtood, could have heard the honorable gentleman in ſilence. He had wiſhed to hear on this " queſtion the opinion of country gentlemen: he hoped, however, he had not forfeited his claim " to that character by the office which he held."

Mr. Ponſonby, in reply, obſerved, " That it was the faſhion of the time to charge treaſon on " every man who differed from the miniſter on the ſubject of the war: he had that day been read- " ing a pamphlet, in which Mr. Fox had been called a traitor, for adviſing a peace; but the " deplorable ſituation to which the country had been reduced, was the beſt vindication of the wiſ- " dom of his advice, and the moſt convincing proof of the folly of his accuſer."

Mr. Grattan obſerved, " That as to the three ſubjects, he entirely agreed with his honorable " friend—equality of trade; but ſtill more, the complete and abſolute emancipation of the Catho- " lics, and a reform of the Commons Houſe of parliament: that he was ſatisfied of their import- " ance to the liberty and ſafety of the country; and he added, that if ſuch ſubjects were held in " this houſe to be treaſonable, it was an argument deciſive to prove the neceſſity of a ſpeedy and " complete reform. He added, that he agreed with the honorable baronet to augment the yeo- " man corps 50,000 infantry in addition."

* On this day alſo Mr. J. C. Beresford begged to correct a miſſtatement which had gone abroad, of what he had ſaid in a former debate, on the inſurrection bill. It had been ſtated in a country paper, and from thence copied into thoſe of Dublin, that he had expreſſed a wiſh " that the whole " of the north of Ireland were in open rebellion, that the government might cut them off." This had been very aſſiduouſly circulated, to the detriment of his character; and was, he could confi- dently ſay, a falſehood. What he had ſaid was, " that there were certain parts of the north of " Ireland in a ſtate of concealed rebellion; and that he wiſhed thoſe places were rather in a ſtate of open rebellion, that the government might ſee the rebellion, and cruſh it." I have noticed this, as it has been a frequent imputation againſt government, that it was their wiſh to goad the people into rebellion, for the accurſed purpoſes of forfeitures, puniſhments, and extermination.

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the houſe met after the laſt adjournment, Mr. Grattan expreſſed his expectation, that the learned doctor who had given notice of his intention to make a motion relative to the propoſitions in the Engliſh parliament offered by Lord Moira and Mr. Fox, would mention in due time the day on which he meant the attack; it being his (Mr. Grattan's) fixed opinion, that the propoſitions offered by thoſe illuſtrious perſons, were not only ſtrictly conſtitutional and conſiſtent with the moſt extenſive idea of Iriſh independence, but abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of the empire, and the continuation of the connection. He added, that the ſpeeches, as ſet forth in ſome of the public prints, and attributed to thoſe diſtinguiſhed characters, were perfectly warranted by the facts, and in every point of view juſt and ſeaſonable; as ſuch he was ready to defend them.

And on the ſame day Mr. Secretary Pelham preſented the following meſſage from his excellency.*

" CAMDEN.

" GENTLEMEN,

" IN purſuance of the reſolution entered into by the Houſe " of Commons, on the 1ſt of March, 1797, for raiſing towards the ſupply " granted to his majeſty, the ſum of 3,395,697*l.* upon the terms therein men- " tioned, I have given ſuch directions as appeared to me moſt proper to carry " the ſame into execution; and I am ſorry to inform you, that it is found, after " the moſt diligent endeavours exerted for the purpoſe, that the ſum intended " to be raiſed by the ſaid reſolution, cannot be obtained according to the " terms thereof. I therefore thought it incumbent on me, that this houſe " ſhould be made acquainted therewith, not doubting, that the Commons of " Ireland, attentive to the honor of his majeſty's government, and to the " ſafety of the kingdom, will take ſuch meaſures, as ſhall be moſt prudent to " carry the intention of that ſalutary reſolution into effect."

And on the 19th of the month another meſſage was delivered by his excellency to the houſe, which ſhews the cautionary meaſures the government had in the mean time taken.†

" CAMDEN.

" UPON the information of the meetings of certain per- " ſons, ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen, for the purpoſe of concerting

* 17 Parl. Debates, p. 466. † Ibid. p. 477.

" plans

" plans for the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and of the eſtabliſhed govern-
" ment of this kingdom, two committees in the town of Belfaſt have been
" arreſted, and their papers ſeized: they contain matter of ſo much import-
" ance to the public welfare, that I have directed them to be laid before the
" Houſe of Commons, and I recommend it to them to take the ſame into their
" ſerious conſideration. I ſhall, in the mean time, purſue thoſe meaſures,
" which have received your ſanction and approbation, with unremitting vi-
" gour, and employ the force entruſted to me in the moſt efficient manner
" for the protection of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects againſt all treaſonable
" deſigns, and for bringing to condign puniſhment thoſe who are endeavour-
" ing to overturn the conſtitution, and betray this country into the hands of
" her enemies." Upon which Mr. Pelham obſerved, that the proper way for the houſe to take theſe papers into conſideration, would be to refer them to a committee of ſecrecy. The papers, which they would have to conſider were of ſuch a nature, that it was probable they might hereafter be produced in a court of juſtice, for the conviction of the perſons in whoſe cuſtody they had been found; to publiſh their contents would, therefore, tend to defeat the ends of public juſtice.

Mr. Grattan was againſt a ſecret committee. It was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, from the nature of this communication from his excellency, that the lives and properties of the ſubject were to be ſubjected to new meaſures of coercion; it was therefore highly unjuſt, that the committee, who were to ſuggeſt thoſe meaſures, ſhould be ſecret: for himſelf, he would never agree to commit the people of Ireland to the mercy of a ſecret committee, which would be in effect, to put their lives and fortunes into the hand of the miniſter, and this too at a time when the miſconduct of the miniſter in both countries was the ſubject of very general complaint, and when both countries, almoſt unanimouſly, demanded their diſmiſſal. He was the more inclined to reſiſt this application of miniſters for a ſecret committee, of which their malignity againſt the people might make a convenient inſtrument, becauſe he entirely diſapproved of their paſt conduct, and deteſted that ſyſtem, by which they had miſgoverned the country; becauſe he ſaw that all their meaſures, whether parliamentary or military, tended equally to increaſe the calamities of the people; and becauſe he ſaw that each ſucceſſive meaſure they had tried, was more unjuſt and unconſtitutional than the former.

Mr. Pelham's motion for a ſecret committee was put and carried: the committee

mittee was ordered to conſiſt of 15, and to be appointed by ballot.* An adjournment of ſome weeks took place to accommodate thoſe members, and many they were, whoſe profeſſional duties called them on the circuits.

Never was there a more critical and awful moment to the internal ſtate of a kingdom: the change of the popular mind was extreme. Armagh had been for three or four years back the centre of religious acrimony, bigotted cruelty, and continued outrage. The progreſs of the union had entirely done away theſe ferocious effects: but ſo little at this time was the bond of union conſidered treaſonable, that at the Armagh aſſizes, when the ſpirit and tendency of it were brought before the court on the trial of *Hanlon* and *Nogher*, who were charged of tendering an unlawful oath or engagement to become one of an unlawful, wicked, and ſeditious ſociety, called *United Iriſhmen*, the priſoners were acquitted: the counſel not only defended, but commended the inſtitution, though the judge thought the obligation illegal under the late act of parliament.† The acquittal of Dogherty, and the confinement and proſe-

* The method of appointing this committee was, for each member to give in his liſt of 15, and the committee was thus appointed of the following perſons, who had the majority of the ballots, viz. Mr. Pelham, Mr. D. La Touche, Mr. Ogle, Mr. J. C. Beresford, Mr. J. Stewart, Mr. J. Foſter, Mr. Commiſſioner Beresford, Lord Caſtlereagh, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Prime Serjeant, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Alexander, Mr. D. Browne, Lord Boyle.

† It is fitting, that the light in which this bond of union was at different periods repreſented to, and viewed by the people, ſhould be known, in order that the real guilt and malice of the original and reflex traitors, may be ſeparated from the impetuoſity and enthuſiaſm of many friends to civil and conſtitutional liberty, that were originally engaged in it from honorable and meritorious motives, though ſome of them were afterwards ſeduced *ſpecie recti* to hold *their footing*, when they perceived themſelves gone further than they were aware of: and when coercion militated ſo powerfully againſt receding.

On Saturday, the 19th, the aſſizes ended, having laſted an entire week. There were in the jail to the amount of 28 perſons, charged with offences uſually imputed to United Iriſhmen, of whom, however, two trials only were brought forward. In the former, a ſuborned ſoldier, who was brought forward to proſecute Dogherty, was, upon Dogherty's acquittal, put into the dock in his place, to abide his trial for perjury. Since that the grand juries found bills againſt him, and he remained in cuſtody to abide his trial.

The only other trial was that of the King againſt Hanlon and Nogher, charged with contemptouſly, malicioufly, and felonioufly tendering to the proſecutor an unlawful oath or engagement, to become one of an unlawful, wicked, and ſeditious ſociety called United Iriſhmen.

One witneſs only was produced in ſupport of this indictment, a ſoldier of the 24th light dragoons, of the name of Fiſher, who ſwore to the adminiſtration of an oath, " to be united in brotherhood

cution of the ſuborned witneſs, who alone appeared againſt him, the anticipated confidence of the acquittal of Hanlon and Nogher, and the backwardneſs of government in bringing any more to trial, had created a ſpecies of triumph in the popular party, either of the rectitude or ſtrength of their cauſe. On the ſame day (14th of April), which was the laſt day but one of the aſſizes, the ſheriff of Armagh, at the requeſt of ſeveral of the firſt gentlemen of the county, convened a meeting, for the purpoſe of framing a proper addreſs to his majeſty on the critical ſituation of affairs, claiming redreſs in a reſpectful manner againſt the grievances, under which they laboured; and ſome anonymous and rebellious demagogue publiſhed a very inflammatory paper, in order to excite the popular ſpirit beyond the claims of that rational and ſober freedom, which the Britiſh conſtitution by its natural and unchecked workings never fails to afford.*

It appears evident, that at this time the publication of many opinions and ſentiments, which at former periods had been conſidered laudable and meri-

" to pull down the head clergy, and half-pay officers." He, upon his croſs examination, ſaid, that the obligation had been ſhewn and read to him, in a ſmall book of four leaves, which he had read and would know again. The Conſtitution of the United Iriſhmen was then put into his hands by the defendant's counſel, and he admitted the teſt contained in it to be the ſame that he had taken.

On the part of the priſoners, A.T. Stewart, Eſq. of Acton, was examined and croſs examined by the crown. The ſum of his teſtimony was, that this ſociety had made a rapid progreſs through the people of all religious ranks and claſſes; that before its introduction into that country, the moſt horrible religious perſecutions exiſted, attended with murder and extirpation; that ſince its introduction theſe atrocities had ſubſided, as far as he could learn. He admitted he had heard of murders laid to their charge, but could hardly believe ſuch charges, as he conceived them incompatible with any thing he ever could learn of the principles or conſequences of their inſtitution.

The jailor was alſo examined, who ſaid, that fewer perſons had been ſent to him upon charges of racking or robbing houſes, or of murder than before, and that he underſtood the religious parties began to agree better together, and to fight leſs.

There was no other material evidence. Mr. Curran ſpoke an hour and three quarters, in defence of the United Iriſhmen.—That he was delighted to find, after ſo many of them had been immured in dungeons, without trial, that at length the ſubject had come fairly before the world—and that inſtead of being a ſyſtem of organiſed treaſon and murder, it proved to be a great bond of national union, founded upon the moſt acknowledged principle of law, and every ſacred obligation due to our country and Creator.

Mr. Baron George gave his opinion decidedly, that the obligation was, under the act of parliament, *illegal*. The Jury withdrew, and acquitted the priſoner, and thus ended the aſſizes of Armagh.

* Both are to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. CIII.

torious,

torious, were deemed turbulent, ſeditious, or treaſonable. The revolutionary doctrines of 1688, in their particular bearings upon the exiſting circumſtances of 1797, were ſure marks of reprobation, and from the report* of the ſecret committee, appear to have been conſidered criminal in their nature, as well as in their application. When Mr. Pelham communicated the report of the ſecret committee to the houſe, on the 10th of May, he obſerved, that what had then tranſpired muſt convince every man, that it was not legiſlation which ſhould be reſorted to, to repreſs this daring and dark conſpiracy, but to thoſe ſtrong meaſures which the executive government had already adopted, with the approbation of the houſe. That report juſtified in the fulleſt extent thoſe meaſures, and at the ſame time called on the gentlemen of that houſe, and on every loyal ſubject, to ſtrain every nerve to put down that ſociety: nor did he think, formidable as they might appear, that there was any reaſon to fear, that the loyalty of the country and the force of the ſtate, would not be fully ſufficient to cruſh them. Their numbers, it was reaſonable to believe, had been greatly exaggerated in theſe papers; as it was plain, that they tried every mode to keep up the ſpirits of their deluded followers, as well by fallacious ſtatements of their force, as by the expectation of foreign aſſiſtance. For his own part, he believed the great body of the people were loyal, and he ſhould be proud to exert every power he poſſeſſed in oppoſing that band of daring traitors. He believed, that among the members who formed the ſociety of united Iriſhmen, there were many much leſs criminal than others; many he believed might have been ſeduced to join them by the ſpecious pretexts of reform, &c. and might have continued among them from the ignorance of their true deſigns, which, it appeared, they were ſo deſirous of concealing from the great body of their members: but he hoped, that the publication of that report would open their eyes, and ſhew

* 17 Parl. Deb. p. 522. The committee again take occaſion to obſerve, that it appears from theſe papers, that the united Iriſhmen made a pretext of reform and emancipation, to cover a deſign to ſubvert inſtead of amending the conſtitution, to confiſcate property and extinguiſh the poſſeſſors of it; and this they infer, arguendo, from the circumſtance, that theſe two objects have not been mentioned in theſe papers as the end of their inſtitution. In further corroboration of this opinion, they tranſcribe a paper called the Donaghadee Reſolutions, in which it is emphatically ſtated "to "have been the opinion of the beſt ſtateſmen, philoſophers, and divines, that all power originates "with the people; that when tyrants uſurp power, or governors legitimately conſtituted degenerate "into tyrants, it becomes the right and the duty of the people to take arms to wreſt that power "from the hands which abuſe it, and reſtore it to thoſe to whom it of right belongs, &c. &c."

them the danger and the crimes into which they were haſtening. He concluded by moving, that this report be communicated to the committee of the lords, and that it be printed, which was ordered accordingly.

The 15th of May, 1797, was a day of peculiar importance to the fate of Ireland. The great queſtion of parliamentary reform ſtood for that day. Mr. W. B. Ponſonby had moſt urgently been preſſed by government not to bring forward that ſubject in the moment of ſo alarming a ferment of the public mind. He, however, differed from the gentlemen on the Treaſury Bench upon the propriety of agitating the queſtion at that particular juncture, deeming it indiſpenſably neceſſary then, above all other times, to agitate and to adopt that meaſure as the only efficient means of enſuring the reſtoration of peace, confidence, and proſperity to the country. The galleries had overflowed at an early hour, and the ſpeaker took the chair preciſely at four o'clock, when Lord Caſtlereagh pre-occupied the attention of the houſe by moving, that the addreſs of the lords on the ſubject of the treaſonable papers, be then taken into conſideration. The addreſs contained ſtrong expreſſions of the loyalty and affection of the houſe; alluded in very ſtrong terms to the enormity and extent of that traitorous conſpiracy; thanked his majeſty for the meaſures which had been already taken for reſtoring the due obſervation of the laws, and recommended to his adoption the moſt ſevere meaſures for the complete ſuppreſſion of theſe dangerous diſorders. His lordſhip animadverted on the danger of the conſpiracy with much vehemence, and concluded by a motion, " that the commons ſhould agree with their lordſhips in " that addreſs."

Mr. Smith moved an amendment, that his majeſty would uſe conciliatory meaſures to remove every pretext of diſcontent from the well-diſpoſed, as well as meaſures of coercion for the prevention and puniſhment of conſpiracy and treaſon; urging the neceſſity of correcting abuſes, as well as adopting ſtrong laws to repreſs diſaffection.

This introduced much very animated converſation from Mr. George Ponſonby, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Jephſon, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Hoare, who ſupported the amendment; and the attorney general, Mr. Denis Browne, Mr. Egan, Sir B. Roche, Mr. Alexander, Meſſrs. J. and M. Beresford, Mr. Ogle, Mr. Toler, and Mr. Amneſty, who oppoſed it.*

The

* 7 Parl. Deb. p. 529. The moſt contentious topic in the debate was an expreſſion which fell from Mr. Fletcher, in the courſe of his ſpeech, in which he ſaid, that if coercive meaſures were to be

The queſtion of parliamentary reform was brought on by Mr. William Brabazon Ponſonby, by firſt reading his ſeveral propoſitions, before he ſpecifically moved any of them. They were to the following effect:

" *Reſolved*, That it is indiſpenſably neceſſary to a fundamental reform of " the repreſentation, that all diſabilities, on account of religion, be for ever " aboliſhed; and that Catholics ſhall be admitted into the legiſlature, and " all the great offices of ſtate, in the ſame extent, &c. as Proteſtants now " are.

" That it is the indiſpenſable right of the people of Ireland to be fully and " fairly repreſented in parliament.

" That in order that the people may be fully enabled to exerciſe that right, " the privilege of returning members for cities, boroughs, &c. in the preſent " form ſhall ceaſe; that each county be divided into diſtricts, conſiſting of " 6000 houſes each, each diſtrict to return two members to parliament.

" That all perſons poſſeſſing freehold property to the amount of 40*s.* per " annum; all poſſeſſed of leaſehold intereſts, of the annual value of——; " all poſſeſſed of a houſe, of the value of——; all who have reſided for a " certain number of years in any great city or town, following a trade; and " all who ſhall be free of any city, &c. by birth, marriage, or ſervitude, ſhall " vote for members of parliament.

" That ſeats in parliament ſhall endure for —— number of years."

Mr. Pelham applauded the candid manner, in which the honorable mover

be purſued, the whole country muſt be coerced, for the ſpirit of inſurrection had pervaded every part of it.

Mr. M. Beresford ordered the clerk to take down theſe words, and the gallery was inſtantly cleared. When ſtrangers were again admitted, the debate on the addreſs ſtill continued, and in the courſe of it Mr. J. C. Beresford thought himſelf called on to defend the ſecret committee againſt an aſſertion, which had fallen from Mr. Fletcher in the courſe of his ſpeech. The aſſertion was, in ſubſtance, that he feared the people would be led to look on the report of the committee, as fabricated rather to juſtify the paſt meaſures of government, than to ſtate facts!

Mr. Fletcher contended, that he had a right to animadvert on the report, but diſclaimed any deſign of imputing any thing unfair to the members of that committee individually.

In the courſe of the altercation, which followed on this ſubject, Mr. Toler threatened, and actually did move an abſtract reſolution, declaring, that the imputation conveyed in thoſe words (of Mr. Fletcher) was an unfounded calumny on the report. He was at length, however, perſuaded to withdraw his motion. The houſe then divided on Mr. Smith's amendment, which was loſt without a diviſion.

had

had put the houſe completely into poſſeſſion of his whole plan; but thought the queſtion ought not to be agitated, whilſt a part of the country was in a ſtate of rebellion, and a moſt dangerous conſpiracy exiſted in it, as appeared by the report of the ſecret committee. He therefore moved an adjournment. A very heated debate* enſued, which laſted till five o'clock in the morning, when the houſe divided, 170 for the adjournment, and 30 only againſt it.

†The rigor of military government was firſt enforced under General Lake in

* This ſubject having been ſo often debated, I repeat no part of the debate. The only new point made ſeemed to be the actual effects of the coercion, that had for ſome time been ſyſtematically adopted. The language of government was, *the people muſt be ſubdued, before they ſhall be relieved:* and neither Catholic emancipation nor parliamentary reform can be now granted, becauſe they are made the pretences for inſurrection and rebellion. Mr. Grattan, who ſpoke laſt in the debate, ſaid (17 *Parl. Deb. p.* 567), "I have in my hand a paper ſigned by nine hundred perſons, "conſiderable men in buſineſs, and northern merchants, containing the following reſolutions, in "ſubſtance: 'That they conceive the cauſe of the preſent diſcontent to be the miſerable ſtate of 'the repreſentation; that the diſcontent and ſuffering will continue until parliament ſhall be re-'formed, and that they will perſiſt in the purſuit of that object, and will not loſe ſight of it by 'cavils at the plan, but will expect and be ſatisfied with ſuch a plan as does ſubſtantially reſtore to 'the community the right of electing the Houſe of Commons—ſecuring its independence againſt 'the influence of the crown—limiting the duration of parliament, and extending to his majeſty's 'ſubjects the privileges of the conſtitution, without diſtinction of religion.' Such a plan we offer "you; that is our plan of peace, our idea of ſtrength and union againſt a foreign enemy: we con-"ceive, that all your other plans have failed; you tried them—you tried your revenue, and you "failed; you tried your public credit—it has failed; you tried your armed force—it has failed; "you have attempted to combat democracy by armies, and you failed; you ſent armies againſt "your enemies to combat that principle, and you failed; you ſent armies againſt your people, and "you failed. You conquered your laws indeed; you conquered the perſon of the ſubject—but you "could not ſubdue his mind—you could not conquer the paſſion or the principle: on the contrary, "you inflamed both. What then remains? Try this plan—reform the parliament."

† As Mr. Grattan viewed the ſubject he thus enumerated the effects produced by that ſyſtem of coercion, which he called upon the government to change. "But," ſaid he, "gentlemen chiefly "rely on the report of the ſecret committee, and alledge, that a conſpiracy appears from that re-"port to have eſtabliſhed itſelf in a way ſo extenſive and formidable, as to render any conciliatory "meaſure inadmiſſible; 'they muſt be ſubdued before they ſhall be relieved:' ſuch are the words "of gentlemen—dangerous and inconſiderate words! But from that very report, I draw a con-"cluſion diametrically oppoſite; from that report, I conclude, that parliamentary reform is not "merely eligible, but abſolutely indiſpenſable; in that report, and from the ſpeeches of gentlemen, "we learn, that a conſpiracy has exiſted for ſome years; that it was compoſed originally of perſons "of no powerful or extenſive influence; and yet theſe men, under proſecution and diſcounte-"nance, have been ſo extended as to reach every county in the kingdom; to levy a great army; "to

in the northern diſtrict, where he commanded: many ſeizures of concealed arms and ammunition were made. In the execution of theſe orders, ſome barbarous outrages were committed by the military, which tended to inflame and exaſperate the minds of the people, which were already too highly inflamed. Not only ſome women and children had been murdered, but the houſes of ſome reſpectable perſons were pillaged and demoliſhed, upon the bare ſuſpicion of their being United Iriſhmen.* Great diſcontent was created in

" to provide arms and ammunition; and to alarm, as the report ſtates, the exiſtence of the govern-
" ment, with the number of its proſelytes, procured by theſe two popular ſubjects—parliamentary
" reform, and Catholic emancipation. It appears, then, that they have recruited by theſe topics,
" and have ſpread their influence, notwithſtanding your ſyſtem of coercion every where; that
" notwithſtanding your convention bill of 1793, that this convention has grown; that notwith-
" ſtanding your gunpowder act, it has armed and encreaſed its military ſtores under that act; that
" notwithſtanding your inſurrection act, another bill to diſarm, it has greatly added to its maga-
" zines; and that notwithſtanding the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus bill, and General Lake's
" proclamation, it has multiplied its proſelytes. I ſhould have aſked, had I been on the ſecret
" committee, whether the number of united Iriſhmen had not encreaſed very much ſince General
" Lake's proclamation, and by General Lake's proclamation. It appears, I ſay, from that report,
" that juſt as your ſyſtem of coercion advanced, the United Iriſhmen advanced; that the meaſures
" you took to coerce, ſtrengthened; to diſperſe, collected; to diſarm, armed; to render them
" weak and odious, made them popular and powerful: whereas, on the other hand, you have
" loaded parliament and government with the odium of an oppreſſive ſyſtem, and with the further
" odium of rejecting theſe two popular topics, which you allow are the moſt likely to gain the heart
" of the nation, and be the beloved objects of the people."

Mr. Grattan cloſed his ſpeech and the debate with theſe words: " We have offered you our
" meaſure; you will reject it: we deprecate yours; you will perſevere: having no hopes left to
" perſuade or diſſuade, and having diſcharged our duty, *we ſhall trouble you no more, and after this*
" *day ſhall not attend the Houſe of Commons.*" 17 Parl. Deb. p. 570.

* It is not my object to rehearſe every feat of cruelty or outrage committed either by the military or the rebels: there are too many, alas, on both ſides. I would not be thought to hazard general aſſertions looſely; and therefore merely mention ſome few inſtances, which began as early as the Spring of 1797: In the barony of Lower Orion, in the county of Armagh, one Birch, under a military eſcort with his hands tied behind him, was cut down by the ſerjeant, and died of his wounds; the pretext was, that ſome countrymen attracted by curioſity came near them and intended to attempt a reſcue: and on the night of the wake of the deceaſed, ſome ſoldiers, under command of Colonel Sparrow, broke into the houſe, took out the corpſe, and ſeverely wounded and mangled thoſe who were in the houſe. The colonel was tried and found guilty, though he had the king's pardon in his pocket, which he produced upon the ſentence being pronounced againſt him. A party of the Eſſex fencibles burnt the houſe and furniture of one Potter, a reſpectable farmer, becauſe his wife, who had ſeven infant children, either would not or could not tell where her huſband was.

in the north, by a proclamation publiſhed by General Lake on the 13th of March, 1797,* which was made in conſequence of a letter written to him by Mr. Pelham, ſetting forth the alarming and deſperate ſtate of the north. The newſpaper, called the Morning Star, which was publiſhed at Belfaſt, was the paper into which all the bold attacks upon the miniſters and publications in favor of liberty found their way: it was of courſe extremely obnoxious to government. The proprietors of it, Robert and William Simms, had been ſome time (i. e. from the 5th of February) committed to Newgate in Dublin, under the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus Act*. The perſon, who then conducted the paper having been required, refuſed to inſert a paragraph in it, which reflected on the loyalty of the people of Belfaſt: the next morning a detachment of the military iſſued very orderly from the barracks, attacked the printing office, and utterly demoliſhed every part of it.† Several other outrages were committed by the military on the inhabitants of Belfaſt: the houſe of Cunningham Gregg, Eſq. was deſtroyed with impunity, and without any pretext or provocation for ſuch an outrage. The harſhneſs of this military deſpotiſm drove many to deſperation, who had till then been loyally and peaceably diſpoſed. No European nation more keenly ſympathizes with the ſufferings of their unoffending relatives than the Iriſh; none more prompt to make the reſentment of them a common cauſe. It has been before ‡remarked, by the king's attorney general, that there is no nation under the ſun, that love equal and indifferent juſtice better than the Iriſh; or will reſt better ſatisfied with the execution thereof, although it be againſt themſelves. If theſe ſentiments ſtill mark the national characteriſtic (experience daily ſhews they do), it is difficult to prove, that the ſyſtem of ſending unarraigned perſons on board the tenders, and flagellating and torturing untried individuals to extort confeſſions either of themſelves or others, of burning and deſtroying the houſes and property of perſons either ſlightly ſuſpected, or maliciouſly

was. Another party of the ſame regiment quartered at Enniſkillen, broke open the houſe of Farmer Durman, at two o'clock, murdered one and wounded another of his ſons whilſt in bed. The like outrages were committed at Coolairll upon one Price an innkeeper, and his daughter, who were both dangerouſly wounded.

* Both this letter and the proclamation may be ſeen in the Appendix, No. CIV.

† It is credibly reported, that after the deſtruction of the Morning Star Printing Office, an officer, high in command, exclaimed in triumph, "We may now do as we pleaſe, for as the Star is "demoliſhed, no other paper dares to publiſh any act we may do."

‡ Viz. Sir John Davies, 1 vol. p. 22.

charged,

charged, of inflicting puniſhments on men, committing outrages on women, and devaſtating houſes, villages, and whole diſtricts with impunity, under the ſemblance of law and countenance of government, ſhould not goad a people of warm and quick ſenſibility into hatred, revenge, and frenzy, rather than reclaim them from raſhneſs, or reduce them to mildneſs and obedience. It was however the avowed opinion of government, that the treaſon was in the courſe of the winter 1796, and the ſpring of 1797, too deeply rooted to yield to the remedy of the law, even where it was put in force by the magiſtrates with activity.* Such an aſſumption was prominently calculated to open the door to the ſtrongeſt meaſures, and the general command given to the civil and military officers by proclamation to uſe the exertions of their utmoſt force, and to oppoſe with their full power all ſuch as ſhould reſiſt them in the execution of their duty, which was to ſearch for and ſeize concealed arms, admitted of a latitude of power, not very likely to be temperately regulated by raw troops let in upon a country denounced rebellious, and devoted to military rigor, as a neceſſary ſubſtitute for the inefficacy of the municipal law. A regiment of cavalry, called the *Antient Britons*, commanded by Sir Watkin William Wynne, were at all times prominently conſpicuous for the rigorous execution of any orders for devaſtation, deſtruction, or extermination. They were marked for it by the rebels, and in the courſe of the rebellion they were cut to pieces almoſt to a man.

In this convulſed ſtate of the nation, the difference of opinion between the two parties in parliament was not upon the neceſſity, but upon the likelieſt mode of reſtoring tranquillity. The opinions and meaſures of government were uniformly adopted, and unexceptionably acted upon: they therefore produced their effects. Whether or no an oppoſite ſyſtem of conciliation, if acted upon, would have prevented the calamities, which afterwards enſued, ſtill reſts in doubt, as every theory eſſentially muſt.† The ſecret committee have

* Report of ſecret committee in 1788. 17 Com. Journ. p. 899.

† If an individual from cloſe attention to all the circumſtances of the late tranſactions may preſume to offer his opinion, it is, that a ſyſtem of conciliation would not have diverted ſome of the leading and moſt inveterate traitors from their ambitious and nefarious projects; but it would have defeated them by regaining and ſecuring to government the great maſs of the people, without whoſe concurrence theſe arch-rebels muſt have dropped their iniquitous deſigns. They conſequently wiſhed for nothing more than a continuance and even aggravation of that ſyſtem of coercive irrita-

have made an aſſertion, though without any voucher for its truth, that contradicts the evidence of Mr. Stewart of Acton above referred to given on oath, namely, that ſince the eſtabliſhment of the union the atrocities formerly ſo frequent in thoſe parts had greatly ſubſided. Of the quantity of arms, which appeared by their own reports to be in the hands of the diſaffected, comparatively few were obtained by the ſearch then made in Ulſter by General Lake's orders; and it is alſo to be obſerved, that previouſly to, and during the circuit which took place in the month of April, 1797, acts of violence of every deſcription became more frequent, and were at the ſame time ſo ſyſtematically directed, with a view to ſtop the courſe of criminal juſtice againſt the United Iriſhmen, that the crown proſecutions in the diſturbed counties proved from their failure an encouragement rather than a reſtraint upon the treaſonable projects of the party.

The report of the ſecret committee was ſoon after followed by a proclamation, which after reciting many acts of outrage and rebellion that had been committed, and offering pardon, with certain exceptions, to all perſons guilty of the ſaid offences, who ſhould ſurrender within the period of a month, and give ſecurity for their future good behaviour, declared, that the civil power had proved ineffectual, and that it became neceſſary to employ the military force for the immediate ſuppreſſion of ſuch rebellious attempts. Notwithſtanding which meaſure of mercy and warning to the diſaffected, in the latter end of May, a general inſurrection in Ulſter was decided on, and the plan of attack for each county arranged.

That proclamation, which was publiſhed on the 17th of May, was ſent to Lord Carhampton, with a letter from Mr. Pelham, on the 18th of May, in conſequence of which his lordſhip immediately publiſhed the following order. " In obedience to the order of the lord lieutenant in council, it is the " commander in chief's commands, that the military do act* without waiting " for

tion. The alienation of every heart from government was an acceſſion to their ſtrength. I do not attribute this determined malice to every one of the gentlemen, who unfortunately engaged in the union. I believe that a change of ſyſtem would have reclaimed ſeveral.

* A very ſavage abuſe of this latitude of power appears in the following inſtance. Information had been lodged, that a houſe near Newry contained concealed arms; a party of the Ancient Britons repaired to the houſe; but not finding the object of their ſearch, they ſet it on fire: the peaſantry of the neighbourhood came running from all ſides to extinguiſh the flames, believing the fire

" for directions from the civil magiſtrates in diſperſing any tumultuous or " unlawful aſſemblies of perſons threatening the peace of the realm, and the " ſafety of the lives and properties of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects whereſoever " collected."* We are further informed by the ſecret committee, that the intention of a general inſurrection tranſpired, and was defeated by the active exertions of the army; notwithſtanding which a partial riſing did take place near the mountains in the county of Down, where the inſurgents, finding themſelves unſupported, ſoon diſperſed. The effect of the meaſures then adopted was immediately felt; the arms of the diſaffected by neceſſary acts of coercion were collected throughout the province in great numbers; the loyal were encouraged to declare themſelves; ſuch as had been miſled, came in crowds to take the benefit of the proclamation of pardon, which was now extended for another month; outrage ceaſed, and public confidence was ſo far reſtored throughout Ulſter in the courſe of the months of July and Auguſt, that the laws were adminiſtered with effect in the different counties during the ſummer circuit, and the manufacturing induſtry of the country was reſtored to its uſual vigor during the remainder of that year: and during and ſubſequent to the ſummer aſſizes, the civil authority was found throughout Ulſter fully adequate to the preſervation of the public peace, and all military interference was generally diſcontinued from that period.

Henceforward alſo the inferior ſocieties of United Iriſhmen, in general, diſcontinued their meetings; the people applied themſelves to their ordinary occupations; and though ſome of the higher committees were kept alive by the active leaders in the treaſon, yet for ſeveral months only a proportion of the counties of Ulſter were repreſented in the provincial committee; the others refuſed to ſend delegates; little money was collected; they could not ſucceed in reviving the inferior ſocieties; although they encouraged each other in the hopes of bringing the lower orders of the people again into action in caſe the enemy ſhould land, they were not able to make any im-

fire to have been accidental; it was the firſt military conflagration in that part of the country. As they came up they were attacked in all directions, and cut down by the fencibles: thirty were killed, among whom were a woman and two children. An old man of ſeventy years of age, ſeeing the dreadful ſlaughter of his neighbours and friends, fled for ſafety to ſome adjacent rocks; he was purſued, and though on his knees imploring mercy, his head was cut off at a blow.

* The proclamation and Mr. Pelham's letter, which preceded and occaſioned this order, are to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. CV.

preſſion of conſequence till the inſurrection in Leinſter was on the point of breaking forth; ſuch the committee ſtated to be the beneficial conſequences ariſing from the meaſures adopted in the year 1797. The leaders of the treaſon, apprehenſive leſt the enemy might be diſcouraged from any further plan of invaſion, by the loyal diſpoſition manifeſted throughout Munſter and Connaught on their former attempt, determined to direct all their exertions to the propagation of the ſyſtem in thoſe provinces, which had hitherto been but partially infected. With this view emiſſaries were ſent into the ſouth and weſt in great numbers, of whoſe ſucceſs in forming new ſocieties and adminiſtering the oaths of the union, there were in the courſe of ſome few months, but too evident proofs in the introduction of the ſame diſturbances and enormities into Munſter, with which the northern province had been ſo ſeverely viſited.

In May, 1797, although numbers had been ſworn both in Munſter and Leinſter, the ſtrength of the organization, excluſively of Ulſter, lay chiefly in the metropolis, and in the neighbouring counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Weſtmeath, and the King's County. It was very obſervable, that the counties, in which defenderiſm had prevailed, eaſily became converts to the new doctrines; and in the ſummer of 1797 the uſual concomitants of this ſpecies of treaſon, namely, the plundering houſes of arms, the fabrication of pikes, and the murder of thoſe who did not join their party, began to appear in the midland counties.

In order to engage the peaſantry in the ſouthern counties, particularly in the counties of Waterford and Cork, the more eagerly in their cauſe, the United Iriſhmen found it expedient in urging their general principles, to dwell with peculiar energy on the ſuppoſed oppreſſiveneſs of tithes (which had been the pretext for the old *White Boys'* inſurrections.) And it is obſervable, that in addition to the acts of violence uſually reſorted to by the party for the furtherance of their purpoſes, the ancient practice of burning the corn, and houghing the cattle of thoſe, againſt whom their reſentment was directed, was revived, and very generally practiſed in thoſe counties.

With a view to excite the reſentment of the Catholics, and to turn that reſentment to the purpoſes of the party, fabricated and falſe teſts were repreſented as having been taken to exterminate Catholics, and were induſtriouſly diſſeminated by the emiſſaries of the treaſon throughout the provinces of Leinſter, Munſter, and Connaught. Reports were frequently circulated amongſt

amongſt the ignorant of the Catholic perſuaſion, that large bodies of men were coming to put them to death. This fabrication, however extravagant and abſurd, was one among the many wicked means, by which the deluded peaſantry were engaged the more rapidly and deeply in the treaſon.

This honorable teſtimony of the loyalty of the Catholics of the three provinces of Leinſter, Munſter, and Connaught, is an authentic admiſſion by the ſecret committee, that the Catholic body was not at all implicated in that rebellion and treaſon, which had then been ſo repeatedly proclaimed to exiſt in the north. It alſo proves the execrable hypocriſy, with which thoſe leaders of the rebellion endeavoured to connect themſelves with every deſcription of perſons, to ſeize on their paſſions, and direct them to their own traiterous purpoſes. Their objects were to prepare the people by diſaffection to unite with the enemy in caſe of a future landing, and to diſpoſe the enemy to take advantage of the diſcontents of the people, whilſt they were in actual fermentation.

In the ſpring of 1797 the executive of the union thinking the French dilatory in their preparations, diſpatched Mr. Lewins as a confidential perſon to preſs for aſſiſtance. This agent left London in March, and proceeded to Hamburgh, but did not reach Paris till the end of May or beginning of June, from which time he continued to be the accredited miniſter of the Iriſh Union to the French Directory. And in the ſummer of 1797 the executive of the Union, apprehenſive leſt a premature inſurrection in the north before the promiſed ſuccours from France could arrive might diſappoint their proſpects, thought it neceſſary to ſend a ſecond agent to the French government, to urge with increaſed earneſtneſs, that the promiſed aſſiſtance ſhould be immediately ſent. He left Dublin in the end of June, and preſented himſelf with the neceſſary letters of credence to the French miniſter at Hamburgh. Meeting with ſome difficulty in obtaining a paſſport to proceed to Paris, he delivered to the miniſter of the republic a memoir to be forwarded to the Directory.

This agent was authorized to give France aſſurances of being repaid the full expences of any future armament ſhe might ſend to Ireland, as well as of the laſt, which had miſcarried; to be raiſed by the confiſcation of the lands of the church, of the property of all thoſe, who ſhould oppoſe the meaſures of the party. He was alſo particularly charged to negociate, if poſſible, a loan on the above ſecurity to the amount of half a million, or at leaſt three hundred

dred thouſand pounds, for the immediate purpoſes of the Union; and directions were given to him, that in caſe France could not be prevailed on to advance ſo large a ſum, he ſhould addreſs himſelf to the court of Spain for that purpoſe.

It appeared to the committee, that the executive of the Union, though deſirous of obtaining aſſiſtance in men, arms, and money, yet were averſe to a greater force being ſent than might enable them to ſubvert the government, and retain the power of the country in their own hands; but that the French ſhewed a decided diſinclination at all times to ſend any force to Ireland, except ſuch as from its magnitude might not only give them the hopes of conquering the kingdom, but of retaining it afterwards as a French conqueſt, and of ſubjecting it to all the plunder and oppreſſions, which other countries, ſubdued or deceived by that nation, had experienced. A remarkable illuſtration of which ſentiment in the Directory of France occurs in the ſubſtance of a letter ſaid to have been received from Lewins, the Iriſh agent at Paris, and ſhewn by Lord Edward Fitzgerald to John Cormick, a colonel in the rebel army, who fled from juſtice on the breaking out of the rebellion, and whoſe voluntary confeſſion upon his apprehenſion in Guernſey before Sir Hugh Dalrymple, is to be ſeen in the papers annexed to that report. This letter, although written apparently on money buſineſs, which is the cloak generally made uſe of by the party to conceal their real views, was perfectly intelligible when connected with and explained by the memoir preſented by Dr. M'Nevin,* the Iriſh agent to the French Directory. The letter ſtates, that

* It is a moſt remarkable circumſtance, that the memoir to the French Directory, with which Dr. M'Nevin was charged, ſhould have fallen into the hands of government: it is a proof either of their vigilance or of the perfidy of the Iriſh traitors, or of their French allies. Meſſ. O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin tell us in the memoir (p. 21) (they were in fact petrified at their firſt examination to ſee it lie on the table before them), that government *had ſome how or other obtained* their original memoir, to which they therefore refer; and the account, which the ſecret committee has given us of that memoir is as follows. The next communication of conſequence was in June, 1797, when an accredited perſon went from hence to communicate with the French Directory by their deſire: he went by Hamburgh, where he ſaw the French miniſter, who made ſome difficulty about granting a paſſport, and demanded a memorial, which was written by the accredited perſon, and given to the French miniſter under the impreſſion that the paſſport was not to be granted.

The memoir was written in Engliſh, and contained the objects of his miſſion according to the inſtructions which he had received from the executive. It began by ſtating, that the appearance of

that the truſtees, that is, the Directory, would not advance the five thouſand pounds, that is, the ſmaller number of troops aſked for in M'Nevin's memoir, ſaying,

of the French in Bantry Bay had encouraged the leaſt confident of the Iriſh, in the hope of throwing off the yoke of England with the aſſiſtance of France: that the event of that expedition had proved the facility of invading Ireland: that in the event of a ſecond expedition, if the object were to take Cork, Oyſter Haven would be the beſt place of debarkation; that the perſon who had been before accredited was inſtructed to point out Oyſter Haven as the beſt place of debarkation; and it ſtated the precautions which had been taken by throwing up works at Bantry, Fermoy, and Mallow. It further ſtated, that the ſyſtem of United Iriſhmen had made a rapid progreſs in the county of Cork, and that Bandon was become a ſecond Belfaſt; that the ſyſtem had made great progreſs in other counties, and that the people were now well inclined to aſſiſt the French; that 150,000 United Iriſhmen were organized and inrolled in Ulſter, a great part of them regimented, and one third ready to march out of the province. It detailed the number of the king's forces in Ulſter, and their ſtations; recommended Loughſwilly as a place of debarkation in the north, and ſtated, that the people in the peninſula of Donegal would join the French. It ſtated alſo the ſtrength of the garriſon in Londonderry, and that one regiment which made a part of it was ſuppoſed to be diſaffected. It mentioned Killybegs alſo as a good place of debarkation, and ſtated that the counties of Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Monaghan, were amongſt the beſt affected to the cauſe. In caſe of a landing at Killybegs, it recommended a diverſion in Sligo, and ſtated, that a force of 10,000 United Iriſhmen might be collected to fall upon Enneſkillen, which commanded the paſs of Lough Erme: that it was eaſy to enter the bay of Galway, but very difficult to get out of it: that the counties of Lough, Armagh, Weſtmeath, Kildare, King's County, and city of Dublin, were the beſt organized: that the Catholic prieſts had ceaſed to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were well affected to the cauſe: that ſome of them had rendered great ſervice in propagating with diſcreet zeal the ſyſtem of the union. It declared, that the people of Ireland had a lively ſenſe of gratitude to France for the part which ſhe took, and alſo to Spain for the intereſts ſhe took in the affairs of Ireland. It engaged, on the part of the National Directory, to reimburſe the expences of France in the expedition which had failed, and of another to be undertaken. The number of troops demanded was a force not exceeding 10,000, and not leſs than 5000 men. It ſtated, that a brigade of Engliſh artillery had been already ſent over, and that a large body of troops would probably be ſent if Ireland were attacked. A conſiderable quantity of artillery and ammunition, with a large ſtaff, and a body of engineers, and as many Iriſh officers as poſſible, whoſe fidelity they were aſſured of, were demanded as neceſſary to accompany the expedition. A recommendation was given to ſeparate the Iriſh ſeamen who were priſoners of war from the Britiſh, ſuppoſing they would be ready to join in an expedition to liberate their country. It further recommended a proclamation to be publiſhed by the French general, on his arrival there, that the French came as allies to deliver the country, not to conquer it: it alſo recommended to the Directory to make the independence of Ireland an indiſpenſable condition of the treaty of peace then depending; and ſtated, that a proceeding ſo authentic could not be diſguiſed or miſrepreſented, and would very much encourage the people of Ireland,

ſaying, they would make no payment ſhort of the entire ſum of, that is, the larger force, which they always declared their intention of ſending, and that this payment could not be made in leſs than four months from that time.

The demands of the party by their firſt agent went to a force not exceeding ten thouſand nor leſs than five thouſand men, with forty thouſand ſtand of arms, and a proportionate ſupply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, experienced officers, &c.

A ſtill larger ſupply of arms was ſolicited by the ſecond meſſenger, on account of the growing number of their adherents, and of the diſarming of the north, in which province above ten thouſand ſtand of arms and as many pikes had been ſurrendered to the king's troops.

Attempts were certainly made to procure the aſſiſtance of ſuch Iriſh officers then in foreign ſervice as might be prevailed upon, by receiving high rank, to engage in the ſervice of the Union, and a negociation was actually ſet on foot for that purpoſe; but it has been ſtated, that from the over caution of the agent who was employed in conducting this tranſaction, nothing in conſequence of it was effected.

A ſecond memoir was preſented by this confidential agent upon his arrival at Paris, in which he urged ſuch arguments as he conceived moſt likely to induce the Directory not to poſtpone the invaſion. He endeavoured to demonſtrate, that ſo favorable a diſpoſition as then exiſted in the Iriſh mind

Ireland. It contained alſo an aſſurance, that the Iriſh militia would join the French if they landed in conſiderable force:

Immediately after this memoir was given in to the French miniſter, a paſſport was granted to the writer to go to Paris, where he had ſeveral conferences with people in authority, ſome of them members of the Directory: the object of theſe conferences was to obtain ſome aſſurances of ſuccour from them that their agents had before given. The negociation for peace was then going on at Liſle. He was told by perſons in authority, that he did not think the Engliſh cabinet ſincere, but that if France could get the terms ſhe had a right to expect, the Directory would make peace.

A ſecond memoir was preſented at Paris by the ſame perſon ſoon after his arrival there; its object was to impreſs on the Directory the neceſſity of expediting the armament for Ireland by every argument which the writer could uſe.

After the breaking off of the negociation, and Lord Malmeſbury's return to England, aſſurances were given, that the French government would ſend a new expedition to Ireland, and that they would never abandon Ireland till ſhe was ſeparated from Great Britain, and theſe aſſurances were afterwards renewed.

was

was in no future contingency to be expected; and he artfully repreſented, that the deluſions held out by reform might ceaſe from delay, and thus render more difficult to France and the true republicans of that country their endeavours to ſeparate the two kingdoms, and to eſtabliſh a republic in Ireland.

Previous to that miſſion from Ireland, a confidential perſon was ſent over by the French Directory to collect information reſpecting the ſtate of Ireland. Failing to obtain the neceſſary paſſports in London to paſs into Ireland, he wrote over to requeſt that one of the party might meet him in London. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was ſent over, and did not fail to furniſh the French agent with every neceſſary intelligence.

The Directory gave the Iriſh agents ſent to Paris the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſupport, and did accordingly, during the ſummer, make preparations of very extenſive nature, both at the Texel and at Breſt, for the invaſion of Ireland; and in the autumn, intelligence was received by the executive of the union, that the troops were actually embarked in the Texel, and only waited for a wind.

In conſequence of this communication, great exertions were made by the party, and in the beginning of October, when the Dutch fleet was on the point of ſailing, the approach of the enemy was announced to the ſocieties as at hand.

The troops had been actually on board, commanded by General Daendells, but were ſuddenly diſembarked. The Dutch fleet, contrary to the opinion of their own admiral, as is believed generally, was, at the inſtance of the French government, obliged to put to ſea, which led to the ever memorable victory of the 11th of October, 1797, gained by Lord Duncan.

The traiterous triumvirate, who have given to the public their own report of the caſe and examination before the ſecret committee, have appeared uncommonly anxious, that their negociations with the enemy ſhould not be miſrepreſented; particularly that they ſhould not be ſuppoſed to have intended to throw their country under the dominion or power of France. By both their agents ſay they, (p. 20) rather a ſmall number of men, with a great quantity of arms, ammunition, artillery, and officers, were required; a ſmall force only was aſked for, becauſe the executive, faithful to the principle of Iriſh independence, wiſhed for what they deemed juſt ſufficient to liberate their country, but incompetent to ſubdue it. This moſt determined

reſolution, and that of the whole body, being collected as far as its opinion could be taken, always has been in no event to let Ireland come under the dominion of France, but it was offered to pay the expences of the expedition. The number required was 10,000 men at the moſt, and at the leaſt 5000. The executive inclined to the larger number; but even with the ſmaller, the general opinion among them was, there could be no doubt of ſucceſs: as to the quantity of arms, by the firſt meſſenger 40,000 ſtand were ſpecified, but by the ſecond, as much more as could be ſent; the difference aroſe from the diſarming that had gone on in the North, and the encreaſing numbers who were ready to uſe them. The executive alſo inſtructed its agent to negociate for a loan of money, if it could be had in France; if not, to negociate with Spain; the ſum was half a million. Ireland would infallibly become the ſeat of war, if they did not previouſly remove their grievances, the exiſtence of which would naturally invite and prove a powerful auxiliary to the enemy. Such a rupture it was obſerved, muſt be in the contemplation of the Britiſh cabinet, as ſeveral of its moſt leading members declared, that they conſidered the exiſtence of the Britiſh monarchy incompatible with that of the Republic. Conciliation, then, according to every rule of policy and common ſenſe, ſhould be ultimately adopted; and though it ſhould fall ſhort of the wiſhes of the people, it was aſſerted, if once poſſeſſed of a reaſonable ſhare of liberty they would not be brought to run the chance of a revolution in order to obtain a more perfect ſyſtem of freedom.

We have ſeen from the authority of the ſecret committee, that in the ſpring and ſummer of 1797, the maſs of the people were not infected with the union in the provinces of Leinſter, Munſter and Connaught: and that in the north tranquillity was faſt returning. It is well known, that the United Iriſhmen, who exiſted in the north were chiefly Preſbyterians and other Proteſtants: there were comparatively few Catholics amongſt them: and henceforth it is obſervable, that although the rebellion or traiterous conſpiracy, which had then been repeatedly reported and proclaimed to exiſt was engendered, nurtured, and eſtabliſhed in the north, the heavieſt conſequences of it evidently fell upon other parts of the kingdom. The general coercion,* in which

* In ſome places the ſheriffs refuſed, in others they complied with the requiſitions. An account of theſe proceedings in Dublin, Cork, and county of Kildare, may be ſeen in Appendix, No. CVI. The like were had almoſt throughout the kingdom. Of this period Mr. Grattan has given the following

which the kingdom was holden during the ſpring of 1797, induced ſeveral counties, corporations, and diſtricts to apply to the ſheriffs and other legal officers to convene meetings, in order to prepare addreſſes to the throne for the removal of his majeſty's miniſters, from his councils for ever. Theſe efforts of the people at large were no meaſures of the United Iriſhmen; at leaſt of ſuch of them, as at that time had any treaſonable views in their engagement: for by far the greater part of the United Iriſhmen at that period had no criminal intent in acceding to the union. The real traitors would have been ſorry, that the miniſters ſhould have been changed; for they always conſidered them as promoters of their own views, by creating diſaffection and diſcontent amongſt the people: they exerted themſelves in forwarding

lowing picture. (Pet. W. C. p. 9.) "The effect this had on their mind is manifeſt from a general reſolution to bring home the crops of the perſons ſo impriſoned; and the diſperſal of the neighbours ſo aſſembled, added conſiderably to that effect, ſtill further encreaſed when they ſaw moſt of thoſe ſufferers either triumphantly acquitted, or without proſecution enlarged after having been ſeized in their town, torn from their families, led as traitors through their counties, and for above a year confined in a goal, and *now carrying about in their own perſons, the living evidence of a convicted government and an expired conſtitution.*

"To this oppreſſion we ſubmit to his majeſty the diſperſal or prevention of county meetings, called for the purpoſe of addreſſing the king to remove his miniſters.

"The people of Ireland had been greatly miſrepreſented, they were neither ſlaves nor rebels; the powers of underſtanding, or of mental energy, had in ſome degree paſſed from the higheſt to the middle order, who had reſcued their liberty from the parliament of Great Britain, and would not be cheated out of it by the parliament of Ireland. They were not to be put down by venality, nor to be divided by religion; nor to be barked out of their freedom by the ſenſeleſs cry and forked tongue of his miniſters.

"That miniſter who determines to enſlave the people, muſt renounce his project or wade through their blood. The people accordingly in the ſpring of 1797, reſorted to the conſtitutional ways of petition, and applied to the different ſheriffs to ſummon their counties, and on refuſal by the ſheriff, (a dangerous courtly artifice to ſtop the prayers of the people from reaching the throne) they ſummoned themſelves. What was the conſequence? The petitioners were (we beg to repreſent to his majeſty) confounded with rebels, and the enemies of his miniſters were repreſented as the enemies of his perſon; the petitioners were anſwered by freſh troops from England and Scotland; in ſome inſtances the meetings were diſperſed by the army, and in others were deterred by the threat of military force; and thus did his majeſty's miniſters ratify the juſtice of the petitions againſt them, by adding this great and impeachable offence to all their other tranſgreſſions; and thus did his majeſty's miniſters reduce Ireland to the ſtate of a miſerable province, *whoſe miniſters had ſtopped totally and abſolutely the utterance of the people in parliament by corruption, in the nation by a convention bill, and in the counties by the army.*"

the reſiſtance of the petitions of the people, and triumphed in their failure and rejection.

The buſineſs of the union did not proceed during the remainder of the year 1797, with the ſame rapidity, that it had from the middle of the year 1796. For* as it appeared to the committee the ſteps then taken, as mentioned in the proclamation, had an almoſt immediate effect in repreſſing the audacity of the rebels and reſtoring tranquillity. The loyal inhabitants were enabled in many places to return in ſafety to their houſes; murders became leſs frequent; in many counties, particularly in Kildare and Tipperary, the people, ſenſible of the madneſs and wickedneſs of their conduct, began openly to acknowledge their crimes, ſurrender their arms, and point out their leaders and ſeducers; a ſubmiſſion which invariably obtained for them pardon and protection.

In April and the beginning of May, the deluſion of the people was ſo faſt and ſo widely yielding to the meaſures of government, which, while they treated with ſeverity the obſtinate guilty, in all caſes held forth mercy to the repentant, that the leaders of the treaſon both in Dublin and in the provinces began to perceive, that their cauſe was loſing ground.

After various adjournments, during which no buſineſs of moment was tranſacted, on the 3d of July, 1797, the commons were ſummoned to attend his excellency in the Houſe of Peers, when the royal aſſent was given to ſeveral bills, and his excellency after a long ſpeech† appropriate to the alarming circumſtances

* 17 Jour. Com. Appendix DCCCXXXIII.

† The following was his Excellency's ſpeech.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I HAVE the ſatisfaction of being at length enabled to relieve you from your " laborious attendance in parliament, and am commanded by his majeſty to expreſs the juſt ſenſe " he entertains of that firm temper and vigorous determination, which you have uniformly mani- " feſted in ſupporting his majeſty's government and protecting our happy conſtitution from the at- " tempts of every foreign and domeſtic enemy.

" I have much pleaſure in announcing to you, that the Britiſh parliament has paſſed acts for " aboliſhing the bounty on ſail cloth exported to Ireland, and for prohibiting the importations of " cambrick from all countries except this kingdom.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I am to thank you in his majeſty's name for your unanimity in voting the ex- " traordinary ſupplies which the public exigencies demanded. However unprecedented thoſe ſup- " plies

cumſtances of the country, prorogued the parliament to the 10th of Auguſt; which was afterwards diſſolved by proclamation on the 11th of July, 1797.

On

" plies have been in extent, and however difficult they may have been rendered from the ſtate of " public credit, you have wiſely attended to the ſuperior conſideration of national ſafety. Such " an exertion is the ſureſt proof that you are truly ſenſible of the invaluable bleſſings which we are " contending to preſerve, and that the beſt means of effecting an honorable peace, and of reſtor- " ing all the comforts of tranquillity, are by diſplaying at once your determination and your power, " and by convincing your enemies of the extent of your reſources as well as of the extent of your " courage.

" The ready aſſiſtance which has been received from the ſiſter kingdom in facilitating the loan " of the year, whilſt it is a ſure demonſtration of her friendly cordiality, cannot fail to ſhew how " inſeparable are the mutual intereſts of the two kingdoms, and how neceſſary their connection is " for their mutual proſperity.

" Your humanity in directing your attention to the preſent diſtreſs among the manufacturers, does " not leſs command my approbation than your prudence in the mode of conveying relief by in- " creaſing the means of their employment.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The powers with which you entruſted me by the ſuſpenſion of the habeas " corpus act, have enabled me to bring to light and to diſconcert the formidable and ſecret con- " ſpiracy, which had been formed for the total overthrow of your eſtabliſhments, the deſtruction of " property, and the diſſolution of government. This conſpiracy has been ſo fully unfolded by your " wiſdom, that it can no longer ſpread itſelf under the inſidious pretence which it had artfully " aſſumed, of improving the conſtitution. In the meaſures, whether of vigilance or of coercion, " which you have recommended for its extinction, I ſhall not relax. It will be my ſtudy to tem- " per the neceſſary acts of ſeverity and rigor, by conciliatory offers of clemency and pardon, to " exhort the infatuated and deluded to abandon their deceivers, and to ſummon the guilty to re- " pentance, but at the ſame time it is and will be my fixed purpoſe to proceed with vigour againſt " thoſe, who, regardleſs of every warning and admonition, ſhall continue their deſperate efforts to " involve this flouriſhing country in all the horrors of inſurrection and invaſion, of bloodſhed and " of anarchy.

" I have already the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that great numbers who had been unfortunately " ſeduced have returned to a ſenſe of duty and been admitted to his majeſty's clemency, and I " truſt that by perſeverance and energy every veſtige of diſaffection will be effaced, and univer- " ſally give way to the return of that ſpirit of loyalty, which has ſo long been the diſtinguiſhing " characteriſtic of this kingdom.

" I cannot omit to congratulate with you on the unimpaired luſtre of that ſpirit, which ſo conſpi- " cuouſly ſhone forth when the enemy's fleet appeared on our coaſts, nor can I too often repeat my " full ſenſe of your wiſdom in the eſtabliſhment of diſtrict corps. I have the moſt ſatisfactory ac- " counts of their improvements in diſcipline as well as of their exertions in quelling and prevent- " ing inſurrection, and I have myſelf witneſſed the unexampled exertions, good conduct, and mi-

" litary

On the 22d of June, 1797, a proclamation had been iſſued, for extending the time for the United Iriſhmen to come in and take the oaths of allegiance to the 24th of July. The reſult of the ſummer circuits was unſatisfactory both to government and to the people. An unuſual number of offenders at all the aſſizes were found guilty: but in the northern counties, where many had been confined for the greater part of the year upon the charge of being

" litary appearance of the corps of the metropolis, whoſe unceaſing and unwearied vigilance at a " moſt important criſis, checked every attempt to produce confuſion by riot and tumult, at the " ſame time that it deſtroyed the hopes of our enemies, and reſtored confidence to the country in " general.

" Your judicious augmentation of pay to his majeſty's regular and militia forces, which muſt " render their ſituation ſo highly comfortable, is at once a ſeaſonable and honorable acknowledg- " ment of their ſteadineſs and loyalty.

" The traitorous efforts which have been made to entice them from their allegiance have had a " fatal effect in a few lamentable examples. I truſt, however, they have excited in the minds of " others ſo timely a repentance, and in the reſt ſuch indignation and abhorrence, that in future no " danger can be apprehended.

" Your wiſe inſtitution of a ſinking fund, in the midſt of financial difficulties, cannot be too " much applauded, and will prevent any ruinous depreciation of funded ſtock, and being eſtabliſh- " ed before the national debt has accumulated to any oppreſſive magnitude, will tend to prevent " its becoming dangerous. A meaſure ſo truly calculated for preſerving the reſources of the ſtate " and ſupporting public credit, muſt ſecure to you the gratitude of an enlightened people.

" His majeſty is exerting every proper effort to produce a ſpeedy and ſecure peace. It will be " our duty to aſſiſt thoſe efforts by convincing our enemies, from the ſtate of our preparation and " the unanimity of our ſpirit, that they can hope for no advantage by prolonging the calamities of " war.

" Wherever your abilities, your influence and exertions, can be moſt advantageouſly employed " on your return to your ſeveral counties, I am confident they will be moſt conſpicuouſly diſplay- " ed. A conſtant intercourſe with your immediate neighbourhoods muſt give you an opportunity " of affording to the people both aſſiſtance and example, of reclaiming thereby the deluded and " ill-diſpoſed, and confirming the well affected in their fidelity and allegiance. A forward ſpirit " of loyalty, which in moſt parts of the kingdom has ſucceſsfully checked the progreſs of treaſon, " will be ſtrengthened and diffuſed by your preſence and exertions. It will be my ambition to " ſecond your activity and zeal, and to co-operate with your efforts for reſtoring the tranquillity " and proſperity of the kingdom.

" We have a common and ſacred cauſe to defend, the independence and conſtitution of Great " Britain and Ireland, from which both kingdoms have derived innumerable bleſſings under his " majeſty's auſpicious reign. They were purchaſed by the deareſt blood of your anceſtors in a " criſis not leſs formidable than the preſent; I truſt we ſhall not fail to imitate their great example, " and that we ſhall be enabled by ſimilar courage and continued firmneſs to tranſmit to poſterity " inviolable, that invaluable inheritance which their valor reſcued and their perſeverance preſerved.

United

United Iriſhmen, they were moſtly acquitted when brought to trial. Such was the caſe at Antrim. For after ſeveral of them had been put on their trial and acquitted, Mr. Marcus Beresford produced a warrant filled with the names of all the priſoners and ſeveral other obnoxious perſons charged with high treaſon, by virtue of which the commiſſion of gaol delivery was ſuperſeded, and thoſe unfortunate wretches, who with a fond hope had looked up to their day of trial as that of their delivery, were remanded back to priſon without any trial, and thence removed to a military priſon in Belfaſt. The illegality of ſuch detention in military confinement was declared by the King's Bench in the next Michaelmas term.*

Wherever

* In B. R. 20th Nov. 1797. Proceedings in the caſe of Thomas Huſon, and eleven other priſoners who had been brought up by *Habeas Corpus* from the Artillery Barracks at Belfaſt, to have the legality of their detention by General Lake and Colonel Barber examined by the court.

The return of the writ of *Habeas* was made by Gen. Lake, who had the priſoner, Tho. Huſon, in cuſtody, and was in ſubſtance, "that he held the body of the priſoner by virtue of a warrant under "the hand and ſeal of his excellency the lord lieutenant, directed to him (General Lake) to Colonel "Barber and all other his majeſty's officers, civil and military." A copy of which warrant was annexed to the writ.

The copy of the warrant was read, which was directed as above, and ſtated that, "whereas in"formation had been received by his excellency, that Thomas Huſon had been concerned in trea"ſonable practices, that warrant therefore was to authorize the ſaid, &c. to arreſt him the ſaid Tho. "Huſon, wherever he might be found, and to hold him in ſafe cuſtody until diſcharged by due "courſe of law, &c. (ſigned) Camden."

Mr. Emmet, as counſel for the priſoners, ſubmitted to the court, it was his duty to move, that the priſoners at the bar be diſcharged: and if the court ſhould think, on the arguments which he ſhould offer, that they ought not to diſcharge the priſoners, he would then move, that they be admitted to bail. He concluded by ſuggeſting to the court that they ſhould remand the priſoners, and leave it to Gen. Lake to confer with the law officers of the crown, and move by them that the cuſtody of the priſoners ſhould be changed.

The court ſaid, that if he meant the court ſhould commit the priſoners, they were not ſure that they muſt not admit them to bail.

Mr. Emmet moved the court to commit them conditionally to the Marſhalſea, until the point ſhould be determined, or that at leaſt their agent ſhould be permitted to ſee them, as, if he were rightly inſtructed, they had to complain of the moſt aſtoniſhing and horrible treatment.

The attorney general ſaid he knew not how they were treated.

Solicitor general ſaid, the keeping theſe men had been committed to the firſt magiſtrate of the ſtate,—that he alone was reſponſible for their ſafety, and that the court could not therefore interfere in their cuſtody, in any manner;—they could not even be brought up to trial without an order from the privy council.

It

Wherever the ſtrong meaſures of government are puſhed to a vigor beyond the law, it becomes eſſential, that the neceſſity of ſuch overſtretched rigor ſhould not only exiſt, but that it ſhould be known and felt by the people, on whom that ſuperlegal ſeverity may fall. Much miſchief was produced in Ireland by the people's not being convinced of the neceſſity of ſubjecting the law to the ſword, and their diſcontents encreaſed with every inſtance, in which the law counteracted the efforts of the government to haraſs and oppreſs them: for in that light did they conſider the confinement under warrants for high treaſon of thoſe United Iriſhmen, who had been tried and acquitted under the charge of treaſonable practices; it was a detrimental triumph, which encreaſed their confidence in the cauſe of union and their contempt and

It was at length agreed between the parties, and the court ordered accordingly, that the priſoners ſhould be kept in Newgate until the argument on the caſe ſhould be determined. When the priſoners were brought up to await the opinion of the court, the judges delivered their opinions *ſeriatim*. They were unanimous: 1ſt, That it was not neceſſary nor right the original warrant ſhould be returned, but that a copy of it was ſufficient: 2d, That the warrant ought to be ſealed, but that enough appeared on the face of the return to induce them to believe it was ſealed: 3d, That the offence ſtated in the warrant as the cauſe of detention, viz. being concerned in treaſonable practices, was ſufficiently preciſe to juſtify a committal under the act, or holding to bail at common law: 4th, That though it be neceſſary, that at common law there ſhould be an information on oath to juſtify a committal, yet under this act which juſtifies committal even on ſuſpicion, it did not ſeem neceſſary there ſhould be information on oath, and even at common law where information on oath is required, it was not neceſſary that the warrant ſhould ſtate that the information was on oath: 5th, That the objection made for the priſoners on the confinement being in a place not a legal priſon, and the warrant under which they had been committed, not being to a known officer of the law, but to a military man, was fatal, that in ſome caſes a private perſon may legally hold a man in confinement, but it muſt be only for a reaſonable time, until his examination be compleated or until (as in the caſe of Kendal and Rowe) he be tranſmitted to the proper priſon; but ſuch confinement by a private perſon or in a place not a priſon, cannot legally exceed the ſpace of three days. In the preſent caſe there was no colour for ſuppoſing, that the priſoners were detained only for further examination, or until they ſhould be transmitted to a known priſon, for the warrant expreſsly charged the perſons to whom it was directed, to detain them until diſcharged by due courſe of law, that the priſoners therefore not being in a legal priſon, did not fall within the act for ſuſpending the *Habeas Corpus* act, it being neceſſary, in order to bring them within the operation of that act, that they ſhould be in priſon, and committed by a warrant from his excellency, &c. for high treaſon, ſuſpicion of treaſon, or treaſonable practices,—and finally, that not being within that act, and nothing appearing againſt them but the charge of treaſonable practices, which at common law was bailable, the court was bounden to admit them to bail.

Each of the priſoners was then bailed to appear at the next aſſize for the County of Antrim, and diſcharged.

diſſaffection

diſſaffection for government, to ſee Huſon and his united aſſociates liberated on bail by the court of law out of the military power of the government. Individual oppreſſion from the great found alſo redreſs at law in ſome few inſtances,* and the multitude greedily connected the particular grievance with the

* It has been often ſaid, that hiſtory in general is no other, than the melancholy record of human crimes and calamities. That is in part true; as virtue and felicity are ſo much more rare to be met with through life, than vice and wretchedneſs. Yet if the recording of bad actions take the right bearing, poſterity may receive as uſeful a leſſon from the rehearſal, as from the moſt high flown panegyricks of extraordinary deeds of heroiſm. Horror and diſguſt of certain vices often operate more powerfully upon individuals, than the love and admiration of the oppoſite virtues. In modern hiſtory every detail of an action, that is not meritorious becomes in ſome degree invidious. Hiſtory is written for nations not for individuals: and national juſtice ſuperſedes private feelings. This work is intended, as it's title announces, to be an Hiſtorical View of the State of Ireland: it never was deſigned to be a Newgate Calendar of miſdemeanours and crimes, to work upon the fickle, various, momentary, and not always well directed paſſions of the readers. My view is to ſhew as far as authority will bear me out, what have been the efficient cauſes of national effects. If a general aſſertion be hazarded, it may be neceſſary to allege a particular inſtance to confirm or illuſtrate the ſtatement. The following caſe is ſtated, to prove how in various ways the lower mind became eſtranged from and worked up to reſentment and revenge againſt the government. Such a precedent muſt from the natural workings of human nature (and much as it may have been the faſhion to brutalize the Iriſh peaſantry, they are peculiarly ſympathetic and ſenſitive to their own concerns) have advanced the cauſe of the union more in one week, than the moſt active emiſſaries from their arch-rebel leaders could have done in ſix months.

A very remarkable action for falſe impriſonment was tried at the aſſizes of Roſcommon, before the Hon. Juſtice Finucane and a very reſpectable Jury, wherein Alexander Colvil was plaintiff, and the Right Hon. Charles Lord Viſcount Dillon, defendant.

" The caſe ſtated was, that the plaintiff was on Sunday the 12th of January, arreſted on a pretended charge of felony by two conſtables, who bound the plaintiff with hempen ropes, and brought him a priſoner to Loughlin, before his lordſhip. That his lordſhip told plaintiff, there were informations ſworn againſt him for ſheep ſtealing, and his lordſhip further told plaintiff, that he had an order from government to tranſport any perſon of bad character to Botany Bay, and that he would ſend plaintiff there the next day; that his lordſhip then gave verbal orders to ſaid conſtables to take plaintiff to the *black hole:* as they were conducting plaintiff to the *black hole*, they were met by a ſerjeant of Capt. Dillon's company, who offered plaintiff a ſhilling to enliſt him in ſaid company;—that plaintiff having refuſed to enliſt, or accept of the ſhilling, was then very ſeverely bound with ropes and put into the *black hole;* that the *black hole* is a dark, damp, arched vault, ſituate under old ruins in the demeſne of his lordſhip, to which there was neither light or air admitted, but through a ſmall ſpike hole cut through a ſingle ſtone: that the *black hole* is not a public priſon or bridewell, but uſed as a place of confinement by Lord Dillon only. That the perſon called Captain Dillon is the ſuppoſed natural ſon of his lordſhip, and that his lordſhip procured for him ſome commiſſion in

the general ſyſtem of government. Every ſuch inſtance greatly tended to promote the union.

From the before mentioned cauſes it is evident, that towards the cloſe of the year 1797, the union rather abated, than increaſed. One unequivocal ſymptom of it's decline was the renovation of diſſention between the Diſſenters and the Catholics in the north. Sir Richard Muſgrave * from an anonymous acquaintance, reports, that moſt of the Preſbyterians ſeparated from the papiſts in the year 1797; ſome from "principle, ſome becauſe they doubted "the ſincerity of perſons in that order: and others foreſeing, that the plot "muſt fail and end in their deſtruction, took advantage of the proclamation

the army on the terms of his raiſing men, to effect which, his lordſhip uſed ſuch means as his rank and power in the country enabled him to put in execution. That on the 13th of January, plaintiff was brought from the *black hole* into Lord Dillon's preſence, and after ſeveral efforts to intimidate plaintiff by charges of felony, his lordſhip declared there was evidence ſufficient to hang the plaintiff; and then ordered him to be brought to Captain Dillon's barracks, where he was kept about two hours, then hand-cuffed, and again put into the *black hole*. From Sunday the 12th of January to Saturday the 1ſt of February plaintiff was kept a priſoner without any lawful authority, and for the moſt part confined in the *black hole*, but ſometimes in the barracks—that he was bounden with ropes, and otherwiſe treated with great cruelty, particularly, that he was for twenty-five hours of his ſaid confinement in the black hole, hand-cuffed to one Henry Darr, who among ſeveral others, was ſent there by the ſaid Lord Dillon.

"That plaintiff, by his confinement in the *black hole*, found himſelf grown very weak, and his health otherwiſe much impaired; that during plaintiff's ſaid confinement ſeveral efforts by threats and promiſes were made by Captain Dillon, his ſerjeant, and ſome of his recruiting party, and by Lord Dillon perſonally, to induce the plaintiff to enliſt, which he obſtinately refuſed; that Mr. Charles Coſtello, who is the plaintiff's landlord, hearing of his confinement, ſent his agent to Lord Dillon, to know for what offence plaintiff was confined, but if there were informations ſworn againſt him for felony, that he might be ſent to the county goal; upon which application, and no information of any kind appearing againſt the plaintiff, he was ſet at liberty. In ſome time after, at the plaintiff's inſtance, Mr. Coſtello perſonally applied to his lordſhip, and requeſted he might make ſome compenſation to plaintiff for his illegal confinement and great ſufferings, which his lordſhip declined, and ſaid, "*What ſignifies a fellow of that kind, or what can he do?*" This caſe was ſtated by Counſellor Boyd, with much energy and force of argument, and fully proved to the aſtoniſhment of the learned judge, and of the jury, who after a very eloquent and impreſſive ſpeech to evidence from Counſellor Webber, gave a verdict of ſixty pounds with full coſts to the plaintiff, who is a poor induſtrious mechanic, with a wife and ſeveral children, totally dependant on his induſtry for ſupport.

"This caſe is literally copied from the brief, and ſuch were the proceedings.

"E. Costello."

* Memoir. pag. 194.

of

" of the 17th of May, and renounced their affociates. Numbers withdrew " becauſe they doubted of ſucceſs without foreign aſſiſtance. The Preſby- " terians of the counties of Down and Antrim, where they are very numerous, " and where they are warmly attached to the union from pure republican " principles, thought they could ſucceed without the Papiſts." Certain it is, that the northern unioniſts generally held back from this time: the Proteſtants of Ulſter were originally Scotch, and ſtill retain much of that guarded policy, which ſo peculiarly characterizes the inhabitants of North Britain. Some barbarous murders in different parts of the kingdom were committed: but they do not appear to have been perpetrated by members of the union or perſons in any manner connected with them. By the report of the ſecret committee, it appears, that from the ſummer of 1797 the diſſaffected entertained no ſerious intention of hazarding an effort independent of foreign aſſiſtance, until the middle of March. Their policy was to riſk nothing ſo long as their party was gaining ſtrength. Whatever were the immediate cauſe of the union's falling off, we find that from the autumn of 1797 the Roman Catholics firſt in the north and afterwards ſucceſſively throughout the kingdom publiſhed *addreſſes and reſolutions expreſſive of their horror of the principles of the United Iriſhmen, and pledging themſelves to be loyal and zealous in the defence and ſupport of the king and conſtitution. The northern addreſſes admitted the fact, and lamented that many of the Catholic body had been ſeduced into the union, and they deprecated the attempts which were made to create diſſention amongſt perſons of different religions. This example was followed by the generality of the Diſſenters. If addreſſes were teſts of loyalty, his majeſty had not more loyal ſubjects throughout the whole extent of the Britiſh Empire, than the Iriſh in the beginning of 1798. Scarcely a pariſh throughout the kingdom, ſcarcely a diſſenting meeting houſe, from which an addreſs of loyalty was not iſſued ſigned by the prieſt or miniſter of the flock.

So critically alarming for ſome time had the ſituation of Ireland appeared to that true and undaunted patriot, the Earl of Moira, that on the 22d of November, 1797, he renewed his application to the Britiſh Houſe of Lords, hoping to intereſt them in favor of the Iriſh people, and induce them to recommend meaſures of lenity and conciliation. He opened a very intereſting,

* Some of theſe are to be ſeen in Appendix, No. CVII.

inſtructive, and eloquent ſpeech, by taking a general view of the ſituation of the Britiſh empire, and lamented that the proſpective view of his country, which he had given in the laſt ſeſſion, had been more than realized. By the lord mayor of Dublin's application for relief, it appeared, that above 37,000 manufacturers in that city alone were reduced to the extremity of diſtreſs: and in the towns of Newry and Belfaſt, where the cuſtoms had uſually produced 15,000*l.* per annum, not one-fifteenth of that ſum had in the laſt year been received. His lordſhip then continued:*—"When I troubled your "lordſhips with my obſervations upon the ſtate of Ireland laſt year, I ſpoke "upon documents certain and inconteſtible. I addreſs you, upon this day, "my lords, upon documents equally ſure and ſtable. Before God and my "country, I ſpeak of what I have ſeen myſelf. But in what I ſhall think it "neceſſary to ſay upon this ſubject, I feel that I muſt take grounds of a re-"ſtrictive nature. It is not my intention to ſelect any individual, in order to "adduce a charge againſt him. It is not my wiſh to point a prejudice againſt "any one. What I have to ſpeak of, are not ſolitary and iſolated meaſures, "not partial abuſes, but what is adopted as the ſyſtem of government. I "do not talk of a caſual ſyſtem, but of one deliberately determined upon, "and regularly perſevered in. When we hear of a military government, we "muſt expect exceſſes, which are not all, I acknowledge, attributable to the "government; but theſe I lay out of my conſideration. I will ſpeak only "of the exceſſes that belong to, and proceed from, the ſyſtem purſued by "the adminiſtration of Ireland. I am aware it may be urged that a ſtate-"ment, ſuch as I am about to lay before your lordſhips, is calculated to "interfere too much with the internal government of the ſiſter kingdom. In "anſwer to this aſſertion, I would, if neceſſary, begin by laying it down as "an incontrovertible opinion, that we have ſo direct a concern and connexion

* The teſtimony, which the noble earl here gave of the perſonal feelings and ſentiments of the lord lieutenant, are confirmed by the general report and belief, that his excellency had for ſome time been diſguſted with the imperious, overbearing, and relentleſs ferocity of the majority of the Iriſh cabinet: that having in vain attempted to aſſuage their rage for ſeverity, he had ſo ſecretly negociated his recal, that the actual appointment of his ſucceſſor was the firſt ſuſpicion thoſe gentlemen had of a change. The Britiſh miniſter, though late, found the neceſſity of a firmer governor, who ſhould neither be ſeduced nor intimidated into the ſanguinary ſyſtem of provocation, which had brought the country to that dire calamity, under which it then laboured. 4 Parl. Reg. p. 238.

"with

" with Ireland, that any error of government in that country, is a fit ſubject " for our attention; and if circumſtances required it, for an addreſs to his " majeſty for the removal of the chief governor. My lords, this obſervation " applies not in any manner to the preſent lord lieutenant; on the contrary, " I will pay him the tribute which I think due to him, that to much private " worth and honor, his lordſhip adds, I believe, very ſincere wiſhes for the " happineſs of the kingdom, which has been placed under his government. " My lords, I have ſeen in Ireland the moſt abſurd, as well as the moſt diſ- " guſting, tyranny that any nation ever groaned under. I have been myſelf " a witneſs of it in many inſtances; I have ſeen it practiſed and unchecked; " and the effects that have reſulted from it have been ſuch, as I have ſtated " to your lordſhips. I have ſaid, that if ſuch a tyranny be perſevered in, " the conſequence muſt inevitably be, the deepeſt and moſt univerſal diſcon- " tent, and even hatred, to the Engliſh name. I have ſeen in that country a " marked diſtinction made between the Engliſh and Iriſh. I have ſeen troops " that have been ſent full of this prejudice, that every inhabitant in that king- " dom is a rebel to the Britiſh government. I have ſeen the moſt wanton " inſults practiſed upon men of all ranks and conditions. I have ſeen the " moſt grievous oppreſſions exerciſed, in conſequence of a preſumption, that " the perſon who was the unfortunate object of ſuch oppreſſion, was in hoſti- " lity to the government; and yet that has been done in a part of the coun- " try as quiet and as free from diſturbance as the city of London. Who " ſtates theſe things, my lords, ſhould, I know, be prepared with proofs. I " am prepared with them. Many of the circumſtances I know of my own " knowledge; others I have received from ſuch channels, as will not per- " mit me to heſitate one moment in giving credit to them.

" His lordſhip then obſerved, that from education and early habits, the " *Curfew* was ever conſidered by Britons as a badge of ſlavery and oppreſ- " ſion. It then was practiſed in Ireland with brutal rigor. He had known " an inſtance, where a maſter of a houſe had in vain pleaded to be allowed the " uſe of a candle to enable the mother to adminiſter relief to her daughter " ſtruggling in convulſive fits. In former times, it had been the cuſtom for " Engliſhmen to hold the infamous proceedings of the inquiſition in deteſta- " tion: one of the greateſt horrors, with which it was attended, was, that " the perſon, ignorant of the crime laid to his charge, or of his accuſer, was " torn from his family, immured in a priſon, and in the moſt cruel uncer-

" tainty

" tainty as to the period of his confinement, or the fate which awaited him. " To this injuſtice, abhorred by Proteſtants in the practice of the inquiſition, " were the people of Ireland expoſed. All confidence---all ſecurity were " taken away. In alluding to the inquiſition, he had omitted to mention one " of its characteriſtic features: if the ſuppoſed culprit refuſed to acknowledge " the crime, with which he was charged, he was put to the rack, to extort " confeſſion of whatever crime was alleged againſt him by the preſſure of " torture. The ſame proceedings had been introduced in Ireland. When " a man was taken up on ſuſpicion, he was put to the torture; nay, if he " were merely accuſed of concealing the guilt of another. The rack, indeed, " was not at hand; but the puniſhment of picqueting was in practice, which " had been for ſome years aboliſhed, as too inhuman, even in the dragoon " ſervice. He had known a man, in order to extort confeſſion of a ſuppoſed " crime, or of that of ſome of his neighbours, picqueted till he actually " fainted; picqueted a ſecond time till he fainted again; and as ſoon as he " came to himſelf, picqueted a third time till he once more fainted; and all " upon mere ſuſpicion! Nor was this the only ſpecies of torture: men " had been taken and hung up till they were half dead, and then threatened " with a repetition of the cruel treatment, unleſs they made confeſſion of the " imputed guilt. Theſe were not particular acts of cruelty, exerciſed by men " abuſing the power committed to them, but they formed a part of our ſyſ- " tem. They were notorious, and no perſon could ſay, who would be the " next victim of this oppreſſion and cruelty which he ſaw others endure. " This, however, was not all; their lordſhips, no doubt, would recollect the " famous proclamation iſſued by a military commander in Ireland, requiring " the people to give up their arms: it never was denied that this proclama- " tion was illegal, though defended on ſome ſuppoſed neceſſity; but it was " not ſurpriſing, that any reluctance had been ſhewn to comply with it, by " men who conceived the conſtitution gave them a right to keep arms in their " houſes for their own defence; and they could not but feel indignation in " being called upon to give up their right. In the execution of the order, " the greateſt cruelties had been committed: if any one was ſuſpected to " have concealed weapons of defence, his houſe, his furniture, and all his pro- " perty, was burnt: but this was not all; if it were ſuppoſed that any diſtrict " had not ſurrendered all the arms which it contained, a party was ſent out " to collect the number at which it was rated; and, in the execution of this

" order,

" order, thirty houſes were ſometimes burnt down in a ſingle night. Officers " took upon themſelves to decide diſcretionally the quantity of arms; and " upon their opinions theſe fatal conſequences followed. Many ſuch caſes " might be enumerated; but, from prudential motives, he wiſhed to draw a " veil over more aggravated facts, which he could have ſtated, and which he " was willing to atteſt before the privy council, or at their lordſhip's bar. " Theſe facts were well known in Ireland, but they could not be made public " through the channel of the newſpapers, for fear of that ſummary mode of " puniſhment which had been practiſed towards the Northern Star, when a " party of troops in open day, (and in a town where the general's head-" quarters were), went and deſtroyed all the offices and property belonging to " that paper. It was thus authenticated accounts were ſuppreſſed. His " lordſhip concluded, with entreating the houſe to take into ſerious conſide-" ration their preſent meaſures, which, inſtead of removing diſcontents, had " increaſed the number of the diſcontented. The moment of conciliation " was not yet paſſed; but if the ſyſtem were not changed, he was convinced " Ireland would not remain connected with this country five years longer."

Lord Grenville, in reply, ſaid, that it was a matter of no ſmall difficulty to enter into the queſtion now brought forward, on the vague grounds and iſolated facts, upon which it was ſupported. He expreſſed his ſurpriſe to hear this government accuſed of hoſtile diſpoſitions towards the ſiſter country, or eager to keep up in it a ſyſtem of coercion. He confidently appealed to the houſe, whether we had ever abandoned meaſures of conceſſion or conciliation? For the whole ſpace of thirty years, his majeſty's government had been diſtinguiſhed by the ſame uniform tenderneſs of regard, by the ſame adherence to the principles of a mild ſyſtem. Amongſt the various inſtances exhibited of liberality and kindneſs on the part of this country towards Ireland, he adverted to the eſtabliſhment of its parliament into an independent legiſlature, and a wide extenſion of its commercial privileges. It was no arduous taſk to exonerate government from any charges of inhumanity. Bravery, clemency, and good nature, were the characteriſtic features of the Engliſh diſpoſition. That there might be individual exceptions, he pretended not to ſay; but, if ſuch exceſſes were perpetrated, were there no courts of juſtice, no laws, no magiſtrates, no tribunals, open to the complaints of the oppreſſed? Ireland had its juries as well as this country; and the ſame ſafeguards were provided for the lives of the Iriſh as for Engliſhmen. Indeed, if

a ſyſtem

a ſyſtem ſo rigorous as was deſcribed, had been purſued, it muſt naturally be reſented by a ſpirited and independent people. But what was the object for which theſe troops were ſent over? To protect the great body of the people againſt conſpiracy and aſſaſſination; to overawe and counteract the machinations of a ſet of men, who were actively plotting the deſtruction of their country, and favoring the deſigns of our moſt inveterate enemy. If againſt ſuch men they had been at times incited to acts of harſhneſs and ſeverity; if they had been occaſionally warmed into a ſenſe of indignation, which broke out into inſults and outrages, no one, who underſtood the heart of man, would wonder. What was more natural, than that a large body of Engliſhmen ſhould be enraged againſt the abettors of a conſpiracy, to deliver up the country to the French invaders? No public man, placed in ſo critical a ſituation as Lord Camden, had ever diſplayed more exemplary moderation in the diſcharge of a painful duty. If ſevere meaſures had been adopted, the circumſtances of the country had required it; and if any partial abuſes exiſted, we had only to lament them. Of the preſs, which was ſaid to be abridged of all its freedom moſt unjuſtly, he held now in his hand a paper printed, the contents of which were too ſhocking to read: its avowed object was to point out innocent men, by name to the poignard of aſſaſſins. It loaded his majeſty with the moſt opprobrious epithets, and reviled the Engliſh nation with every term of contumely, affirming it to be the duty of every Iriſhman to wreſt from the hands of Engliſh ruffians, the property which theſe Engliſh ruffians had wreſted from their anceſtors. The queſtion was, would their lordſhips interpoſe on the preſent occaſion, and tell the parliament of Ireland, and the Iriſh magiſtracy, that we were more careful of the intereſt and happineſs of their people than they themſelves were; and that the Engliſh military were not to obey the Iriſh laws, but the arbitrary inſtructions of the Britiſh parliament? Earl Moira ſaid, that no ſentiment had fallen from him to that effect. He had not reprobated the troops in Ireland for obeying the law, but the conduct of the executive government, which was repugnant to the feelings of the Iriſh people, inconſiſtent with the Britiſh character, and highly injurious to the real intereſts of both countries.

The Chancellor warmly ſupported Lord Grenville, as he ſaid it was his duty to do. He juſtified all acts of rigor, by the actual exiſtence of an horrid conſpiracy in Ireland againſt all thoſe whoſe duty it was to preſerve order in that country,

country, and by the printed liſt* of the individual objects of future aſſaſſination. The debate was put an end to by a motion for adjournment.

That the public had loſt or renounced all confidence in parliament, is evident, from the apathy and coolneſs, with which the elections went over in the Autumn: they felt no intereſt in the return of particular members, having been ſo repeatedly foiled in all their efforts to obtain legiſlative redreſs from the rank majorities, which had been lately encreaſed in proportion to the popular exertions to procure the two objects of their wiſhes, parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation. True it is, that theſe two points were made pretexts, catch words, and ſtalking horſes by the traitorous conſpirators; but for no other reaſon, than becauſe they knew them to be the genuine favorite, and not unjuſt objects of the popular affections and expectations: objects, which flattered their civil and religious propenſities and prejudices: objects, which ſatisfied their reaſoning, which intereſted their feelings, and worked up their paſſions to enthuſiaſm: objects, which theſe perfidious traitors now wiſhed to be oppoſed with coercion, oppreſſion, and perſecution, in order to ſtimulate the people to diſcontent and reſentment. Mr. Grattan had not a little encreaſed or confirmed this diffidence of the people in the legiſlature, by declining to accept a ſeat in the new parliament.† His colleague Lord Henry

* As this proſcribed liſt was never acted upon, and the individuals named in it never found it neceſſary to reſort to any extraordinary caution, or means of ſelf preſervation; as ſecrecy was the baneful principle of the union, and as ſuch a publication would have defeated the horrid project, had it ever been really formed, much credit muſt be given to Lord Moira's reply to the chancellor on this point. As to the paper to which the noble and learned lord, and the noble ſecretary had alluded, concerning the names of perſons, who were marked out for future aſſaſſination, he confeſſed, he ſuſpected it to be an invention to juſtify or to ſupport the meaſures, which had been adopted in Ireland, and of which he had already complained. He ſuſpected this the more, becauſe no printer of a newſpaper could have had it from any authentic ſource, for no man concerned in a conſpiracy for aſſaſſination, would communicate the intention of himſelf and colleagues. He wiſhed to ſpeak of aſſaſſins as he felt, with the greateſt indignation and abhorrence; but he muſt alſo add, that he believed that they originated in Ireland from private malice and revenge, and would do ſo from any party that happened to be predominant, while the preſent dreadful ſyſtem continued. It was not by a general ſyſtem of terror that it was to be prevented.

‡ Mr. Grattan's ſpeech to a meeting of freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, aſſembled at the Exchange on the 20th of July, 1797, together with Lord Henry Fitzgerald's addreſs, are to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. CVIII.

Dr. Duigenan almoſt immediately publiſhed a very violent and bitter anſwer to Mr. Grattan's addreſs to his fellow-citizens of Dublin. Upon its appearance, Mr. Grattan wrote the following note to Dr. Duigenan:

Henry Fitzgerald concurred with him, and accordingly publiſhed an addreſs to his conſtituents, ſetting forth the reaſons, which had induced him to ſecede from parliament. The diffidence and contempt of the people out of doors for the parliament was much encreaſed by the leaders of the Union, who thus artfully drew their attention to their two favorite objects parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation, to which parliament had given ſo decided an oppoſition.

The new parliament met, according to proclamation, on the 9th of January, 1798: Mr. Foſter was re-elected ſpeaker. On the 15th his excellency went to the Houſe of Peers, where he made a ſpeech from the throne.* The Earl

" Mr. Grattan has ſeen a very groſs, a very unprovoked, and a very ludicrous performance " written againſt him, and ſigned Patrick Duigenan.
" Mr. G. don't explain his public conduct to individuals.
" The Statute Book and the Journals of the Houſe of Commons are open.
" Were he to make his public conduct a ſubject of explanation, it would not be to ſuch a perſon " as Dr. D.
" But as the above-mentioned attack mixes in its folly much perſonal rudeneſs, Mr. G. judges " it not wholly beneath him to take ſome ſort of notice of it; and he is ſorry to be forced to " obſerve, that the author has departed from the manners and language of a gentleman, and " has thought proper to adopt a ſtrain ſo falſe, ſo vile, and ſo diſguſting, as to render Dr. D. " a ..... too ... and ludicrous to give an affront, or to make an apology.
" Mr. Grattan remains in Dublin for three days, and is to be heard of at Kearn's Hotel, Kildare- " ſtreet."

* The following is his excellency's ſpeech.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I HAVE his majeſty's commands to aſſemble you in parliament at this im- " portant period, and reſort to your deliberation and advice.

" When I reflect on the tranquillity which attended the late general election, I have juſt ground " to believe, that the wiſdom and firmneſs which were manifeſted by the late parliament were felt " and approved by the nation at large, and that your conduct will be actuated by ſimilar principles " in defence of our happy conſtitution.

" It muſt have given you great concern to learn, that his majeſty's endeavours to reſtore the " bleſſings of peace have been again fruſtrated by the deſperate ambition of the French government. " I have his majeſty's commands to lay before you his royal declaration, and the various papers " which paſſed in the courſe of the late negociation, in which the magnanimity and moderation of " his majeſty were ſo eminently diſplayed, as to leave no pretext or colour for the inſidious conduct " and fallacious ſtatements of the enemy.

" His majeſty relies with confidence on the ſpirit of his people of Ireland, who are ſenſible of " their duty to their God, their ſovereign, and their country. He knows they are incapable of " being intimidated by any threats, or deluded by any offers; and he implicitly depends on the " valour of his regular and militia forces, the active loyalty of the diſtrict corps, the courage of the " nation,

Earl of Roden moved the addreſs in the lords, which was as uſual an echo of the ſpeech. The Earl of Bective, in a maiden ſpeech, diſclaimed every idea of

" nation, and the proweſs of his fleets and armies for defeating every hoſtile attempt, which may " be made on this kingdom.

" The late ſignal victory of Admiral Lord Duncan over the Dutch ſquadron, atchieved on their " own coaſts with ſuch profeſſional ſkill and heroic gallantry, has not only added freſh luſtre to " the glory of his majeſty's navy, but has given new ſtrength and ſecurity to all his majeſty's do- " minions."

" GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

" I HAVE ordered the public accounts and the eſtimates for the enſuing year " to be laid before you: I lament, that additional burthens are ſtill neceſſary in order to maintain " the honor and ſecurity of the empire in the preſent exigency; and although from the ſtate of " preparation in which this kingdom ſtands ſome of the demands of former periods will not recur, " yet I fear the general expence of the enſuing year will not admit of any conſiderable reduction. " When you reflect on all you have to preſerve, and all you have to expect from the enemy you " have to combat with, I doubt not the ſupplies will be chearfully granted. I ſhall endeavour on " my part that they ſhall be faithfully applied."

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" IN conſequence of the Addreſſes of the Houſes of Lords and Commons in " May laſt, I directed immediate and vigorous meaſures to be taken for repreſſing diſaffection in " the northern parts of the kingdom, and for reſtoring ſecurity and confidence to the loyal and well- " diſpoſed; the effect of which has been manifeſted in the return of ſubordination and induſtry in " that quarter. Other attempts have ſince been made by the leaders of the diſaffected in ſome " parts of the midland and ſouthern diſtricts with too much ſucceſs, and emiſſaries have been em- " ployed, and publications have been circulated by them to revive religious animoſities, and to open " proſpects of plunder, by which means the lower claſſes have been excited to commit acts of the " moſt horrid outrage and barbarity. I have to lament, that the diligence and activity of the ma- " giſtrates, though aſſiſted by the troops which have been ordered into that part of the kingdom, " have not yet been able entirely to put a ſtop to thoſe diſturbances. Conſtant vigilance, and un- " remitting exertions continue to be neceſſary when all means are tried to excite the people to re- " bellion and revolt; when a ſyſtematic plan of aſſaſſination is adopted and encouraged, and when " the moſt audacious attempts are made to impede and prevent the adminiſtration of juſtice.

" Amidſt your exertions for the defence of the kingdom, I muſt not omit to recommend to you " not to relax your attention to its commerce, its agriculture, and its manufactures, and eſpecially " to that of the linen; nor will your liberality be leſs conſpicuous in continuing that protection to " the Proteſtant charter-ſchools, and the other charitable inſtitutions, under which they have ſo " long flouriſhed.

" His majeſty has commanded me to declare to you, that his firm reſolution is taken in the pre- " ſent arduous conteſt. He will not be wanting to his people, but with them will ſtand or fall in " the defence of their religion, and in the preſervation of the independence, laws, and liberties of " his kingdoms.

of vexatious oppoſition; but he could not agree to that part of the addreſs, which approved of the meaſures of adminiſtration. He reprobated the ſyſtem of coercion; thought Ireland was only to be reclaimed by timely conceſſion; and ſtrongly recommended Catholic emancipation and temperate reform. The chancellor, in a very animated reply, inſiſted that theſe objections were but catch words for revolt and rebellion: What did the noble lord mean, by uſing the phraſe, "imparting to the Roman Catholic body the "bleſſings of the conſtitution?" There was not a Roman Catholic in Ireland, to whom the benefits of its conſtitution were not extended as amply as to the noble lord, or any other peer who heard him. The Roman Catholics of Ireland laboured under no diſability, to which the Proteſtants were not equally ſubject; except the qualification to keep arms, of being a freeholder, or having a certain perſonal property, can be ſo conſtrued. The meaſures of emancipation and reform were far ſhort of the deſigns of the diſaffected: the ſeparation of that country from her imperial connection with Great Britain, and a fraternal alliance with the French republic, were the obvious purpoſes of the inſurgents. The government of Ireland had, by meaſures neceſſarily ſtrong, at length quieted that part of the country in which the conſpiracy originated. *Theſe meaſures were, to his knowledge, extorted from the nobleman who governed that country:* they had been ſucceſsful, and the ſtate of the north at that day was a proof of their wiſdom. The county, from which he had lately returned, and which had formerly been a loyal, induſtrious county, was infeſted by emiſſaries from the north, exciting the peaſantry to inſurrection. Emancipation and reform were not the means which they employed for the ſeduction of the peaſant. The ſuppreſſion of tythes, the abolition of taxes, and exemption from the payment of rent, were the rewards they promiſed. Emancipation and reform were only uſed to delude the better claſſes.

The queſtion being put on the addreſs, was carried in the affirmative.

The avowal, which Lord Clare made in that ſpeech, was moſt pointedly illuſtrative of this delicate and important period of Iriſh hiſtory, and conclu-

"It will be a ſource of infinite ſatisfaction to my mind, if, in the execution of my duty, I can "contribute to ſupport the generous determination of my ſovereign, and maintain the ſafety and "proſperity of his people. I rely upon your advice and co-operation, and, aided by them, I look "forward with confidence to a happy iſſue of the conteſt in which we are engaged."

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ſively demonſtrative of the benefit, which Ireland muſt reap from an incorporate Union with Great Britain, were it only to be relieved from the ferocious ſeverity, with which an Iriſh government has never failed, when permitted, to oppreſs and aggrieve their countrymen. His lordſhip's aſſertion, that the ſtrong meaſures of government had then quieted the north, was not generally admitted: but inaſmuch as he was the dictator of thoſe very ſtrong meaſures, which muſt have been againſt the judgment, feelings, and ſentiments of the chief governor, from whom they were *extorted*, the confeſſion of that noble lord purifies Earl Camden and the Britiſh cabinet from the ocean of blood, which was let out after, if not by means of thoſe *very ſtrong meaſures*.

In the commons alſo ſome ineffectual oppoſition was made to the addreſs, upon ſimilar grounds as in the lords. Mr. Smith moved, by way of amendment to the addreſs, an additional clauſe, by which the houſe ſhould recommend to his majeſty ſuch meaſures, as were likely to conciliate the people, and unite them for the ſafety of the realm againſt the common enemy. There was indeed nothing like a ſerious oppoſition in parliament, ſince the ſeceſſion of the Whig party in the laſt ſeſſion.

Various cauſes combined to bring the conſpiracy of the unioniſts to an earlier iſſue, than was originally intended. Their Gallic friends had long neglected them, and had gone by every opportunity of ſuccouring them with effect. The vigilance and activity of government had encreaſed: the greateſt and moſt reſpectable part of the population of the kingdom had in their addreſſes given freſh pledges of their loyalty, and renounced and reprobated the principles of the union. The leaders therefore of the union, wearied out by the tardineſs of their allies, and perceiving their opponents increaſing in ſtrength, and their own party viſibly on the decline, towards the beginning of the year 1798 reſolved upon a deſperate effort. In the month of February a military committee was appointed by the executive council of the rebels; detailed inſtructions were iſſued to the adjutant-generals; and thanks were voted to the ſeveral colonels for their aſſiduity in embodying and organizing the people. In the mean time, the Iriſh executive prepared a diſpatch for the French directory, preſſing, in the moſt earneſt terms, for the promiſed ſuccours; but it was found impoſſible to convey it to France. In the months of February and March, many parts of Leinſter and Munſter were in the actual poſſeſſion of the United Iriſhmen, and other parts were ſecretly under their

their controul. Nocturnal inſurrections were innumerable throughout the kingdom. In one inſtance, an attack was made in the open day. The town of Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, was inveſted by a party of 800 men, chiefly cavalry: it was retained in their poſſeſſion till a regular ſearch was made for arms, and they were ſuffered to evacuate it in order and without moleſtation. Acts of murder and barbarity, committed on theſe occaſions, were numerous: and ſuch was the terror generally excited, that the report of the committee of the commons ſtates, that very many of the loyal inhabitants of the counties of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Carlow, King's County, Queen's County, Kildare, and Wicklow, fled for ſafety to the garriſon towns.

One more humane effort was made by the Earl of Moira, ſupported by all thoſe, who were at once the friends of order and of liberty, to reſtore the tranquillity of the kingdom by meaſures of conciliation: and on the 19th of February, 1798, his lordſhip ſubmitted a motion to that effect, to the conſideration of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords. In a long and impreſſive ſpeech he repeated nearly the ſame facts, which he had ſtated in his place in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers. He related, "that many individuals had been torn from their fami-"lies, and locked up for months in the cloſeſt confinement, without hearing "by whom they were accuſed, with what crime they were charged, or to "what means they might recur to prove their innocence; that great num-"bers of houſes had been burned, with the whole property of the wretched "owners, upon the looſeſt ſuppoſition of even petty tranſgreſſions; that tor-"ture, by which he meant picqueting and half hanging, continued to be "uſed to extort from the ſufferer a charge againſt his neighbours." If he ſhould be contradicted with reſpect to theſe facts, he profeſſed himſelf prepared to "produce the affidavits of them," and declared his intention of moving "for the examination of the deponents at the bar. If there be "delinquencies, there muſt be delinquents. Prove their guilt, and puniſh "them; but do not, on a looſe charge of partial tranſgreſſion, impoſe inflic-"tion on the whole community. The ſtate of ſociety was dreadful indeed, "when the ſafety of every man was at the mercy of a ſecret informer, when "the cupidity, the malevolence, or the erroneous ſuſpicions of an individual "were ſufficient to deſtroy his neighbour."

His lordſhip propoſed an addreſs to the lord lieutenant, to urge his excellency

lency to purſue ſuch conciliatory meaſures, as might allay the apprehenſions and extinguiſh the diſcontents unhappily prevalent in that country.

Lord Glentworth remarked, that the motion appeared to him to be calculated to diſhearten and diſmay the loyal, and to animate and invigorate the diſloyal. The noble earl (he ſaid) in his ſtatement, ſeemed to miſtake the effect for the cauſe. The meaſures of which he complained, were the conſequences, and not the cauſe of diſſatisfaction; government was certainly to blame, but it was for not having reſiſted thoſe meaſures ſooner.

The lord chancellor, after paying a juſt compliment to the character of the noble earl, attributed to his reſidence out of his own country his ignorance of the actual ſtate of it. He aſſerted, that the ſyſtem of government had been a ſyſtem of conciliation; that in no place had the experiment been ſo fairly tried as in Ireland; in none had it ſo completely failed.

In the courſe of his ſpeech, the chancellor paſſed ſome reflections on the Biſhop of Down, who had promoted a petition to his majeſty in favor of conciliatory meaſures. From the charge of diſaffection, the learned prelate very ſatisfactorily exculpated himſelf. He profeſſed, that he was a friend to conciliation: coercion, he ſaid, had been tried long enough. He attributed much of the calamities of the country to the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam. With reſpect to Catholic emancipation, he conſidered it as a matter of right, not of favor: and a reform of parliament as an act of policy, which the ſtate of the country rendered abſolutely neceſſary. The motion was alſo ſupported by Lord Dunſany, who aſſerted, that the preſent ſyſtem was the cauſe of the exiſting diſcontents. It had been aſked of the noble earl who made the motion, why he had not now brought before the houſe, a catalogue of thoſe enormous cruelties, which he had detailed in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers? Inſtead of being aſked ſuch a queſtion, the noble and learned lord ſhould rather have thanked him for the conciliating and pacific manner in which he propoſed to act. But if noble lords wanted ſuch a catalogue, he could furniſh them; he could relate to them not ſimply the burning of houſes, but the murder, in cold blood, of their inhabitants: he could give them an account of three men particularly, who, after having had their houſes burned to the ground, were ſhot by the military, after having been for ſome time priſoners: and he could add to theſe accounts, the much more numerous inſtances of men torn from their family and country, and, without the form of a trial, tranſported for life.

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The Earl of Moira made a very ample reply, and again offered to ſubſtantiate his facts at the bar of the houſe. He admitted that a conſpiracy did exiſt in the country againſt the government, but he attributed that conſpiracy to the ſevere and unconſtitutional meaſures, which government had adopted, and to that moſt impolitic and lamentable meaſure, the recal of Earl Fitzwilliam. The motion of Earl Moira was negatived by a large majority.

About the beginning of February, 1798, Mr. A. O'Connor was called on his recognizance by the court of King's Bench to take his trial, when it appeared he was gone over to England, as he alleged, on his private concerns; but it afterwards turned out, that the affairs of the Union had carried him thither. The attorney general upon his non-appearance moved the court, that his recognizance, which was in 2000*l.* and that of his bail (Lord E. Fitzgerald and counſellor Emmett), in 1000*l.* each, ſhould be eſtreated. Notwithſtanding a very ſtiff oppoſition from the attorney general, the court conſented to reſpite the recognizance till the next term. The parliament continued indeed to ſit, and to do buſineſs, but ſo little intereſt did the public take in the debates, that the galleries were wholly deſerted, and ſcarcely ſufficient members attended to make up a houſe.* The debate this ſeſſion, which moſt intereſted the public was, that in the Lords upon Lord Moira's motion, in which the chancellor ſpoke for four hours, and the houſe divided between

* Whilſt the commons were debating the taxes on the 12th of February, Mr. Browne (of the College) congratulated the houſe on the appearance of ſome diverſity of ſentiment that night. He ſaid, government muſt rejoice at it; for the ſullen ſilence and cold indifference, which had ſo long prevailed, were more alarming than any oppoſition whatſoever; and he could not help obſerving, that even on that important occaſion, the remarkable thinneſs of the galleries ſhewed how little intereſt the public took in their debates upon any thing. Such were the effects of the triumphant majorities, in which adminiſtration once rejoiced. The miniſter called on gentlemen who found fault with thoſe taxes which he propoſed, to ſtate others; ſeveral had been propoſed; a voluntary contribution had indeed been coldly received by the houſe and the country, and it was either a very ſhameful, or a very alarming circumſtance, that there was ſuch apathy on that ſubject: but why had not adminiſtration adopted a tax on abſentees? He concluded by obſerving, that though the civil liſt were now limited, and new penſions could not be granted, yet in the preſent liſt great retrenchments might be made: what pretence had great and noble and rich lords to penſions? How many places might be aboliſhed, many of them in his own profeſſion? How many diſpoſitions to convenience particular men avoided? The retrenchments that might be made in the civil eſtabliſhment would amount to the taxes required. While this was the caſe, the people would grumble at any tax.

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two and three o'clock in the morning, 9 for and 44 againſt the motion. On the 27th of February, when the Houſe of Commons was in a committee of ſupply, a very intereſting converſation aroſe out of an over heated philippic of Dr. Duigenan, againſt the eſtabliſhment of the Catholic ſeminary at Maynooth, and the character of Dr. Huſſey, the Catholic biſhop of Waterford. This prelate had in the preceding year publiſhed a paſtoral letter to the Catholic clergy of the united dioceſe of Waterford and Liſmore, in which he exhorted them to attend to the ſpiritual duties of the flock committed to their care. He pointedly reprobated the too frequent uſage and indifference of parents educating their children in the charter ſchools, and the ſoldiers attending the Proteſtant ſervice at church. He repreſented the phyſical conſequence of the Catholic body as much more conſiderable, than it is uſually conſidered, viz. as nine tenths of the nation at large, and ninety-nine hundredths of his dioceſe. This he did with a ſpirit of more independence, and in language more free and energetic, than was reliſhed by the Caſtle: it gave particular offence to the great advocates and ſupporters of the ſyſtem of coercion. It was conſidered by many of his brethren as too bold and ſtrong for the then diſtempered ſtate of the public mind, and calculated to give a freſh handle to their enemies to renew and ſharpen their aſperity againſt them.* The motion, which Dr. Duigenan oppoſed with ſo much virulency, was made by the chancellor of the exchequer, viz. that a ſum of 10,000*l.* ſhould be granted to the truſtees of the Roman Catholic college at Maynooth, to defray the expences of certain additions to the buildings, and alſo for the maintenance of the eſtabliſhment for a year, viz. the profeſſors, with fifty free ſcholars for half a year ending in September next; and for the profeſſors and two hundred free ſcholars from the 29th of September next to the

* Few eccleſiaſtics ever poſſeſſed more extenſive knowledge, profane and eccleſiaſtical, than Dr. Huſſey. He had long enjoyed the good opinion and peculiar confidence of the Britiſh miniſtry, as well as the favor of ſeveral foreign courts, particularly that of Spain. Upon his firſt entrance into his paſtoral function, his great object was to impreſs his flock with a dignified ſenſe of their religion, and to eſtabliſh a free, unchecked, and open exerciſe of it, after the legiſlature had given it toleration. He frequently officiated to the Catholics in the militia regiments, which were encamped at Lehawnſtown: he incurred much diſpleaſure at the caſtle from having lodged a ſtrong remonſtrance againſt the puniſhments inflicted upon ſome Catholic ſoldiers for having diſobeyed orders, by refuſing to attend the Proteſtant ſervice when their regiments were ordered to church. The paſtoral letter is to be ſeen in the Appendix, No. CIX. together with ſome intereſting letters of Mr. Edmund Burke upon this prelate's conduct.

25th of March, 1799. Mr. Pelham, in ſupport of the original motion, replied to the arguments of Dr. Duigenan, and gave a ſuccinct hiſtory of the college from its foundation. He aſſerted, that the members of the college were not open to blame for any imprudence of Dr. Huſſey, as they had diſplaced him for non-reſidence. With reſpect to the emoluments of each ſcholar, he ſhewed, that they they were much inferior to thoſe of the ſcholars of Trinity College, Dublin, as the 25*l.* given to thoſe at Maynooth, included their maintenance and all other neceſſaries, while at T. C. D. there was a yearly emolument ſometimes of 20*l.* a year over their maintenance. As to the number of 200, he ſaid it was not conſidered as a fixed number of regular ſcholarſhips, but as a temporary arrangement for the convenience of thoſe young men, who, by the war with France, had been deprived of their ſituations in that country. Beſides the number of Catholic prieſts occupied in the care of the miniſtry in that country were 2000, and to recruit that number continually, 200 were few enough to be educated at one time in college. He then defended the meaſure of eſtabliſhing a Catholic ſeminary for education as at once a meaſure of juſtice to the people, and liberal policy of the ſtate. The original motion was carried without a diviſion. Mr. J. C. Beresford oppoſed it, but upon a very different ground, namely, becauſe the exiſtence of a diſtinct ſeminary for Catholic education was calculated to keep the Catholic and Proteſtant from uniting, and becoming one people. He obſerved, that it had always been the policy of the Britiſh cabinet to divide the people of that country by exciting religious differences, and he began to perceive that ſyſtem was likely to continue.

Complaints were very juſtly made of the licentiouſneſs and miſchievous malice of the preſs. Towards the end of February, Mr. O'Donnel called the attention of the houſe to ſome publications in the paper called *The Preſs*. After ſtating the miſchiefs, which he aſſerted that paper had produced in the country, and urging the neceſſity there was for putting it down not by military force, but by law, if any law exiſted that could effect that purpoſe, and if not, that parliament ſhould enact a law for the purpoſe, he proceeded to read ſeveral paſſages, upon which he commented, and declared, that if they were ſuffered to paſs unnoticed, it muſt be ſuppoſed the licentiouſneſs of the preſs was not reſtrained in that country by any law: he diſclaimed having been induced to bring forward this ſubject by any perſonal attack, which had been made on himſelf, or from any perſonal animoſity to the gentleman who

who profeſſed himſelf the editor of that paper; on the contrary, he felt for him a ſincere friendſhip, which had commenced in early life: he profeſſed as ſtrong a friendſhip for the brother of that gentleman (Mr. Roger O'Connor), then a priſoner at Cork, and whoſe ſufferings he would be happy to mitigate, even by ſharing with him the miſeries of a priſon; he brought the buſineſs before parliament merely from a conviction, that his duty to that houſe and to the country called on him ſo to do. He concluded by moving, "That a "committee be appointed to enquire into the nature and tendency of the pub-"lication called The Preſs, and to report their opinion to the houſe."

The United Iriſhmen, in order to repair the loſs they had ſuſtained by the military demolition of the Northern Star Office at Belfaſt, which has been noticed to have been under the direction of Mr. Neilſon, had eſtabliſhed this paper called *The Preſs:* but the intemperate language of this publication ſubjected it to a proſecution; the publiſher was impriſoned, and the paper in danger of being ſuppreſſed. In this criſis Mr. A. O'Connor came boldly forward, and announced himſelf as the proprietor and editor of the obnoxious paper. He had lately been elected member of the Iriſh Directory, in conjunction with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Oliver Bond, a gentleman in a conſiderable commercial buſineſs in Dublin, Mr. M'Nevin, who had been actively concerned for the Catholics during Lord Fitzwilliam's adminiſtration, and counſellor Emmet. Strong ſuſpicions however fell upon Mr. O'Connor, and alſo upon his brother. Mr. Roger O'Connor was apprehended, and lodged in Cork gaol, on a charge of high treaſon, from which, however, he was liberated at the ſpring aſſizes, from a total want of evidence againſt him. Thus circumſtanced, in the beginning of the year 1798, Mr. Arthur O'Connor came to England, with an intention, as it afterwards appeared, of proceeding to France, in conjunction with John Binns, member of the London Correſponding Society, James Coigley, an Iriſh prieſt, and a perſon of the name of Allen. In the latter end of February they went to Margate, intending to hire a ſmall veſſel to convey them to France. Some circumſtances in their conduct, however, exciting ſuſpicion, they were all apprehended, and firſt committed priſoners to the tower, and afterwards to Maidſtone gaol. At Maidſtone they were tried by a ſpecial commiſſion on the 21ſt and 22d of May, and all of them acquitted, except Coigley, on whom had been found a treaſonable and moſt abſurd paper, purporting to be an addreſs from "the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of

France." Coigley was condemned and executed; and Mr. O'Connor and Binns, after their acquittal, were detained on another charge of treaſon preferred againſt them. In the mean time, and in conſequence of the motion of Mr. O'Donnel, an act had paſſed the Iriſh parliament, authorizing grand juries to preſent any news-paper, containing ſeditious or libellous matter, as a nuiſance; and alſo authorizing the magiſtrates, on ſuch preſentation, to ſuppreſs the paper, and ſeize and deſtroy the printing materials, &c. The paper called *The Preſs* was therefore ſuppreſſed, and ſome of its principal ſupporters taken into cuſtody; but no diſcovery of importance reſulted from this tranſaction.

In the debate in the commons upon the abuſes of the preſs, Mr. Vandeleur introduced the ſubject of the Orangemen, ſtating, that other papers were under as miſchievous a control of the Orangemen, as the preſs was of the United Iriſhmen. He was aſtoniſhed, that they ſhould be ſtill countenanced and ſupported by miniſters, though the firſt law officer of the crown held their exceſſes, and the conduct of thoſe magiſtrates who countenanced them, ſo much in hatred, that he declared, could he have found other men of ſufficient loyalty in the county to fill their places, he would have removed every one of them from the magiſtracy. But if the meaſure were neceſſary, he thought it ſhould be left to the government to propoſe it; it was a delicacy due to them.

Mr. Duigenan could not help expreſſing his ſurpriſe at what had fallen from the honorable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, reſpecting Orangemen. He was not a friend to any ſeparation of the people by marks or names of diſcrimination, but he could not help ſaying, that the Orangemen appeared by the declarations publiſhed lately in the public papers, particularly in a paper called *The Dublin Journal*, to be very good and loyal ſubjects; their declarations breathed nothing but loyalty, and a deſire to protect all deſcriptions of perſons, that ſhould behave themſelves in a neighbourly and peaceable manner, as well Catholics as others; and therefore he wondered the honorable gentleman had taken occaſion to introduce their names or inſinuate any charge againſt them in this debate, particularly as whatever exceſſes might formerly have been committed by them, and which certainly could not be juſtified, however they might be extenuated by the ſpirit of loyalty, from which they ſprung, were now at an end, and did not ever extend beyond the limits of a ſingle county, and that a ſmall one. The honorable gentleman

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muſt know, that the name of Orangemen was made a pretext to ſow diſſention among the people, and that it was ſeduloufly propagated, that their object was to exterminate the Catholics.

A remarkable inſtance of that occurred on the 11th of October laſt, when above 3700 men, all Catholics, aſſembled in arms at night, between Bray and Arklow, declaring, that they did ſo, becauſe they were informed the Orangemen were coming to deſtroy them. In the ſame way there were riſings in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford by the Catholics, under the pretence, that the Orangemen were coming upon them. What effect then muſt it have thus to introduce the name of Orangemen in this debate, as if they were men, who were declared enemies to the Catholics, when it was the fact, that they were willing to defend the Catholic, as well as any other man, if he behaved himſelf like a good ſubject.

Mr. Vandeleur repeated his objections to thoſe publications, which held up Orangemen as the peculiar favorites of adminiſtration, and urged the danger that muſt reſult from letting any deſcription of perſons aſſume to themſelves the tone of rulers, by declaring that they would protect others, &c. He agreed, that the name of Orangemen had been held out by the ill-diſpoſed to create jealouſies and diſſention, and therefore thought it right, that ſuch a denomination ſhould receive no countenance.

Mr. Tighe ſaid, that as Orangemen as well as Defenders had been mentioned, he would not enquire whether thoſe had burned houſes and expelled their inhabitants to ſave the conſtitution, or whether theſe had reſiſted them for the ſame reaſon; but he would ſay, that if any particular ſet of men were allowed to proclaim themſelves as the protectors of this or that deſcription of people, it would be a moſt dangerous precedent: if it were permitted to one body of men, every other would claim it.

Mr. Pelham aſſured the houſe, that no diſturbances then exiſted between the Orangemen and the Catholics. Letters had been received from large bodies of both deſcriptions, informing government, that they were at laſt convinced both parties had been deceived by the United Iriſhmen, whoſe leading principles were a deſire to ſee a French army in their country to effect a complete ſeparation of Ireland from the crown of Great Britain. With reſpect to the Orangemen and Defenders, whom an honorable gentleman had in the inadvertence of debate called rebels, he did not for his part think, that

that either deſcription of theſe men deſerved that epithet. They were the United Iriſhmen only, to whom that name applied.

On the 5th of March, 1798, Sir Lawrence Parſons after a very long and intereſting ſpeech made his promiſed motion, that a committee ſhould be appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the country, and to ſuggeſt ſuch meaſures as were likely to conciliate the popular mind. Lord Caulfield in a maiden ſpeech of much ability ſeconded the motion. Lord Caſtlereagh, with whom the majority of the houſe went, vehemently oppoſed it. He entered into a hiſtory of the country for ſome years back, and concluded from the events, that the United Iriſhmen were not men, who would be contented or conciliated by any meaſures of conceſſion ſhort of a ſeparation from England, and fraternity with the French Republic; that they were in open rebellion, and therefore only to be met by force. He reaſoned alſo to prove, that the coercive meaſures of the government had been the conſequences not the cauſes of the diſcontents; that the exceſſes charged on the ſoldiery were naturally to be expected from the ſtate of things, though he did not ceaſe to lament them; and he alſo contended, that where exceſſes had taken place, the laws were open and able to puniſh them; witneſs the laſt aſſizes of Drogheda.

His Lordſhip was followed by a long train of members, who ſpoke againſt the motion on the ground of its being not likely to be effectual, becauſe the profeſſed deſigns of the United Iriſhmen, were ſuch as left no hope they would be conciliated by ſuch meaſures; becauſe to yield to the meaſure at that time would be a diſhonorable compromiſe with rebellion; and becauſe conciliatory meaſures had already been tried by government in the proclamation of offering a free pardon to all who ſhould come in and ſubmit. Some few gentlemen ſpoke for the queſtion, amongſt whom Mr. Plunket particularly ſtated his reaſons for doing ſo, becauſe much obloquy had been thrown on thoſe who ſupported it: he felt ſtrongly the awful ſituation of the country. He felt deteſtation for the wicked combination, which had brought it into that ſituation. But that ſituation impoſed on the houſe an imperious neceſſity of adopting every fair and honorable meaſure, which might probably lead to leſſen or avert the difficulties which preſſed upon the ſtate. There were in that country hundreds of thouſands, who, though not in favor with the adminiſtration, not being friends to their meaſures, were not with the United Iriſhmen, but entertained the ſtrongeſt diſapprobation of them and their plots. The United Iriſhmen dreaded nothing ſo much as their conceſſion: they

they trembled at it, becauſe it would tear off the maſk, with which they had hitherto covered themſelves, and ſtrip them of thoſe pretexts, by which they had crowded their ranks. It was by that mode they were to be put down.

At five o'clock in the morning the houſe divided upon Sir Lawrence Parſons's motion, when there were only 19 for it and 156 againſt it.

It is important to remark, that in all the debates in parliament, whenever the abuſes and outrages of the army were mentioned they were never contradicted; the gentlemen from the treaſury bench replied, that they were to be expected: that they were the natural effuſions of a loyal army in a rebel country: that ſuch had exiſted at all times, particularly in America: and that the courts of law were open to redreſs, and none ſhould complain, who refuſed to ſeek it. Theſe were ſpeculative not practical reſources. Cottagers, labourers, and farmers, whoſe habitations had been deſtroyed, whoſe relatives had been tranſported, maimed, or murdered, found no ſolace or relief in the power, without the means of proſecuting either civilly or criminally. Every ſingle inſtance of ſuch outrage and cruelty created diſaffection, hatred, and revenge in thouſands, who knew and who execrated the deed. The ferocity of the ſyſtem was engendered, cheriſhed, and nurtured, not by the Britiſh but by the Iriſh adminiſtration. Lord Clare avowed thoſe very ſtrong meaſures were extorted from the chief governor. The Britiſh cabinet had moſt judiciouſly appointed the gallant Sir Ralph Abercrombie the commander in chief in Ireland, well knowing, that he would require the duties, without debaſing the character of the ſoldier. Very ſoon after his arrival that reſpected veteran found himſelf under the neceſſity of publiſhing the following general orders, which not only proved the licentious and diſorderly ſtate in which the army then was, but reflected the ſtrongeſt imputation upon thoſe through whoſe connivance, neglect, or criminality, they had been permitted or encouraged to run into that lamentable and diſgraceful ſituation.

" *Adjutant General's Office,*

" GENERAL ORDERS. *Dublin, February 26th,* 1798.

" THE very diſgraceful frequency of courts martial and the many com-
" plaints in the conduct of the troops in this kingdom, having too unfortu-
" nately proved the army to be in a ſtate of licentiouſneſs, which muſt render
" it formidable to every one but the enemy: the commander in chief thinks
" it neceſſary to demand from all generals commanding diſtricts and bri-
" gades, as well as commanding officers of regiments, that they exert them-
" ſelves,

" ſelves, and compel, from all officers under their command, the ſtricteſt and " moſt unremitting attention to the diſcipline, good order, and conduct of their " men; ſuch as may reſtore the high and diſtinguiſhed reputation the Bri- " tiſh troops have been accuſtomed to enjoy in every part of the world. It " becomes neceſſary to recur, and moſt pointedly to attend to the ſtanding " orders of the kingdom, which at the ſame time, that they direct military " aſſiſtance to be given at the requiſition of the civil magiſtrate, poſitively " forbid the troops to act (but in caſe of attack) without his preſence and " authority; and the moſt clear and preciſe orders are to be given to the " officer commanding the party for this purpoſe.

" The utmoſt prudence and precaution are alſo to be uſed in granting " parties to revenue officers, with reſpect to the perſon requiring ſuch aſſiſt- " ance and thoſe employed on the duty; whenever a guard is mounted, pa- " troles muſt be frequently out to take up any ſoldier, who may be found out " of his quarters after his hours.

" A very culpable remiſſneſs having alſo appeared on the part of officers " reſpecting the neceſſary inſpection of barracks, quarters, meſſes, &c. as well " as attendance at roll-calls, and other hours: commanding officers muſt " enforce the attention of thoſe under their command to thoſe points, and " the general regulations: for all which the ſtricteſt reſponſibility will be ex- " pected from them.

" It is of the utmoſt importance, that the diſcipline of the dragoon re- " giments ſhould be minutely attended to, for the facilitating of which the " commander in chief has diſpenſed with the attendance of orderly dragoons " on himſelf, and deſires that they may not be employed by any general or " commanding officers but on military and indiſpenſable buſineſs.

" *Lieut. Gen. Craig,* G. Hewit, Adjutant General.
" *Eaſtern Diſtrict Barracks, Dublin.*"

The liberal and genuine ſpirit of the Britiſh ſoldier, ſo prominent on the face of theſe orders was repugnant to the coercive ſyſtem of the Iriſh miniſtry: but the inflexible firmneſs of that gallant veteran repelled every idea of extorting from him meaſures he did not approve of: he ſoon after reſigned. Until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, the extorted ſyſtem of very ſtrong meaſures, ſo much boaſted of by the Earl of Clare, was revived as extenſively as poſſible. The effect of a principal part of Sir Ralph Abercrombie's orders, was ſoon defeated by Mr. Pelham's letter of the 3d of March, 1798, in which

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he informs the officers, that his excellency further authoriſed them to employ force againſt any perſons aſſembled in arms, not legally authoriſed ſo to do, and to diſperſe all tumultuous aſſemblies of perſons, though they might not be in arms, without waiting for the ſanction and aſſiſtance of the civil authority, if in their opinion the peace of the realm, and the ſafety of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects might be endangered by waiting for ſuch authority.

The parliament in the mean while prepared the money and ſome other preſſing bills with little or no oppoſition, and when they received the royal aſſent on the 24th of March, the ſpeaker made an impreſſive ſpeech* on the unprecedented

* "MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

"LARGE as the ſupplies of the laſt ſeſſion were beyond all former grants, theſe "which the commons now offer to his majeſty are not inferior; they go to the fulleſt extent of "every ſervice propoſed by government, and are given with an unanimity and zeal which mark "the unalterable determination of this kingdom to ſtand or fall with Great Britain, and ſhew that "our vigor riſes as the vaunting menaces of the enemy encreaſe.

"With the ſame unanimity we have voted the maintenance of an army far greater than was ever "kept up by this kingdom during any preceding war; and we have continued to them the aug- "mentation of pay which was granted by the laſt parliament, and which your excellency did juſtly "ſtate to that parliament to be a ſeaſonable and honorable acknowledgment on their part of the "ſteadineſs and loyalty of that army; the preſent parliament feels the ſame ſentiment towards "them. Repeated experience of the order and alacrity which they have ſhewn on every occaſion "that has offered, confirms his majeſty's faithful commons in thoſe ſentiments, and we join moſt "cordially with his majeſty in his firm reliance on the valor of his regular and militia forces in this "kingdom, which his majeſty has been pleaſed to expreſs in his gracious anſwer to our addreſs this "ſeſſion.

"While the courage, the vigor, and the diſcipline of thoſe forces, muſt render them formidable "to the enemy and enſure his defeat, ſhould he be deſperate enough to attempt invaſion, their zeal, "and that of the yeomen to put down rebellion, to cruſh inſurrection, and to aſſiſt the executive "power in protecting the loyal, the innocent, and well diſpoſed, affords the moſt convincing proofs "of their ardent and unſhakeable attachment to the beſt ſovereign and beſt conſtitution, that ever "bleſſed a free and happy people. We are free, and we will not tamely give up our happineſs. "The loyal ſpirit of the nation is able to cruſh rebellion to atoms wherever it ſhall dare to ſhew "itſelf, and with the firmneſs which ſo ſtrongly marks your excellency's character, with the con- "ſtant ſucceſs which has attended every vigorous meaſure that neceſſity has called on your excel- "lency to adopt, we have nothing to fear. We have indeed to lament that traiterous conſpiracies "can ſtill continue, and that any men can be found in the land ſo loſt to every ſenſe of patriotiſm, "of humanity, of duty to themſelves, their country and their God, as to degrade the nation and the "name of Iriſhmen, by acts of ingratitude, barbarity, and aſſaſſination, which would debaſe a ſa-

unprecedented magnitude of the ſupplies, with ſeveral ſtrong obſervations on the critical ſituation of the kingdom at that juncture.

The rebellious leaders of the Union about this time received a letter from France, ſtating that ſuccours might be expected in April. But they never learned why that promiſe was not fulfilled. It is indeed admitted on all hands, that the French government had ſo little confidence in the Iriſh rebels, that in all their communications with the rebel directory, they never intimated to them the place, where they meant to land, or except in the firſt the force they would bring. There appears too much reaſon to believe what Meſſrs. O'Connor, M'Neven, and Emmett have obſerved in the memoir,* that the French never will abandon the plan of ſeparating that country from England, ſo long as the diſcontents of the people would induce them to ſupport an invaſion.

It more frequently falls within the duty, than the power of the faithful

" vage, acts which call for the heavy hand of juſtice, and which the ordinary power of the laws has " proved inadequate to prevent the melancholy and frequent repetition of.

" But while we lament ſuch a mortifying calamity, we have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing how little " its malignant influence or the efforts of an exaſperated and revengeful enemy, have affected our " commercial proſperity.

" Notwithſtanding the largeneſs of the ſupplies, we have continued the uſual bounties and en- " couragements to the trade, the agriculture, and the manufactures of the kingdom, and we ſee " with ſincere gratification the deſirable effects of thoſe encouragements, in the great encreaſe of " trade during the war, in the general confidence, which attends private as well as public credit, in " the uſual plenty which our agriculture ſupplies, and in the proſperous ſtate of all our manufac- " tures, but moſt particularly of our great ſtaple the linen."

* Memoir 23. There appears no plauſible reaſoning for doubting the ſincerity of the proffered opinion of thoſe Memorialiſts: at all events *fas eſt et ab hoſte doceri.* " Let us then (ſay they) whilſt " Ireland is yet our country, be indulged in a few remarks, which we deem extremely important " to its future proſperity; now that we have given theſe full and faithful details of the paſt, we " cannot be ſuſpected of any but pure diſintereſted motives in what we are about to ſay, ere we " leave it for ever. The parts we have acted have enabled us to gain the moſt intimate know- " ledge of the diſpoſitions and hearts of our countrymen. From that knowledge we ſpeak, when " we declare our deepeſt conviction, that the penal laws, which have followed in ſuch doleful and " rapid ſucceſſion, the houſe burnings, arbitrary impriſonments, and free quarters, and above " all, the tortures to extort confeſſions, neither have had, or can have, any other effect but " exciting the moſt lively rancour in the hearts of almoſt all the people of Ireland, againſt thoſe of " their countrymen who have had recourſe to ſuch meaſures for maintaining their power, and " againſt the connexion with Great Britain, whoſe men, and whoſe aid have been poured in to " aſſiſt them."

annaliſt

annaliſt to trace the true cauſes of changes both in men and meaſures. It is notorious, that in Ireland, the active miniſter, upon whom the odium or merit of the government meaſures perſonally fell, was the firſt ſecretary of the lord lieutenant. Through his mouth did his excellency ſpeak to the Houſe of Commons: from him did the nation expect the reaſon, and upon him chiefly reſted the reſponſibility of the government meaſures in the belief of the public. His ſentiments were of courſe concluded to be in perfect uniſon with the lord lieutenant, as his voice was the organ of his excellency. To this particular period of time muſt be referred the reſignation of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie and the extorted renovation and extenſion of the ſyſtem of coercion and terroriſm. It appears then, that Mr. Pelham, however earneſt and firm he had been in oppoſing Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, which two queſtions Earl Camden had avowedly been ſent to oppoſe, was very far from approving the harſh and ſanguinary means of dragooning the people into ſubmiſſion, which had been for ſome time practiſed and were intended to be perſevered in; a ſyſtem * *extorted from the chief governor*. He reſolved therefore to retire from a ſituation, in which he was under the neceſſity of giving official countenance and ſupport to a ſyſtem, which in principle he abhorred, and which he knew to have been extorted

* This ſyſtem at this time (viz. 5th April, 1798,) Mr. Grattan has thus deſcribed. (Pet. W. C. p. 12.) "Here we perceive and lament the effects of inveteracy, conceived by his majeſty's "miniſters againſt the Iriſh. "Irritable and quellable, devoted to ſuperſtition, deaf to law, and "hoſtile to property;" ſuch was the picture, which at different times his miniſters in Ireland have "painted of his people, with a latent view to flatter the Engliſh by the degradation of the Iriſh, "and by ſuch ſycophantſhip and malice, they have perſuaded themſelves to conſider their fellow "ſubjects as a different ſpecies of human creature, fair objects of religious proſcription and poli- "tical incapacities, but not of moral relationſhip, or moral obligation; accordingly they have af- "forded indemnity for the rich, and new pains and penalties for the people; they have given fe- "lonious deſcriptions of his majeſty's ſubjects, and have eaſily perſuaded themſelves to exerciſe fe- "lonious practices againſt their lives and properties; they have become as barbarous as their ſyſ- "tem, and as ſavage as their own deſcription of their countrymen and their equals; and now it "ſeems they have communicated to the Britiſh miniſter, at once their deleterious maxims and "their foul expreſſions, and he too indulges and wantons in villainous diſcourſes againſt the peo- "ple of Ireland, ſounding the horrid trumpet of carnage and ſeparation. Thus the language of "the miniſters becomes an encouragement to the army to murder the Iriſh.

"We leave theſe ſcenes, they are dreadful; a miniſtry in league with the abettors of the Orange- "boys and at war with the people; a people unable to procure a hearing in either country, while "the loquacity of their enemies beſieges the throne."

from the chief governor, whoſe immediate and reſponſible agent he was before the public. The laſt time he ſpoke in public was on Sir Lawrence Parſons's motion, which he oppoſed in a manner, that evidently betrayed the uneaſineſs of his own ſituation.* He ſoon after retired; Lord Caſtlereagh was appointed to ſucceed Mr. Pelham, and we find, that on the 23d of

* On that occaſion the right honorable ſecretary ſpoke as follows. "An inſinuation had been "let fall, as if ſome military orders of the commander in chief, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who was "not recalled, (he reſigned) bore the complexion of difference with the cabinet; thoſe orders "had merely for their object the diſcipline of the army, than which to perfect there was not an "officer exiſting better qualified, nor one who had made more and better ſoldiers for the empire. "He credited the good intentions of the honorable mover, but did he think that in applying to "him meaſures of coercion, that they embraced the whole nation, God forbid! He had always a "confidence in the majority of the Iriſh people, and he truſted that the diſpoſitions and efforts of "the country gentlemen would ſoon render that majority more deciſive in the expreſſion of its ſen"timents. The honorable baronet had but lightly touched on the two objects of conciliation: was "it becauſe an examination would make them leſs defenſible? Adverting to part of Sir Lawrence "Parſons's ſpeech, which aſſerted that the popular acts ſince 1788, were only given to ſtave off "reform, Mr. Pelham obſerved, that the granting thoſe was a progreſſive reform, and therefore "the wiſeſt that could be adopted. The honorable baronet dated the diſcontents of this country "from the recal of Earl Fitzwilliam: this was a ſubject, on which he (Mr. Pelham) felt deli"cate; the conſequence of that recal was his arrival in the country, the ſtate of which at that "time could not be ſuppoſed to render his ſituation peculiarly pleaſing or inviting, but he did his "duty. The war alſo was ſtated as a cauſe of diſcontent; how then could theſe be reconciled? "or was it to be ſuppoſed, that if the war were a cauſe of diſcontent, the people of Ireland ſhould "feel ſatisfied with a nobleman, who was uniformly one of the moſt ſtrenuous ſupporters of that "war? Mr. Pelham then, in juſtification of the meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration, entered "into a retroſpection of the diſturbances prevailing in that kingdom ſince the year 1793, and the "laws, to which they gave birth.

"He adverted to the autumn of 1796, when the idea of an invaſion prevailed, and when the hopes "and daring conduct of the northern inſurgents made it neceſſary to iſſue the orders, under which "General Lake acted: he read the proclamation of that officer, which had been ſo much and ſo "often the ſubject of miſrepreſentation, proving from its language, the diſpoſitions, which direct"ed it to have been the protection of his majeſty's peaceable and well diſpoſed ſubjects, and it "muſt be allowed that a meaſure ſo ſtrong was never carried into execution with ſo much ten"derneſs to thoſe, againſt whom it applied. He diſclaimed any wiſh on the part of government to "irritate the public mind, or any portion of it; on the contrary, every member of that govern"ment deeply regretted that any ſuch feelings ſhould obtain for a moment; but they were deter"mined to oppoſe rebellion by every means which they were empowered to uſe, and which the "public welfare demanded.

April,

April, 1798,* his lordſhip acquainted the Houſe of Commons, that his excellency had ordered a meſſage to be delivered to the houſe, that his majeſty had under the alarming circumſtances of the nation, ordered over two regiments of foreigners, in order to encreaſe the regular force of that kingdom. And on the ſame day Mr. Vandeleur made a motion that Lord Caſtlereagh having ſince his election for Down, accepted the office of chief ſecretary to his excellency the lord lieutenant, his ſeat in that houſe was thereby vacated.† It was ſtrongly inſiſted upon by Mr. Vandeleur, and the few gentlemen who ſupported him, that from the uſage of parliament ſince the paſſing of the place bill, from reaſon, analogy, and the words and ſpirit of that act, the place of the ſecretary came within the purvieu of it: it was reſiſted by the majority of the houſe, and of courſe the queſtion was loſt.

It has ever been the fatal bane of Ireland to be torn by ſome internal diſſention or diſunion. Scarcely had the foul ſpirit of diſcord began to be extinguiſhed in the kingdom at large, (that ſingular epoch dates its origin from the adminiſtration of the Marquis of Buckingham) than it enkindled a freſh and more ſcorching flame in ſome particular diſtricts. Armagh for ſome years kept up the execrable ſpirit: from thence it extended, and it is to be feared, will be found ſtill to infect the ſociety of Orangemen in its preſent enlarged eſtabliſhment. Thoſe who compoſed that ſociety for ſome years had

* 17 Com. Jour. p. 314.

† In a debate of the commons on the 24th of April, it was objected to Mr. Vandeleur, that the queſtion had been ſet to reſt by the vote of that houſe negativing the motion for Lord Caſtlereagh's ſeat having been vacated by the acceptance of office, on the 6th of the month, which was Good Friday, (17 Com. Jour. p. 313.) He acquitted himſelf of having been abſent from the houſe through negligence of his duty on the day on which this reſolution, everfive of the law of the land paſſed. It was a day ſet apart in every Chriſtian ſtate for a ſolemn obſervance of religious duties; and he challenged the right honorable member to ſay, whether on the journals of parliament there was to be found a ſingle inſtance of public buſineſs having been done by the houſe on Good Friday. Had he believed it poſſible, that on ſuch a day the houſe would have proceeded to decide a queſtion of ſuch importance without any notice having been given to gentlemen of that intention, he ſhould, ill as he was on that day, have attended in his place, and given his warmeſt oppoſition to the reſolution. With reſpect to the meaſure itſelf, the right honorable gentleman had conceded that it was contrary to the ſpirit of the act, and he juſtified it only by entering into a ſubtle diſtinction between the "crown" and the "executive power:" but he was convinced, that every man of plain and ſound underſtanding would ſee that the legiſlature when they paſſed this act, meant by the word "crown," the executive power of the ſtate, and that their object was to preſerve the independence of parliament from the growing influence of that branch of the government.

ſignalized

ſignalized themſelves by a ferocious ſyſtem of ſeverity and revenge againſt their opponents, whether Defenders or United Iriſhmen, under the aſſumption of the countenance or the actual connivance of government. There exiſted at this time a party, on whom the great weight of political influence and power had devolved, which was only to be kept up by the diſunion of thoſe, whoſe coalition muſt naturally outweigh and cruſh that monopoly of power, whether it were acquired by accident or deſign. Once the Orangemen had been encouraged by government in taking upon themſelves the tone and function of affording protection, it became neceſſary for them to do away the odium, which they had incurred (rightly or wrongly no matter) with the maſs of the people, who were Roman Catholics, from their paſt conduct. Some gentlemen therefore of that ſociety at this time came forward and publiſhed an addreſs to the public, which ſtrongly diſclaimed all the imputations and charges of their enemies, and expreſſed the moſt purified loyalty.* Certain it is, that the oppoſite parties availed themſelves alternately

* This was the form of their addreſs.

*" To the Loyal Subjects of Ireland.*

" FROM the various attempts that have been made to poiſon the public mind, and ſlander " thoſe who have had the ſpirit to adhere to their king and conſtitution, and to maintain the laws,

" We the Proteſtants of Dublin, aſſuming the name of Orangemen, feel ourſelves called upon, " not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honor and loyalty bid defiance to the " ſhafts of malevolence and diſaffection, but openly to diſavow theſe principles and declare to the " world the objects of our inſtitution.

" We have long obſerved with indignation the efforts that have been made, to foment rebellion " in this kingdom, by the ſeditious, who have formed themſelves into ſocieties under the ſpecious " name of United Iriſhmen.

" We have ſeen with pain the lower orders of our fellow ſubjects forced or ſeduced from their " allegiance, by the threats and machinations of traitors.

" And we have viewed with horror the ſucceſsful exertions of miſcreants to encourage a foreign " enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of riſing into conſequence, on the downfall of their " country.

" We therefore thought it high time to rally round the conſtitution, and pledge ourſelves to each " other to maintain the laws and ſupport our good king againſt all his enemies, whether rebels to " their God or to their country, and by ſo doing, ſhew to the world that there is a body of men " in this iſland, who are ready in the hour of danger, to ſtand forward in the defence of that " grand palladium of our liberty, the conſtitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and eſta- " bliſhed by the courage and loyalty of our anceſtors, under the great King William.

" Fellow ſubjects, we are accuſed of being an inſtitution founded on principles too ſhocking to " repeat,

ly of the advantage of miſrepreſenting their antagoniſts. In one diſtrict reports prevailed, that the Papiſts intended a general maſſacre of all the Proteſtants; in another, the Papiſts aſſembled and armed in great numbers under the threats, apprehenſions, and terrors of having their throats cut by the Orangemen. Mutual recrimination and falſe charges became meritorious with each party: and the preparations made to reſiſt theſe fictitious alarms generally produced miſchief from the mere circumſtance of an armed multitude aſſembling. The miſchief of the aſſociation of Orangemen conſiſted in the principle of national diſunion, which it eſſentially went to eſtabliſh in perpetuity.* Their printed publication announced, that they were Proteſtants, and their regulations precluded the admiſſion of Catholics among them. They made the moſt ſolemn proteſtation, that to injure any perſon on account of their religious opinion never entered their hearts. But ſo ſucceſsful were the agents of revolt in their endeavours to counteract that proteſtation,* that it gained

" repeat, and bound together by oaths, at which human nature would ſhudder; but we caution " you not to be led away by ſuch malevolent falſehoods, for we ſolemnly aſſure you in the preſence " of the Almighty God, that the idea of injuring any one on account of his religious opinion never " entered into our hearts! We regard every loyal ſubject as our friend, be his religion what it " may, we have no enmity but to the enemies of our country.

" We further declare, that we are ready at all times, to ſubmit ourſelves to the orders of thoſe in " authority, under his majeſty, and that we will cheerfully undertake any duty which they ſhould " think proper to point out for us, in caſe either a foreign enemy ſhall dare to invade our coaſts, " or that a domeſtic foe ſhould preſume to raiſe the ſtandard of rebellion in the land; to theſe " principles we are pledged, and in ſupport of them we are ready to ſhed the laſt drop of our " blood.

" Signed by order of the ſeveral lodges in Dublin, for ſelves and other maſters.

" Thomas Verner,
" Edward Ball,
" John Claudius Beresford,
" William James,
" Iſaac Dejoncourt."

* Reverend Mr. Gordon's hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion, p. 32. " I took," ſays this author, " once in particular, an opportunity to read the declaration to a number of my neighbours of this " deſcription, adding ſome comments from myſelf to perſuade them into a belief of its ſincerity. " They ſaid among themſelves, ' ſee there now; it is not as we were told;' and other words to the " ſame purpoſe; and all ſeemed ſatisfied that they had been deceived. Yet, when I met ſome of " them the following day, and ſpoke on the ſubject, they ſaid that no reliance could be placed in " ſuch declarations, as Orangemen had entered into engagements, one with another, which were " kept profoundly ſecret from all other people."

no credit with the lower claſſes of Roman Catholics. It is impoſſible, that in a large community any particular ſociety or collection of individuals, who meet with the countenance and encouragement of government, ſhutting out the great bulk of their fellow ſubjects from their ſociety, ſhould not create jealouſy and diſcontent amongſt the excluded. As the now avowed object of this confederated body of Orangemen was to preſerve public order, and to make head againſt the United Iriſhmen and all other enemies to the ſtate, the excluſion of the Catholics from their ſociety was conſidered by the generality of the people (however it may have been really intended by the Orangemen) as an indirect charge or open intimation, that the Catholics made a common cauſe with the United Iriſhmen, and abetted thoſe principles, to combat which the Orangemen now profeſſed to have united. This preſumption or inſinuation neceſſarily created civil and political rivalry, jealouſy and diſſention: the annexing of the condition of Proteſtantiſm to the admiſſion into their ſociety, was rivetting the old, or creating a new ground of religious diſſention, and conſequently of rancour and animoſity, which our beneficent ſovereign had ſo often parentally and majeſtically recommended to his people to diſpel and entomb for ever. As long as Orangemen or any other ſociety of Iriſhmen form into ſocieties under this religious diſtinction, it is impoſſible, that diſunion, diſſaffection, jealouſy, reſentment, and all the black train of internal diſcord, ſhould not thrive and rankle throughout the nation. Whilſt ſuch ſocieties exiſt, religious diſtinctions can never ſubſide.*

Notwithſtanding

* Many attempts have been made to defend the principles of the Orange confederacy from the charges of cruelty, yet has it appeared to ſeveral of their opponents, that government had no doubt of the original exiſtence of ſuch an oath of extermination, at leaſt amongſt ſome of the lower fanatics of that ſociety, from their examination of Mr. O'Connor; although not by the means or with the concurrence of government, (*Mem.* p. 52.)

*Committee.* If you did not organize for the purpoſe of effecting a revolution, what other object had you in view?

*O'Connor.* We ſaw with ſorrow the cruelties practiſed by the Iriſh government had raiſed a dreadful ſpirit of revenge in the hearts of the people; we ſaw with horror that to anſwer their immediate views, the Iriſh government had renewed the old religious feuds; we were moſt anxious to have ſuch authorities as the organization ready conſtituted to prevent the dreadful tranſports of popular fury. We hoped that by having committees, by holding out the benefits of the revolution to thoſe who ſuported it, and by withholding it's benefits from thoſe who ſhould diſgrace it by popular exceſſes, we ſhould have been able to reſtrain the people. But thoſe who had monopolized the

Notwithſtanding the rigor and ſeverity of the meaſures adopted by government to put down or correct the turbulency and diſcontent of the nation, and to prevent it from riſing into open rebellion; the diſcoveries, which led to the developement and diſappointment of the traitorous deſigns of the conſpirators, were rather fortuitous and unexpected, than the reſult of any preventative meaſures on the part of government. They appear to have ariſen from pecuniary motives in one Thomas Reynolds, a ſilk mercer of Dublin, who had purchaſed an eſtate in the county of Kildare, called Kilkea Caſtle, and from the fortune he had acquired commanded conſiderable influence with his Catholic brethren. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond, two leaders in the conſpiracy, having, for theſe reaſons, conſidered him a proper perſon to aſſiſt in forwarding their treaſonable deſigns, eaſily attached him to their cauſe; and having ſucceeded, he was ſoon after ſworn an United Iriſhman, at the houſe of Oliver Bond, in Dublin; in the year 1797 he accepted the commiſſion of colonel, the offices of treaſurer and repreſentative of the county of Kildare, and at laſt, that of delegate for the province of Leinſter. He had money dealings about a mortgage of ſome lands at Caſtle Jordon with a Mr. Cope, a Dublin merchant, who having lamented to him in the courſe of

the whole political power of the conſtitution, finding, that they ſtood in need of ſome of the population, and that from their monopoly ſo directly oppoſite to the intereſt of all claſſes of the Iriſh nation, they could not hope for the ſupport of any (be their religion what it may) on the ſcore of politics, except thoſe in the pay of government. Finding how neceſſary it was to have ſome part of the population on their ſide, they had recourſe to the old religious feuds, and ſet an organization of Proteſtants, whoſe fanaticiſm would not permit them to ſee they were enliſted under the banners of religion, to fight for political uſurpation they abhorred. No doubt, by theſe means you have gained a temporary aid, but by deſtroying the organization of the union, and exaſperating the great body of the people, you will one day pay dearly for the aid you have derived from this temporary ſhift.

*Committee.* Government had nothing to do with the Orange ſyſtem, nor their extermination.

*O'Connor.* You, my Lord (Caſtlereagh) from the ſtation you fill, muſt be ſenſible that the executive of any country has it in it's power to collect a vaſt maſs of information, and you muſt know from the ſecret nature, and the zeal of the union, that its executive muſt have the moſt minute information of every act of the Iriſh government. As one of the executive, it came to my knowledge, that conſiderable ſums of money were expended throughout the nation, in endeavouring to extend the Orange ſyſtem, and that the oath of extermination was adminiſtered; when theſe facts are coupled, not only with general impunity, which has been uniformly extended towards the acts of this infernal aſſociation, but the marked encouragement its members have received from government, I find it impoſſible to exculpate the government from being the parent and protector of theſe ſworn extirpators.

converſation, the crimes and atrocities, which were conſtantly committed, and which were undoubted ſymptoms of an approaching rebellion, Mr. Reynolds, ſaid, that he knew a perſon connected with the United Iriſhmen, who he believed, would defeat their nefarious projects, by communicating them to government, in order to make an atonement for the crime he had committed in joining them. Mr. Cope aſſured him, that ſuch a perſon would obtain the higheſt honors and pecuniary rewards that adminiſtration could confer. But Mr. Reynolds ſaid, nothing could tempt him to come forward and avow himſelf. However, after the moſt earneſt and preſſing ſolicitations repeatedly made on the part of Mr. Cope, he ſaid, that his friend would appear in perſon, and diſcloſe the particulars of the plot, on the following conditions: That he ſhould not proſecute any United Iriſhman; that the channel through which the information came ſhould be kept a ſecret, at leaſt for a time; that as his life would be in danger upon its being known, and he muſt leave the country and go to England till matters were ſettled, which would derange his affairs, and put him to conſiderable expence, he expected to receive ſome compenſation. Mr. Cope then told him, that he might draw on him for any ſum not exceeding five hundred guineas. On that, he told Mr. Cope, that the Leinſter delegates were to meet at Oliver Bond's on the 12th of March, to concert meaſures for an inſurrection, which was ſhortly to take place, but did not at that time acknowledge that the information came directly from him, but inſinuated it was imparted by a third perſon.

In conſequence of this, Juſtice Swan, attended by twelve ſerjeants in coloured clothes, arreſted the Leinſter delegates, thirteen in number, while ſitting in council in the houſe of Oliver Bond, in Bridge-ſtreet, on the 12th of March, 1798; and ſeized ſeveral of their papers, which led to the diſcovery of the plot, and the intended inſurrection; and on the ſame day Meſſrs. Emmett, M'Nevin, Bond, Sweetman, Henry Jackſon, and Hugh Jackſon were arreſted, taken into cuſtody, and warrants were granted againſt Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Meſſrs. M'Cormick and Sampſon, who having notice thereof made their eſcape.

The leaders of the conſpiracy did not intend to bring forward an inſurrection till the French came to their aſſiſtance, and they meant in the mean time to continue to increaſe their numbers, and to add to their ſtock of arms; but in the ſpring of 1798, the loyalty of the people was ſo ſtrongly marked, that the chief conſpirators began to perceive that their cauſe was loſing ground,

ground, and that they had no alternative but to hazard a general riſing, or to relinquiſh their hopes.

To prevent a deſpondency amongſt the members of the union on the occaſion of this diſcovery and ſeizure, a hand bill was circulated with induſtry, and had the effect of keeping up their ſpirits in a great degree.*

The ſeizure of the delegates was a death-blow to the ſchemes of the United Iriſhmen. A new directory was choſen, but they ſoon experienced the fate of the former; and, indeed, the raſhneſs of their own conduct, in all probability, haſtened the cataſtrophe. Their proceedings were developed and diſcloſed by another informer; this was a Captain Armſtrong, of the King's County Militia, who had pretended to enter into the conſpiracy with the intention of diſcovering their ſchemes, and betraying them to the government. It appears, that a part of their plan was to gain over as many of his majeſty's troops as poſſible to their ſide, and particularly of the militia regiments, previous to their making a general attack upon the royal camp of Loughlinſtown. For this purpoſe Captain Armſtrong appeared a fit inſtrument. He had been in the habits of frequenting the ſhop of a bookſeller, of the name of Byrne, in Grafton-ſtreet, Dublin, who was generally regarded as one of the literary

* As an inſtance of the feelings of the rebels at this period the form of this hand bill is given. "For us the keen but momentary anxiety, occaſioned by the ſituation of our invaluable friends, "ſubſided, on learning all the circumſtances of the caſe, into a calm tranquillity, a conſoling con- "viction of mind, that they are as ſafe as innocence can make them now; and to theſe ſentiments "were quickly added a redoubled energy, a ten-fold activity, of exertion, which has already pro- "duced the happieſt effects. The organization of the capital is perfect. No vacancies exiſting, "arrangements have been made, and are ſtill making, to ſecure for our oppreſſed brethren, whoſe "trials approach, the benefit of legal defence, and the centinels whom you have appointed to watch "over your intereſts, ſtand firm at their poſts, vigilant of events, and prompt to give you notice and "advice, which, on every occaſion at all requiring it rely on receiving. This recital, Iriſhmen, is "meant to guard thoſe of you who are remote from the ſcene of the late events, againſt the con- "ſequences of miſrepreſentation and miſtake. The moſt unfounded rumours have been ſet afloat, "fabricated for the double purpoſe of deluſion and intimidation. Your enemies talk of treachery, "in the vain and fallacious hope of creating it; but you, who ſcorn equally to be their dupes or "their ſlaves, will meet their forgeries with dignified contempt, incapable of being either goaded "into untimely violence, or ſunk into puſillanimous deſpondency. Be firm, Iriſhmen,—but be "cool and cautious; be patient yet a while; truſt to no unauthorized communication; and above "all, we warn you—again and again we warn you—againſt doing the work of your tyrants, by "premature, by partial, or divided exertion. If Ireland ſhall be forced to throw away the ſcabbard, "let it be at her own time, not theirs."

agents of the rebel faction. Among the leading members of the United Iriſhmen were two young barriſters, of the name of Sheares, both men of excellent talents, and of unſullied reputation, who had, both of them, been elected members of the Iriſh executive after the arreſt of the old members on the 12th of March. To the acquaintance of theſe gentlemen Byrne propoſed to introduce Captain Armſtrong, whom he had from various converſations, been led to conſider as a convert to their cauſe, and Armſtrong had ſoon the addreſs to inſinuate himſelf compleatly into their confidence. * Recourſe was ſoon after had to a general proclamation and military execution.† The proclamation, which was publiſhed on the 30th of March declared, that a traiterous conſpiracy, exiſting within the kingdom for the deſtruction of the eſtabliſhed government, had been conſiderably extended, and had manifeſted itſelf in acts of open violence and rebellion; and that in conſequence thereof the moſt direct and poſitive orders had been iſſued to the officers commanding his majeſty's forces to employ them with the utmoſt vigor and deciſion for the immediate ſupreſſion of that conſpiracy, and for the diſarming of the rebels and all diſaffected perſons, by the moſt ſummary and effectual meaſures. To Sir Ralph Abercromby, then chief commander of the forces, orders were iſſued from the lord lieutenant to proceed with his army into the diſturbed countries, veſted with full powers to act according to his diſcretion for the attainment of the propoſed object. A manifeſto, dated from his head quarters at Kildare, the 3d of April, was addreſſed to the inhabitants of the county by the general, requiring them to ſurrender their arms in the ſpace of ten days from the date of the notice, threatening, in caſe of non compliance, to diſtribute large bodies of troops among them to live at free quarters—promiſing rewards to ſuch as would give information of concealed arms or ammunition—and denouncing his reſolution of recurring to other ſeverities if the county ſhould ſtill continue in a diſturbed ſtate.

On the advance of the military into each county, the ſame notice was given to its inhabitants, and at the expiration of the term preſcribed, the troops were quartered on the houſes of the diſaffected or ſuſpected, in numbers proportioned to the ſuppoſed guilt and ability of the owners, whoſe pecuniary circumſtances were often deeply injured by the maintenance of the ſoldiery, and the waſte which was otherwiſe made of their effects. Numbers of houſes, with their

* Gordon's Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion, p. 84. † 17 Journ. Com. DCCCCXI.

furniture,

furniture, were burned, in which concealed arms had been found, in which meetings of the union had been holden, or whoſe occupants had been guilty of the fabrication of pikes, or had been ſuſpected of other practices for the promotion of the conſpiracy. Numbers were daily ſcourged, picketed, or otherwiſe put to pain, to force confeſſions of concealed arms or plots. Outrageous acts of ſeverity were often committed by perſons not in the regular troops, ſome from an unfeigned, and others from an affected zeal for the ſervice of the crown. Theſe various vexations amounted on the whole to ſuch a maſs of diſquietude and diſtreſs, that the exhortations of the chiefs to bear their evils with ſteady patience, until an opportunity of ſucceſsful inſurrection ſhould occur, proved vain with the lower claſſes.

To authorize the burning of houſes and furniture, the wiſdom of adminiſtration may have ſeen as good reaſon as for other acts of ſeverity, though to many that reaſon was not clear. Theſe burnings, doubtleſs, cauſed no ſmall terror and conſternation to the diſaffected, but they cauſed alſo a loſs to the community at large, rendered many quite deſperate who were deprived of their all, augmented the violence of hatred in thoſe, among whom theſe houſeleſs people took refuge. Men impriſoned on ſuſpicion, or private information, were ſometimes half-hanged, or ſtrangled almoſt to death, before their guilt or innocence could be aſcertained by trial. Reflecting loyaliſts were much concerned at the permiſſion or impunity of ſuch acts, which tended ſtrongly to confirm the prejudices already ſo laborioufly excited by the emiſſaries of treaſon.

Among the cauſes, which in the troubled interval of time previous to the grand inſurrection, contributed to the general uneaſineſs, were the inſults practiſed by pretended zealots, to the annoyance of the trueſt loyaliſts as well as malcontents, on perſons who wore their hair ſhort, or happened to have any part of their apparel of a green colour, both of which were conſidered as emblems of republican or of a revolutionary ſpirit. The term *croppy* was adopted to ſignify a revolutioniſt, or an enemy to the eſtabliſhed government. Perſons of malevolent minds took advantage of theſe circumſtances to indulge their general malignity or private malice, when they could with impunity. On the heads of many who were ſelected as objects of outrage, were fixed by theſe pretended loyaliſts caps of coarſe linen or ſtrong brown paper, ſmeared with pitch on the inſide, which in ſome inſtances adhered ſo firmly as not to be diſengaged without a laceration of the hair and even

even ſkin. On the other ſide ſeveral of the united party, made it a practice to ſeize violently ſuch as they thought proper or were able, and cropt or cut their hair ſhort, which rendered them liable to the outrage of the pitched cap of thoſe pretended, ſtrenuous partizans of the conſtitution. Handkerchiefs, ribbons, even a ſprig of myrtle and other parts of dreſs marked with the obnoxious colour, were torn or cut away from females unconſcious of diſloyalty, and undeſignedly bearing the imaginary badge. Various other violent acts were committed, ſo far as to cut away pieces of men's ears, even ſometimes the whole ear, or a part of the noſe: nor could the ſtaunchest loyaliſt be certain always of exemption from inſult by being clear of all imaginary marks of diſloyalty; for on the arrival of a detachment of the army in any part of the country, where the inhabitants were known to the officers and ſoldiers, which was almoſt always the caſe, private malice was apt to convey in whiſpers falſe intelligence, marking individuals, perhaps the beſt members of ſociety, as proper objects of military outrage, and they ſuffered accordingly.

By the ſyſtem of ſecret accuſation and eſpionage, perhaps rightly adopted with other extraordinary meaſures, in this dangerous criſis, government unavoidably made ample room for the exertions of private malice. Magiſtrates and military officers were empowered to receive informations, to keep the names of the informers profoundly ſecret, and proceed againſt the accuſed according to diſcretion. It ſhould not be ſuppoſed that any magiſtrate could have pretended to receive information, which he had not received, for the indulgence of his private ſpite againſt an individual; but ſome of the gentlemen inveſted with theſe new powers were led into grievous errors by falſe informers, whoſe names notwithſtanding have never been divulged. One particular inſtance gave cauſe to a debate in parliament. Thomas Fitzgerald, high ſheriff of Tipperary, ſeized at Clonmel, a gentleman of the name of Wright, againſt whom no grounds of ſuſpicion could be conjectured by his neighbours, cauſed five hundred laſhes to be inflicted on him in the ſevereſt manner, and confined him ſeveral days without permitting his wounds to be dreſſed, ſo that his recovery from ſuch a ſtate of torture and laceration could hardly be expected. In a trial at law, after the rebellion, on an action of damages brought by Wright againſt this magiſtrate, the innocence of the plaintiff appeared ſo manifeſt, even at a time when prejudices ran amazingly high againſt perſons accuſed of diſloyalty, that the defendant was condemned to pay five hundred pounds to his proſecutor. Many other actions of damages

on

on ſimilar grounds would have been commenced, if the parliament had not put a ſtop to ſuch proceedings, by an act of indemnity, for all errors committed by magiſtrates from ſuppoſed zeal for the public ſervice. A letter written in the French language, found in the pocket of Wright, was haſtily conſidered a proof of guilt, though the letter were of a perfectly innocent nature.

As the conſpiracy gained ground and notoriety, ſeveral leading gentlemen of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion, thought it requiſite, that ſome act of the body ſhould go forth to the public, expreſſive of their abhorrence and deteſtation of ſuch traitorous principles, and with an endeavour to recal ſuch of that perſuaſion, as had unfortunately been ſeduced to join in the rebellion or conſpiracy againſt the government. Accordingly, on the 6th of May, Lords Fingall, Gormanſtown, Southwell, Kenmare, Sir Edward Bellew, and 41 gentlemen and profeſſors of divinity, and the preſident of the college of Maynooth, publiſhed a declaration* under their ſignatures, with a view of reſcuing their body from the imputation of abetting and favoring rebellion and treaſon.

About

* Such is the form of that declaration.

" DUBLIN, *May* 6, 1798.

" To ſuch of the deluded people now in Rebellion againſt his Majeſty's Government, in this King-
" dom, as profeſs the Roman Catholic religion.

" THE underſigned Roman Catholics of Ireland feel themſelves earneſtly called " on, to remonſtrate with ſuch of the deluded people of that perſuaſion, as are now engaged in " open rebellion againſt his majeſty's government, on the wicked tendency and conſequences of the " conduct which they have embraced; they apprehend with equal horror and concern, that ſuch " deluded men, in addition to the crime committed againſt the allegiance which they owe to his " majeſty, have in ſome inſtances attempted to give to their deſigns, a colour of zeal for the reli- " gion which they profeſs. The underſigned profeſs equally with them, the Roman Catholic reli- " gion: ſome of them are biſhops of that perſuaſion, others are heads of the leading families who " profeſs that religion; and others are men of the ſame perſuaſion, who, by an honorable induſtry, " have, under the conſtitution, now ſought to be ſubverted, raiſed themſelves to a ſituation, which " affords them, in the moſt extenſive ſenſe, all the comforts of life. The underſigned of each de- " ſcription concur in entreating ſuch of the deluded, who have taken up arms againſt the eſtabliſhed " government, or entered into engagements tending to that effect, to return to their allegiance; " and by relinquiſhing the treaſonable plans in which they are engaged, to entitle themſelves to " that mercy, which their lawful governors anxiouſly wiſh to extend to them; a contrary conduct " will inevitably ſubject them to loſs of life and property, and expoſe their families to ignominy " and beggary; whilſt at the ſame time it will throw on their religion, of which they profeſs to be " the advocates, the moſt indelible ſtain: on this point, the unfortunately deluded will do well to

" conſider

About the 10th of May, Captain Armſtrong, who had been introduced to the Meſſrs. Sheares, with the view and intent of acquiring and communicating to government full knowledge of the deſigns and meaſures of the United Iriſhmen, had apprized Lord Caſtlereagh, that a general riſing, as it was termed by them, of the people, muſt immediately take place. The whole of the United Iriſhmen throughout the kingdom, or at leaſt throughout the province of Leinſter, were to act at once in concert; and it was their intention to ſeize the camp of Loughlinſtown, the artillery of Chapel-izod, and the Caſtle of Dublin, in one night, the 23d of May. One hour was to be allowed between ſeizing the camp of Loughlinſtown, and the artillery at Chapel-izod; and one hour and a half between ſeizing the artillery and ſurpriſing the Caſtle; and the parties who executed both of the external plans, were to enter the city of Dublin at the ſame moment. The ſtopping of the mail coaches was to be the ſignal for the inſurgents every where to commence their operations. It was alſo planned, that a great inſurrection ſhould take place at Cork

" conſider whether the true intereſts and honor of the Roman Catholic religion are likely to be " moſt conſidered by the biſhops of that perſuaſion; by the ancient families who profeſs that reli- " gion, and who have reſiſted every temptation to relinquiſh it; by men, who at once profeſſing it, " and ſubmitting to the preſent conſtitution, have arrived at a ſtate of affluence which gratifies " every wiſh; or by a ſet of deſperate and profligate men, availing themſelves of the want of edu- " cation and experience in thoſe, whom they ſeek to uſe as inſtruments for gratifying their own " wicked and intereſted views. At all events, the underſigned feel themſelves bound to reſcue " their names, and as far as in them lies, the religion which they profeſs, from the ignominy which " each would incur, from an appearance of acquieſcence in ſuch criminal and irreligious conduct: " and they heſitate not to declare, that the accompliſhment of the views of the deluded of their per- " ſuaſion, if effected, muſt be effected by the downfall of the clergy, of the ancient families and " reſpectable commercial men of the Roman Catholic religion, the underſigned individuals of each " of which deſcription hereby publicly declare their determination to ſtand or fall with the preſent " exiſting conſtitution.

" FINGALL,
" GORMANSTOWN,
" SOUTHWELL,
" KENMARE,
" Sir EDWARD BELLEW, with 41 gentlemen and pro- " feſſors of divinity, together with the Rev. PETER " FLOOD, D. D. preſident of the Royal College of " St. Patrick Maynooth, for himſelf, the profeſſors, " and ſtudents of ſaid college."

at

at the ſame time. The united men were, however, at that period, not exactly agreed as to the nature of the inſurrection. Mr. Samuel Nelſon, with ſome other of the leaders, were bent upon attacking firſt the county gaol of Kilmainham, and the gaol of Newgate, in order to ſet their comrades at liberty; and the project for attacking the latter was alſo fixed for the 23d of May, the night of the general inſurrection. The Sheares, however, and others, were of a contrary opinion, and they wiſhed to defer the attack of the gaols till after the general inſurrection had taken place; and even threatened to give notice to government of the plot, if Neilſon and his friends did not immediately deſiſt.

Although the government had been long in poſſeſſion, through the communications of Reynolds, Armſtrong, and other informers, of all the particulars of the conſpiracy, they had hitherto permitted or encouraged its progreſs, in order, as it has been alledged, that the ſuppreſſion of it might be effected with more eclat and terror. As the expected exploſion however now drew ſo near, it was found to be neceſſary to arreſt ſeveral of the principal conſpirators, who might give directions, energy, and effect to the inſurrection. Lord Edward Fitzgerald had abſconded ſince the 12th of March; and on the 18th of May, Major Sirr having received information that he would paſs through Watling-ſtreet that night, and be preceded by a choſen band of traitors, as an advanced guard, and that he would be accompanied by another, repaired thither, attended by Captain Ryan, Mr. Emerſon, of the attorney's corps, and a few ſoldiers in coloured clothes. They met the party which preceded him, and had a ſkirmiſh with them on the quay at the end of Watling-ſtreet, in which ſome ſhots were exchanged; and they took priſoner one of them, who called himſelf at one time Jameſon, at another time Brand.

The arreſt of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, which was effected next day, the 19th of May, in the following manner, tended very much to defeat the malignant deſigns of the conſpirators, as he was the chief projector of the intended inſurrection, and they entertained the higheſt opinion of his courage and military abilities.

Government having received information that he had arrived in Dublin, and was lodged in the houſe of one Murphy, a featherman in Thomas-ſtreet, ſent Major Sirr to arreſt him. He, attended by Captain Swan, of the revenue corps, and Captain Ryan, of the Sepulchre's, and eight ſoldiers diſguiſed, about five o'clock in the evening repaired in coaches to Murphy's

houſe. While they were poſting the ſoldiers in ſuch a manner as to prevent the poſſibility of an eſcape, Captain Swan perceiving a woman run haſtily up ſtairs, for the purpoſe, as he ſuppoſed, of alarming Lord Edward, followed her with the utmoſt ſpeed; and, on entering an apartment, found Lord Edward lying on a bed, in his dreſſing-jacket. He approached the bed, and informed his lordſhip that he had a warrant againſt him, and that reſiſtance would be vain; aſſuring him at the ſame time that he would treat him with the utmoſt reſpect.

Lord Edward ſprang from the bed, and ſnapped a piſtol, which miſſed fire, at Captain Swan: he then cloſed with him, drew a dagger, gave him a wound in the hand, and different wounds in his body; one of them under the ribs was deep and dangerous, and bled moſt copiouſly.

At that moment Captain Ryan entered, and miſſed fire at Lord Edward with a pocket piſtol; on which he made a lunge at him with a ſword cane, which bent on his ribs; but affected him ſo much, that he threw himſelf on the bed, and Captain Ryan having thrown himſelf on him, a violent ſcuffle enſued, during which Lord Edward drew a dagger, and plunged it into his ſide. They then fell on the ground, where Captain Ryan received many deſperate wounds; one of which, in the lower part of his belly, was ſo large, that his bowels fell out on the floor. Major Sirr having entered the room, ſaw Captain Swan bleeding, and Lord Edward advancing towards the door, while Captain Ryan weltering in blood on the floor, was holding him by one leg, and Captain Swan by the other, he therefore fired at Lord Edward with a piſtol, and wounded him in the ſhoulder, on which he cried out for mercy, and ſurrendered himſelf. His lordſhip was then conveyed to the Caſtle, but was on the point of being reſcued before he left Thomas-ſtreet; for Edward Ratigan, a major of the rebels, aſſembled a great number of them, and gave them a conſiderable quantity of carbines and pikes out of St. Catharine's watch-houſe, of which he was a director, and called on them to reſcue Lord Edward; which would have been effected, but that Major Sirr received the aſſiſtance of the Rainsford-ſtreet guard, and the picquet guard of the Caſtle, conſiſting moſtly of cavalry, for which he had ſeaſonably ſent a meſſenger.

Samuel Neilſon confeſſed afterwards, that he was in another quarter with five hundred pikemen, and that he would have attempted a reſcue, had not the guards arrived in due time.

On the 19th and 21ſt of May, ſeveral other arreſts were made. Amongſt others,

others, Patrick Byrne, the bookſeller, and Meſſrs. Sheares, were committed for high treaſon. In the houſe of Meſſrs. Sheares, in Baggot-ſtreet, was found a proclamation,* which was intended to have been publiſhed on the morning

* The above-mentioned manifeſto or proclamation was in the ſtate of a rough copy, not yet finiſhed for publication. It ran in the following terms, 17 Journ. Com. DCCCLXXX.—" Iriſhmen, " your country is free, and you are about to be avenged. That vile government, which has ſo " long and ſo cruelly oppreſſed you, is no more. Some of its moſt atrocious monſters have already " paid the forfeit of their lives, and the reſt are in our hands. The national flag, the ſacred green, " is at this moment flying over the ruins of deſpotiſm; and that capital, which a few hours paſt " had witneſſed the debauchery, the plots, and the crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of " triumphant patriotiſm and virtue. Ariſe then, united ſons of Ireland—ariſe like a great and " powerful people, to live free, or die. Arm yourſelves by every means in your power, and ruſh " like lions on your foes. Conſider, that for every enemy you diſarm, you arm a friend, and thus " become doubly powerful. In the cauſe of liberty, inaction is cowardice, and the coward ſhall " forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect. Let his arms be ſecured and transferred " to thoſe gallant ſpirits who want and will uſe them. Yes, Iriſhmen, we ſwear by that eternal " juſtice, in whoſe cauſe you fight, that the brave patriot who ſurvives the preſent glorious ſtrug- " gle, and the family of him who has fallen, or hereafter ſhall fall in it, ſhall receive from the hands " of the grateful nation an ample recompence out of that property, which the crimes of our ene- " mies have forfeited into its hands; and his name ſhall be inſcribed on the great national record " of Iriſh revolution, as a glorious example to all poſterity; but we likewiſe ſwear to puniſh rob- " bery with death and infamy. We alſo ſwear that we will never ſheath the ſword till every being " in the country is reſtored to thoſe equal rights which the God of nature has given to all men; " until an order of things ſhall be eſtabliſhed in which no ſuperiority ſhall be acknowledged among " the citizens of Erin but that of virtue and talents. As for thoſe degenerate wretches who turn " their ſwords againſt their native country, the national vengeance awaits them. Let them find " no quarter, unleſs they ſhall prove their repentance, by ſpeedily exchanging the ſtandard of " ſlavery for that of freedom, under which their former errors may be buried, and they may ſhare " the glory and advantages that are due to the patriot bands of Ireland. Many of the military feel " the love of liberty glow within their breaſts, and have joined the national ſtandard. Receive " with open arms ſuch as ſhall follow ſo glorious an example: they can render ſignal ſervice to " the cauſe of freedom, and ſhall be rewarded according to their deſerts. But, for the wretch who " turns his ſword againſt his native country, let the national vengeance be viſited on him; let him " find no quarter. Two other crimes demand ..... Rouze all energies of your ſouls: " call forth all the merits and abilities which a vicious government conſigned to obſcurity; and " under the conduct of your choſen leaders, march with a ſteady ſtep to victory. Heed not the " glare of hired ſoldiery, or ariſtocratic yeomanry: they cannot ſtand the vigorous ſhock of free- " dom. Their trappings and their arms will ſoon be yours; and the deteſted government of " England, to which we vow eternal hatred, ſhall learn, that the treaſures it exhauſts on its ac- " coutred ſlaves, for the purpoſe of butchering Iriſhmen, ſhall but further enable us to turn their

morning after the inſurrection ſhould have taken place: it manifeſted the bloody projects of the rebels, had the conſpiracy ſucceeded. It has been obſerved, by the Rev. Dr. Gordon (p. 66), that "in fact the ſevere and terrible "meaſures, to which government, for the preſervation of its exiſtence, had "been obliged to have recourſe, muſt naturally excite a ſpirit of revenge and "cruelty in the malcontent faction; yet the former members of the directory, "among whom was Thomas Addis Emmett, had intended to avoid bloodſhed as much as poſſible, and only to baniſh thoſe who ſhould prove "refractory, allowing their families a maintenance out of their properties."*

On

"ſwords on its devoted head. Attack them in every direction by day and by night: avail yourſelves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, and with which you are "better acquainted than they. Where you cannot oppoſe them in full force, conſtantly harraſs "their rear and their flanks: cut off their proviſions and magazines, and prevent them as much as "poſſible from uniting their forces: let whatever moments you cannot devote to fighting for your "country, be paſſed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war: for war, war "alone muſt occupy every mind and every hand in Ireland, until its long oppreſſed ſoil be purged "of all its enemies. Vengeance, Iriſhmen! Vengeance on your oppreſſors! Remember what "thouſands of your deareſt friends have periſhed by their mercileſs orders. Remember their "burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military maſſacres, and their legal murders. Remember Orr.

* The examination of Mr. Emmett before the committee of the lords has given us the following account of the intentions of the executive: 17 Com. Journ. DCCCCIX.

"*Queſtion.* Was John Sheares a member of the executive before your arreſt?

"*Anſwer.* He was not. Says the old executive never meant to ſpill blood, but rather to retain "men of a certain rank as *hoſtages*, and if they found them hoſtile to the new government, to ſend "them out of the country. That it was alſo determined, that if the wives of ſuch perſons did not "act with hoſtility to the new government, they ſhould be allowed a maintenance out of the huſband's property, and that each child ſhould have a portion, the reſidue to belong to the nation.

The before mentioned Memoir gives the following more enlarged account. *Mem. p.* 31.

"*Lord Kilwarden.* You ſeem averſe to inſurrection; I ſuppoſe it was becauſe you thought it "impolitic.

"*Emmett.* Unqueſtionably: for if I imagined an inſurrection could have ſucceeded, without "a great waſte of blood and time, I ſhould have preferred it to invaſion, as it would not have expoſed us to the chance of contributions being required by a foreign force; but as I did not think "ſo, and as I was certain an invaſion would ſucceed ſpeedily, and without much ſtruggle, I preferred it even at the hazard of that inconvenience, which we took every means to prevent.

"*Lord Dillon.* Mr. Emmett, you have ſtated the views of the executive to be very liberal and "very enlightened, and I believe yours were ſo; but let me aſk you, whether it was not intended "to cut off (in the beginning of the conteſt) the leaders of the oppoſition party, by a ſummary

"mode

On the 21ſt of May Lord Caſtlereagh, by direction of the lord lieutenant, wrote to the lord mayor, to acquaint him, " That his excellency had diſ-" covered, that the diſaffected in the city and neighbourhood of Dublin, had " formed a plan of poſſeſſing themſelves, in the courſe of the preſent week, " of the metropolis, and of ſeizing the executive government, and thoſe in " authority within the city." And on the 22d of May, 1798, his lordſhip preſented a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, from his excellency:

" That he had received information, that the diſaffected had been daring " enough to form a plan, for the purpoſe of poſſeſſing themſelves, in the " courſe of that week, of the metropolis, of ſeizing the ſeat of government, " and thoſe in authority within the city; that, in conſequence of that in-

" mode, ſuch as aſſaſſination: my reaſon for aſking you is, John Sheares's proclamation, the moſt " terrible paper that ever appeared in any country: it ſays, that 'many of your tyrants have bled, ' and others muſt bleed,' &c.

" *Emmett.* My lords, as to Mr. Sheares's proclamation, he was not of the executive when I " was.

" *Lord Chancellor.* He was of the new executive.

" *Emmett.* I do not know he was of any executive, except from what your lordſhip ſays; but " I believe he was joined with ſome others in framing a particular plan of inſurrection for Dublin " and its neighbourhood: neither do I know what value he annexed to thoſe words in his procla-" mation: but I can anſwer, that while I was of the executive, there was no ſuch deſign, but the " contrary; for we conceived when one of you loſt your lives we loſt an hoſtage. Our intention " was to ſeize you all, and keep you as hoſtages, for the conduct of England; and after the revolu-" tion was over, if you could not live under the new government, to ſend you out of the country. " I will add one thing more, which though it is not an anſwer to your queſtion, you may have a " curioſity to hear. In ſuch a ſtruggle it was natural to expect confiſcations: our intention was, " that every wife who had not inſtigated her huſband to reſiſtance ſhould be provided for out of " the property, notwithſtanding confiſcations; and every child, who was too young to be his own " maſter, or form his own opinion, was to have a child's portion. Your lordſhips will now judge " how far we intended to be cruel.

" *Lord Chancellor.* Pray Mr. Emmett, what cauſed the late inſurrection?

" *Emmett.* The free quarters, the houſe burnings, the tortures, and the military executions, in " the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow.

" *Lord Chancellor.* Don't you think the arreſts of the 12th of March cauſed it?

" *Emmett.* No: but I believe if it had not been for theſe arreſts it would not have taken place; " for the people, irritated by what they ſuffered, had been long preſſing the executive to conſent " to an inſurrection, but they had reſiſted or eluded it, and even determined to perſevere in the " ſame line: after theſe arreſts, however, other perſons came forward, who were irritated, and " thought differently, who conſented to let that partial inſurrection take place."

" formation,

" formation, he had directed every military precaution to be taken, which " ſeemed expedient; that he had made full communication to the ma- " giſtrates, for the direction of their efforts; and that he had not a doubt, " by the meaſures which would be purſued, the deſigns of the rebellious " would be effectually and entirely cruſhed."

To this meſſage, the Houſe of Commons voted an addreſs, " To aſſure his " excellency, that the intelligence which it communicated filled them with " horror and indignation, whilſt it raiſed in them a ſpirit of determined re- " ſolution and energy; that they relied on the vigilance and vigour of his " excellency's government, which they truſted would continue unabated, " until the conſpiracy, which ſo fatally exiſted, ſhould be utterly diſſolved."

The ſpeaker and all the members immediately waited on his excellency with the addreſs; and to ſhew their zeal, and to increaſe the ſolemnity of the proceeding, they walked through the ſtreets on foot, two and two, preceded by the ſpeaker, the ſerjeant at arms, and all the officers of the houſe.

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THE FIRST PART

OF THE

*SECOND VOLUME.*


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